THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF DISPLACED RURAL FARMERS DUE TO

URBANIZATION IN BISHOFTU CITY OF ETHIOPIA

By

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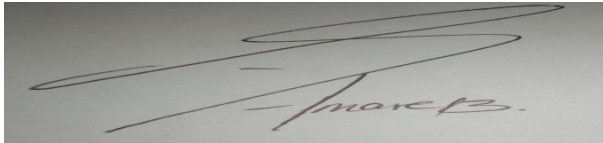
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DECLARATION

I declare that this doctoral thesis titled "THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF DISPLACED RURAL FARMERS DUE TO URBANIZATION IN BISHOFTU CITY OF ETHIOPIA" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. I further declare that I submitted the thesis/dissertation to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality. I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

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ABSTRACT

This study covers the lived experiences of persons displaced due to urban expansion. The study primarily aims at understanding the perspectives of the displaced farming community members living surrounding Bishoftu city. It looks at the effect of urbanization on displaced people from various viewpoints, including social, cultural, psychological, and economic aspects. The research employs a descriptive research design with a qualitative research approach, with data primarily collected through in-depth interviews and field observations. Through snowball sampling, the research provides detailed accounts of 21 interviewed persons who experienced displacement. Although the displaced people had substantial economic, social, political, spatial, and cultural resources before they were displaced, they have now become economically, socially, politically, spatially, and culturally marginalized. The study also reveals that displaced farmers have lost many of their cultural and social traditions, which are critical in coping with the social, psychological, spiritual, and economic challenges that they face. Criminality and immorality have permeated the culture as informal social control mechanisms derail. Many are impoverished, and some resort to socially immoral means of subsisting, such as begging. The study demonstrates some benefits in the lives of few displaced people, including women, by enhancing their access to infrastructure and creating employment opportunities. The study proposes that displaced people progress through four phases following their displacement. It also suggests that social disorganization theory can be extended to explain the chaos and disruption caused by urbanization in peri-urban areas. The thesis further implies that there are two classes of elites, neither of which contributes substantially to the improvement of the displaced.

Key Words: Bishoftu, City, Community, Cultural, Development, Displacement, Disruption, Experience, Farmer, Language, Marginalization, Psychological, Rural, Urbanization

DEDICATION

I dedicate this doctoral thesis to my late father, Bayissa Hundessa, and my surviving mother, Leli Hunde, who brought me up under difficult circumstances and became candle to my life. Mom and Dad, I will always remember your contribution to my success.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1.   Introduction

When I decided to begin my doctoral degree, there were riots in Ethiopia, particularly in Oromia. The main reasons for the riots were urban sprawl, especially the newly proposed master plan of Addis Ababa city, which included a large portion of the rural areas of Oromia in Addis Ababa. Consequently, there was broad opposition, particularly on the part of the students, and they were able to cancel the master plan. The student opposition continues to grow with support from farmers, who are putting pressure on other government policies. As a result, the ruling party replaced its chairperson and the premier of the country in 2018. To this day, the voices of sections of society that demanded the fair distribution of wealth, just compensation, and equitable development resonate everywhere in Ethiopia. Farmers displaced by urbanization are also those seeking justice and equality.

People need school, roads, water, electricity, housing, and many other essential goods and services. In building the stated infrastructure, the expropriation of land becomes inevitable. People are experiencing displacement more frequently than ever before because of urbanization and infrastructure development in the country. While development efforts help many individuals, they also hurt the lives of development-induced displaced people. Contrary to development goals, in development induced displacement, there is an inequitable distribution of pains and profits and losses and rewards. Because of the displacement emanating from development, some people enjoy the benefits, while displaced persons mostly share the pain.

As a citizen of this country, I was concerned about this issue of justice, so I decided to focus my doctoral thesis on the lives of farmers displaced by urban expansion. As a result, this study

examines previous studies, looks at gaps in the field and attempts to fill some gaps. The research also looks at theories that explain issues related to place and displacement and contributes to the knowledge domain in the field. One of the main aims of this research is to learn about the experiences of displaced farmers. The thesis discusses the opportunities available to farmers and the psychological, social, cultural, and economic challenges they face. The coping strategies adopted by displaced farmers are one of the specific objectives of the thesis. This doctoral study also aims to learn about the suggestions of displaced farmers on how to deal with urban expansions and the rehabilitation of displaced farmers.

One of the reasons why the study is significant is that it will show how the government should handle displacement-related issues in Ethiopia. The country is rapidly urbanizing, and the Ethiopian government sought land for urban expansion, while farmers began to resist arbitrary evictions in the name of development or urbanization. Ethiopia's priority list currently includes urban sprawl and farmer displacement. As a result, this study may serve as a starting point for researchers, students, teachers from higher education institutions, policymakers, and experts in the field.

Strictly speaking, this chapter highlights the background of the study, the rationale of the study, the research questions addressed, the significance of the study, and its limitations. Besides, the chapter defines the terms used in the research and the organization of the thesis.

1.2. Background to the study

Urbanization is a broad concept that encompasses a wide range of processes, activities, and social organizations. It is the process through which a large number of people come together and dwell in space, eventually building social institutions to sustain the residents (Anthony 2004). It is a rising proportion of a nation's population living in urban areas and a decrease in the

proportion of rural people. Urbanization is a process deeply affected by the nature and magnitude of social, economic, and political change. The process proceeds in two ways, by increasing the number of cities and because of increasing the size of individual cities or towns.

It is estimated that by the turn of the twenty-first century, more than half of the world's population were residing in urban areas for the first time in history (Begna 2017). Urban expansion is a common phenomenon that is happening in today's world. Rapid urbanization has resulted from the global economy's accelerated globalization, demographic transition, and other economic and social changes (Golini 2001). It has had tremendous impacts on social and economic processes worldwide.

Urbanization and industrialization had a close relationship in developed nations. For these countries, urbanization has been synonymous with technological advancement, economic development, and social transformation that triggered and diffused change and dynamism in the socio-cultural conditions of the society (Tegegn 2002). Third world countries' urbanization, on the other hand, diverges significantly from that of economically advanced nations. Contrasting to the case within the developed countries at analogous stages of development, the process of urbanization within the developing countries seems to be more a result of a rural push than the urban pull factors. Over-urbanization, a case in which urban population growth far outstrips employment opportunities and housing, is strongly associated with the state of urbanization in developing countries (Dedekorkut 2011).

Urbanization has a dual face around the world: on the one hand, it plays a critical role in development efforts by influencing individual attitudes and practices, and it is also at the heart of many nations' technological development and economic growth; on the other hand, it creates numerous challenges, including creating jobs and providing necessities that may be difficult for

developing nations, as well as serving as a breeding ground for poverty and inequalities (Adem 2010; Tegegn 2002; McMichael 2000).

While some researchers claim that urbanization and economic development are not linearly related (Turok and McGranahan 2013), many influential global development agencies, including the World Bank, UN-Habitat, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), argue that urbanization leads to economic growth and development (OECD 2006; UN-Habitat 2010; World Bank 2009). The World Bank (2009) contends that no country has reached high-income levels without vibrant cities, as cities are the highest point of human achievement. According to UN-Habitat (2012), cities have the potential to innovate, create wealth, enhance the quality of life, and accommodate more people in a smaller area with lower per-capita resource use and emission levels than any other settlement pattern.

Given the direct relationship between urbanization and economic growth, in Africa, the level of urbanization is poor (37.1 percent) related to industrialized nations such as Europe (72.1 percent) and North America (79.1 percent). However, urbanization is taking place much faster in the developing world than in industrialized countries, which may reach 3 or 4 percent per annum (Leulsegged, Gete, Dawit, Fitsum & Heinimann 2011). In its 2018 report, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2018) also presents that urbanization is faster and higher in developing countries than in developed countries by comparing urbanization levels and paces between 1950 and 2015. Fifteen years ago, Ethiopia's urban population was about 16% of the country's total population, and out of this figure, 25% used to live in Addis Ababa (Mpofu 2013). The urban population has now grown to 21 percent in 2020.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the country began experiencing urban development. The construction of the railway to Djibouti provided an opportunity for the emergence of towns following the railway. Some of the towns that emerged following the construction of the railway are Akaki, Dukem, Bishoftu, Mojo Adama, and Dire Dawa (Markakis 2006). In addition to the construction of the railway, Ethiopia experienced urban expansion because of higher natural population growth, increased rural to urban migration, and internal urban growth (Adem 2010). The urban expansion has its impact on both the urban population and their neighbouring rural communities. It affects the urban population by creating a strain on the inadequate resources available to its inhabitants and it affects the neighbouring rural areas by displacing them from their agricultural land and creating new social fabrics. There are also instances where urban expansion triggers development by providing infrastructure and creating employment as well as market opportunities for the farming population.

Development incited eviction can be characterized as the compelling of individuals and community out of their homes, often also their homelands, for the goal of economic advancement (Dhru 2008: 3). Local peoples with development incited uprooting have experienced social distance or cultural alienation, expropriation of land, lack of consultation, inadequate or absence of damages (indemnity), violation of human rights, and a lowering of living standards.

Many 'development' programs worldwide are often in conflict with the interests of local people. Many communities have witnessed serious resource depletion and economic as well as social impoverishment because of their displacement in the name of 'development' (Pankhurst & Piguet 2004: 419). Gezahegn and Hesselberg (2013) argue that displacement will bring about

wage misfortune, changing schools for children, medical issues, loss of savings, loss of location advantages, as well as restricted access to essential infrastructure and social services.

This thesis focuses on Bishoftu, one of Oromia's fastest-growing cities since its inception. The city is located 47 km southeast of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital, and currently has fourteen administrative Kebeles (Kebele is the smallest administrative unit in Ethiopia). Thus, this thesis investigates the experiences of displaced rural communities surrounding Bishoftu city because of urban expansion.

1.3. Statement of the problem and rationale of the study

Displacement is an inevitable result of urban expansion, particularly in surrounding rural communities. Involuntary displacement, often related to urban expansion, puts displaced persons, mainly farmers, at risk of crisis. Farmers living in nearby urban areas would inevitably be forced to abandon their farms for urban use as urbanization expands to their areas. Because of the displacement, farmers may face significant socio-economic and cultural disruptions. Farmers may face challenges concerning their cultural identity; they may encounter deterioration to their social networks; they may be vulnerable to a rise in the likelihood of health problems; and their ways of life, as well as social cohesion, may break down due to dislocation (Torres 2002; Robinson 2003; Feleke 2004; Gebre 2008). Such displacement has major human rights and socio-economic consequences and risks are generally higher for the marginalized population including the elderly and women (Torres 2002).

While the problems listed above concern displaced persons, the impact of urban expansion and the resultant displacement of farmers from the surrounding areas has not been a topic of many studies (Pankhurst & Piguet 2004). Displacements due to developments in general and those caused by urban expansion, in particular, also appear to have gained less focus from international

humanitarian organizations; because these displacements are thought to be carried out in a well-planned manner to minimize their detrimental effect (Robinson 2003). Yet the fact on the ground is that such displacement has left many in very bad conditions.

Urbanization is not something that poses a threat on its own to surrounding rural farmers; rather, it is an opportunity for the betterment of life if well managed. Urbanization may serve as an opportunity for rural farmers nearby urban areas by promoting quick access to comprehensive agricultural extension services, health, transportation, and educational services, opportunities for non-agricultural work, and high demand for animal and crop products, to mention a few (Sati, Deng, Lu, Zhang, Wan, & Song 2017).

While limited studies have been conducted on the displacement of farmers due to urban expansion in Ethiopia (for instance, works by Feleke 2004; Gebre 2008; Firew 2010; Teshome 2014; Teketel 2015; Efa & Gutema 2017), no studies holistically focused on the issues of displaced persons. So far, research on the opportunities and problems brought to peri-urban areas by urban expansion, emphasizing the voices of displaced persons from their landholdings, have been sparse.

Existing studies focus mainly on economic components while paying little attention to social, psychological, physical, and cultural issues. Existing studies pay little attention to farmers' perceptions of the displacement process and their level of participation from site identification to relocation. Furthermore, the city does not adequately investigate the coping strategies adopted by displaced farmers to alleviate the negative repercussions of migration. Furthermore, no one has thoroughly investigated the coping methods of displaced farmers to mitigate the negative effects of displacement in the city. I also was unable to locate a research paper that attempted to

investigate the suggestions of displaced farmers on how to address cases of displacement due to urban expansion.

I also chose this topic after noticing farmers treating me and my neighbours with suspicion. When the city's municipality gave us a plot of land ($105m^2$ per individual), my neighbours and I went there to start building our houses near the farming community. The farmers were upset about us. When I approached one of the farmers to find out what was causing their hostile behaviour toward us, he told me they had been expropriated from their landholdings several times with inadequate compensation. Moreover, the farmer told me their lives were even more miserable than before.

Furthermore, studies from different part of the world have hinted that urban expansion has several deplorable effects on farmers in the areas where it is expanding. These heinous consequences prompted me to research the subject.

Thus, this study intends to describe the lived experiences of farming communities surrounding Bishoftu city displaced due to urbanization. Specifically, the research raises and answers the following questions.

1. What opportunities accrue to farmers displaced due to urban expansion?

2. What are the psychological, social, cultural, and economic challenges displaced farmers are facing because of displacement?

3. What are the coping strategies adopted by displaced farmers?

4. What are the suggestions of displaced farmers on how to mitigate the adverse effect of displacement?

The above-mentioned research questions are useful in learning about the perspectives of displaced farmers and their families, such as whether there is an alternative livelihood and better

economic opportunities, counselling, moral support, and technical and legal assistance to help them adjust to their new personal and family circumstances and make better decisions about how to use their resources. The questions also assist in determining the availability of financial aid to provide income until displaced farmers can find long-term revenue-generating alternatives.

The presence of skill development training and infrastructure development for displaced farmers is among what the research questions also seek to answer. The questions explore the mechanisms used by the displaced to overcome the social, cultural, and psychological challenges that arise with displacement.

One of my research questions also gives attention to opinions of displaced farmers on how to handle development-induced displacement that previous studies have shown little concern for because appropriate planning for urban expansion necessitates involving individuals who are affected and listening to their concerns and suggestions. Therefore, raising the above-stated questions is essential to gain deep insights into the issues from those who experienced displacement in their lifetime.

1.4. Significance of the study

The Land is among the most precious resources for both rural and urban communities. Urbanization absorbs many hectares of farmland from surrounding rural communities. Urban lands have become a lucrative source of income particularly, in the central part of Ethiopia, such as Bishoftu city. So far, no one has carried out comprehensive research to uncover the lived experiences of displaced persons due to urbanization, focusing on social, cultural, psychological, and other changes that might have occurred because of Ethiopia's urbanization. This contrasts with the controversy recently generated in Ethiopia about the adverse effect of urban expansion

toward the rural fringe. Inaccessibility of land, the inadequacy of compensation, and even uncompensated evictions are some of the complaints heard currently in Ethiopia.

The study shows the immense challenges as well as the prospects displaced people are facing in the process of urbanization. Revealing realities on the ground, the research generates understanding about how to preserve the cultural, social, economic and overall livelihoods of displaced local people because of urban expansion. Therefore, the research will help farmers, urban dwellers, city planners, policymakers, municipal officials, researchers, students, and other interested individuals and institutions.

This study will benefit farmers because it portrays the lived experiences of fellow farmers who have experienced displacement; it allows them to learn how to cope and what to do if they face inevitable rural urbanization. Moreover, the study will benefit displaced farmers by echoing their voices and helping them be understood by those who are interested in their situation. It may help improve the well-being of displaced ones as it may raise awareness among policymakers and implementers and help revise policies and strategies about the matter. The study will also assist city planners, policymakers, and municipal officials in demonstrating the pitfalls of urbanization in rural areas. Also, it will explain how the planners, policy makers will mitigate the adverse effects and enhance the benefits to farming communities and overall urban development.

This research will benefit researchers, students, and other interested parties because it identifies and fills gaps that other researchers have overlooked or strengthens their arguments. This thesis brings to the attention of researchers and students the stages of social disruption following displacement due to urbanization, how social disorganization may affect rural communities surrounding urban areas, how conflict may emerge within or outside one's social circle following dislocation, the influence of urbanization on local people's religious and cultural affairs, and the

role of urbanization in the lives of women from surrounding communities. Thus, the study's findings may inspire scholars and students in the field to conduct comprehensive research on the effects of urban expansion in countries such as Ethiopia.

1.5.   Scope of the study

As stated in the preceding sections, the study was carried out to describe the experiences of displaced farmers as a result of urban expansion in Bishoftu city. It has been demonstrated that efficiency[1], at least in theory, is the driving force that determines where industries will be located across the country (Kindeye 2014). It is evident from what efficiency doctrine focuses on that Addis Ababa and surrounding cities are among the best locations for the country's industrialization plan. It is close to Bishoftu city that a large industrial zone known as the east industrial zone is established, and many development projects are rapidly expanding in the area. As a result of the above-stated facts, I chose Bishoftu as my study location. The study was conducted in the periphery of the city, and the research included displaced people and their family members. The city has been growing around the periphery areas and because of the shift in land-use patterns from rural land use to urban residential and other uses.

The study included persons residing on the outskirts of the city who had previously lost their farmland due to urban expansion. The research also aimed to investigate psychological, social, cultural and other associated displacement effects. From the perspective of displaced people, it examined both the positive and negative impacts of urban expansion on farming communities. It used a qualitative research approach and the results of the study were mainly the outcome of observations, in-depth interviews with displaced farmers and secondary source materials.

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[1] According to Kindeye (2014), industrial policy in Ethiopia appears to be dictated by factors such as labour access and cost, transportation availability, raw material availability, proximity to markets, government attitude, tax structure, industrial sites, utilities, climate, and others.

There are various types of displacement, and individuals and communities may be forced to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of or to avoid the consequences of situations such as generalized violence, armed conflict, human rights violations, human-made or natural disasters, and/or development projects (Cernea 2000; Don Bosco 2013; Downing 1996; Pankhurst & Piguet 2004). But my research focuses solely on displacement caused by development interventions, specifically urban expansion.

1.6. Limitations of the study

Scientific research demands a peaceful environment so that researchers can mainly focus on their scientific work. However, tensions and worries characterize my study periods. The Oromo protest and Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic posed a serious challenge to my study. The prolonged Oromo protest, which erupted in 2016, has created instability in Oromia state as well as many parts of the country. The protest started because of the eviction of Oromo farmers in the name of development. Land, cultural marginalization and other economic and political problems have driven Oromo to protest against the government.

Even if some kind of reform took place in the country in 2018, there are still clashes here and there. It has not been stable since 2016, and the relationship between the government and opposition parties is becoming antagonistic. As a result, forging relationships with displaced farmers was a difficult task for me. Farmers have looked at each activity with suspicion as the government has fraudulently evicted them from their land. Using qualitative research, I was able to learn subjective experiences and firsthand information about what my study informants experienced. I greatly benefited from the flexibility that qualitative research approach affords researchers (Patton 2002). The farmers were initially reluctant to provide me with complete information about their situation, but as trust grew, they began to tell me their stories. My study,

however, reflects the methodological limitations of the qualitative approach (Creswell 2008; Patton 2002). Even though I took the utmost care not to be influenced by what my study informants witnessed, my personal biases stemming from my Oromo and rural background made dealing with the topic difficult. I have been challenged by the limitations of interviews, such as the time it takes to establish rapport with an informant and then collect and analyze large amounts of data. I attempted to overcome the methodological limitations by incorporating observation into my study. I also devoted a significant portion of my time to building relationships with study informants, data collection, and analysis.

1.7.   Definition of concepts and terms used in the thesis

This subsection describes the main concepts I used in the study. A great deal of the terms or phrases I used in my study was conceptualized based on how I applied them and what they meant.

'Arake': A local drink traditionally made from barley malt, cornbread, and the like with stronger alcoholic content than 'Tela'/'Farso'.

'Ayyaana'/'Ayyaantu': Male/female possessor of the Holy Spirit who acts as a communicator between a person and God ('Waqa').

'Atete': Traditional ritual performed primarily by Oromo People and venerated mostly for pregnancy, safe reproduction and continuation of life on the earth.

'Birr': Known as the Ethiopian dollar before 1976, it is the currency unit in Ethiopia. One American dollar is equivalent to about 55 *'birr'*.

'Borenticha': Rituals performed mainly by men among Oromo to commemorate ancestral cult.

'Chiristina': It is a religious ceremony used by Ethiopian Orthodox, Catholic, and some Protestant churches to baptize children.

Cooperative Organization: It is a self-governing association of people who have voluntarily joined together to fulfil their shared economic, social, and cultural goals and desires through a collectively held and democratically run enterprise (International Co-operative Alliance 1995).

'Dabo': it is a support system through labour contribution. The farming community members support an elderly and sick person who faced some unforeseen circumstance in labour contribution.

Displacement/Dislocation: It refers to a variety of phenomena; including such loss of access to or restrictions on alternative livelihoods or potential earnings as a result of environmental resources (Cernea 2005). In the context of this research, it refers to the eviction of persons from their landholdings because of urban development.

'Enkutatash': It is a national holiday following Ethiopian New Year on 11 September, or 12 September during the leap year as per the Gregorian calendar.

Farming Rural Community: This is a rural community primarily engaged in agriculture and related activities.

'***Fasika'***: It is the Amharic and Afan Oromo term for Easter. It is a religious holiday observed by Christians.

'Gadaa' ('Gada') System: structure of generational groups or classes of 'Gadaa' that have succeeded each other in assuming military, administrative, legislative, judicial and ritual duties every eight years.

Human settlement: It is any type of residential dwelling, from the smallest house to the largest city, where a group of people reside and pursue their life goals that can be permanent and temporary, rural and urban, mobile and sedentary, dispersed and aggregated (Zivkovi 2019). In this thesis, the phrase is used to denote the totality of the human community with all the social,

organizational, material, cultural and spiritual elements that sustain it, whether it is a village, town or city.

Household: It is a small group of people who live in the same house, pool some or all of their income and wealth, and consume certain goods and services collectively, primarily housing and food (United Nations Statistics Division 1993). In the thesis, household refers to an individual or a group of people, whether or not related by birth, marriage or other means, who typically live under the same roof.

'Iddir' ('Edir'): A mutual aid association / traditionally established social insurance exist among the traditional community and facilitate decent burial services and other development activities.

'Ikkub' ('Ekkub'): It is a traditional social support and saving mechanism based on a group of people.

'Irrecha': It is a thanksgiving holiday for the people of Oromo to Waaqaa (God).

'Jarsuma': Peace-making process between conflicting parties mainly carried out by procedurally experienced elders.

'Jigi' is a kind of labour contribution in which people work together. Depending on the rate of labour demand, Jigi tends to be mutual support among working group participants.

Livelihood: It is the sets of capabilities, activities and assets (both material and social) required to sustain living (Chambers & Conway 1991). It is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from shocks and stress, and improve or maintain its capabilities and assets now and in the future, without jeopardizing the natural resource base.

'Kebele'/*'Ganda'*: the lowest administrative division in Ethiopia, equivalent to a village, a neighbourhood or a decentralized and delimited community.

'Kchat' ('Chat'): It is a blooming plant with kchatinon (chatinon), a stimulant, which induces euphoria and excitement.

'Mahiber': It is a traditional association in which members extend economic support when an individual faces an economic crisis.

'Meskel': It is an annual holy festival commemorating the finding of the True Cross in the Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Churches.

'Oda': a symbolic tree under which the people of Oromo assemble, perform ceremonies and pray

Peri-urban: The urban outskirts and geographic fringe of cities/towns that play a significant role as a physical place for the movement of services and goods; it is an area where rural farming activities are in confrontation with alternative economic, housing and entertainment interests.

'Senbete': It is a religious-based association among Orthodox religious followers. It mainly offers psychosocial support among members

Social Network: It refers to interpersonal connections which may or may not provide social support and may fulfil other purposes such as social comparison, companionship, and social influence (Glanz, Rimer & Viswanath, 2002). In the thesis, the phrase is used to indicate a social structure composed of a series of social interactions and bonding between different groups or individuals, including family, friends, and neighbours.

'Teff': It is a fine grain about the size of a poppy seed and is available in a variety of colours from white to red to dark brown. Teff, grounded into flour, is used to produce traditional Ethiopian bread known as *injera.*

'Tela'/'Farso': It is a traditional homebrewed and beer-based drink made from barley malt, cornbread as well as barley asparagus.

'Woreda'/'Aanaa': The second lowest administrative unit next to Kebele/Ganda in Ethiopia

1.8. Organization of the thesis

This doctoral thesis has ten chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, which includes the study's background, problem statement, significance, the scope of the study, limitations of the study, concept definitions, and thesis organization.

The second chapter deals with the theoretical framework of the study. It discusses socio-ecological approaches including Downing and Garcia-Downing's theory of psycho-socio-cultural interruptions caused by displacement, place attachment theory, social disorganization theory, and Devine-Wrights' disruption framework. It also presents the social capital theory.

The third chapter is the literature review, which addresses concepts related to displacement, the historical origins of Ethiopian urbanization, land tenure, land expropriation, informal settlements, and related issues.

The fourth chapter deals with research methods, including study design, data types, data collection tools and procedures, sampling techniques and sample size, data analysis, trustworthiness and quality assurance, and ethical considerations.

I present the findings and discussions of the research in chapters five, six, seven, eight, and nine. In chapter five, I discuss the background of Bishoftu city and the biographies of the study informants.

Chapter six addresses the procedures pursued to expropriate landholdings and informants' feelings. The chapter discusses how displaced persons represent land and what it means for them. It also states the experiences of the farmers about compensation payments and procedures involved.

The seventh chapter focuses on the economic and social states of displaced people both before and after they are displaced. It also discusses how displaced people define themselves, and the relationship between displaced people and city dwellers.

The eighth chapter is about the cultural and psychological status of the displaced person. The chapter looks at the cultural state of displaced persons before their displacement and their cultural and psychological states following dislocation.

Chapter nine discusses the informants' suggestions for mitigating the deleterious effects of displacement. It also describes the government's role in the relocation process and how displaced people are faring. The last section of the chapter discusses recommendations of the study.

The tenth chapter deals with the conclusions of the study. Additionally, the chapter highlights the study's contribution to displacement and urbanization studies.

1.9.   Summary

In this chapter, I indicated why I am interested in the subject and presented the rationale of my study. I presented the broader context of the study, its justifications and its importance. In addition, I pointed out the limitations of the study, the definition of terms and the organizations of my thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on theories that link place to social, psychological, cultural, and economic consequences on people's lives. Relocation affects people's attachment to places, local culture, and social networks; that is why I look at theories in this area. The theories (the socio-ecological approach and the social capital theory) in this chapter are presented to discuss the challenges that displaced persons face in their lives. The chapter focuses on the social, psychological, and cultural disruptions that occur as a result of relocation. The chapter also demonstrates how resettlement weakens or destroys vital social networks and life-support systems.

2.2. The socio-ecological approach

To grasp the psychological, physical, social and cultural realities linked with displacements, I also used concepts from the socio-ecological approach. The socio-ecological method contributes to understanding the impact of the environment on human behaviour, culture, and the history of human societies to explain their success, adaptation, or failure. As a result, the approach might be valuable in assisting people in understanding what these changes are, what the ramifications may be for diverse ecosystems, and how we might engage in either to alter or otherwise ameliorate these changes. My research employs the 'routine and dissonant' culture theory, place attachment theory, social disorganization theory, and Devine-Wright's framework disruption from a socio-ecological approach. The subtopics that follow present the main concepts from each theory.

2.2.1. The 'routine and dissonant' culture theory

The concept of culture refers to the ability to communicate with symbols, language, ideas, objects, feelings, or behaviour. Artefacts, symbols, arts, languages, beliefs, and other things acquired by human societies collectively represent it. Rituals are ways for people to express their cultural and religious matters. Rituals are routine, symbolic, and repeated tasks in which we interact with what we consider the most important dimension of life (Kyalo 2013). The main methods of social communication and solidarity are rituals. One may not disregard the importance of rituals in the life of human society. Rituals in our personal and communal lives are always associated with a significant event or location. They chose specific times and locations to allow us to reflect on their significance and communicate emotionally.

The 'routine and dissonant' culture theory examines the psycho-socio-cultural disturbances caused by forced dislocation and approaches to alleviate them without causing more harm. Culture, in this theory, is a collection of constructs and rules for building, understanding, and adapting to the world (Downing and Garcia-Downing 2009). The constructs and rules provide explanations to what Downing and Garcia-Downing refer to as primary questions. Some of these broad questions are: 'who are we?', 'where are we?', 'where are we going?', 'what are our duties to others and ourselves?', and 'why do people live and die?' The answers to the questions differ from culture to culture and even within cultures. According to the theory, the constructs are the results of language, rituals, symbols, kinship categories, and locations. Kinds of music, dances, access rights to specific areas and resources, public work, titles, job descriptions, and other socio-cultural aspects are also contributing to the constructs. The theory states kinship groups and institutions such as schools, firms, governments, and other organizations address primary questions and negotiate and develop routine culture as a collective. Life is structured, and people

make pragmatic judgements daily as they navigate the routine culture. Many routines combine to give a given place significance, and places of attachment might support certain habits and routines that add to the connection over time (Scannel & Gifford 2013). It is also a culture that describes how people get access to certain places or events by undertaking everyday activities including, attending school, or working for a living.

According to the theory, the psycho-social and cultural landscapes are filled with the outcomes of previous negotiations, which are long-forgotten social exchanges. Landscapes (such as transportation routes, home gardens, organizations), statuses, calendars, kinship groups, names, and rights are the outcome of previous negotiations that often remained unnoticed while playing vital roles in routine life. The geographic and temporal order of routines gives individuals and groups established predictability at certain times and places, allowing them to get answers to their essential concerns (Downing 1996). Routine culture inculcates order, predictability, and security in everyday life, as well as a sense of well-being.

Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) have also proposed a three-stage procedure of progression. This progression is in the context of forced relocation. These are the "routine culture", "dissonant culture", and "new routine culture". 'Routine culture' is characterized generally as the same people or gatherings continually occupying the same places at the same time. "Dissonant culture" is a brief reordering of space, time, relationships, and psycho-socio-cultural restraint. The phrase "dissonant culture" refers to the instability of routine culture, which results in the loss of previous order and predictability as productive activities are interrupted and social attachments are shattered. Evicted people may engage in frequent ritual activity to adapt, they may struggle to re-establish their pre-displacement ways of life, and they may face loss of access to normal assets and impoverishment.

On the other hand, "new routine culture" refers to the development of new social articulations that may or may not build on residents' familiar earlier routines. In "new routine culture", new organizations appear, new habits crystallize, and new social networks are established. If the 'new routine culture' is built on residents' familiar earlier routines, it will be sustained, and if not, it may revert to dissonant culture. The rise of a "new routine culture" is facilitated by protecting defenceless people, expanding possibilities for displaced people to engage in resettlement decisions, and adopting strategies that address not just a community's material needs but also nonmaterial components. Therefore, as indicated by the 'routine and dissonant' culture theory, forced dislocation changes routine culture into a dissonant culture, which then turns into an alternate routine culture known as "new routine culture".

According to Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009), psycho-social and cultural risks have been underappreciated, are the most challenging to study, and are the least likely to be mitigated. According to this theory (Downing & Garcia-Downing 2009:230-231), involuntary displacement:

1. has a significant impact on routine culture by devaluing or threatening it;

2. purges transitory habitual activities including shopping, going to work and leaving kids at school;

3. may result in the breakdown of established connections among people; break socially built relationships;

4. interferes with productive activity;

5. makes it more difficult to continue socialization and schooling activities by disarticulating what's being taught now and in the future[2];

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[2] Displacement complicates socialization and education because it calls into question a group's values, shared norms, behaviours, and beliefs.

6. adversely affects the sharing of common resources since they are inadequate, declining, or vanished

There is an extremely low probability of displaced people regaining a pre-dislocation culture in the psycho-social and cultural realms. The loss of non-physical resources such as cultural places, cultural identity, networks and affiliations, and mutual help systems have resulted in a new form of social poverty (Downing & Garcia-Downing 2009). As per this theory, people who benefited from infrastructure and associated initiatives place less focus on the noneconomic, psycho-socio-cultural poverty caused by forced dislocation. They commonly grasp five misconceptions that handily obstruct future discussions and actions, these misrepresentations are what Downing and Garcia-Downing called fallacies.

In their study, Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) distinguish five fallacies: compensation-is-enough fallacy, strict compliance fallacy, blame-the-victims fallacy, the clock stops with construction fallacy, and someone else should pay fallacy. Firstly, the "compensation-is-enough" fallacy holds that compensation payments already satisfy all moral and economic obligations owed to displaced persons. Secondly, the "strict compliance" fallacy contends that resettlement risks are reduced when projects adhere to planning laws and policies. Thirdly, the "the-blame-the-victims" fallacy asserts that displaced persons' psycho-socio-cultural problems are due to their failure to take advantage of opportunities offered to them. Fourthly, "the clock stops with construction" fallacy states that external responsibilities to displaced persons end with the completion of a resettlement action plan or the end of construction. Fifthly, the "someone else should pay" fallacy holds that governments, designers, and financiers are not legally or monetarily responsible for psycho-socio-cultural changes.

Regardless of whether it is exceedingly unrealistic that a pre-displacement routine culture might be recouped, some relative achievement of psycho-socio-cultural recovery may be attained depending on how far the changed routine culture answers the essential questions of displaced persons in comparison to the pre-dislocation culture (Anthony & Alex 2014). The theory also presented the following points in response to a query about what can be done, if anything, to minimize or limit cultural dissonance caused by involuntary displacement and, if possible, to support the creation of a new routine culture (Downing & Garcia-Downing 2009: 236-237).

First and foremost, it is critical to recognize misconceptions or fallacies that may serve as justifications for inaction in avoiding or managing psychological and socio-cultural dangers. The next step is to ensure that appropriate laws, rules, and financial structures are in place. Third, there must also be a clear understanding of the desired socio-cultural and psychological effects. Fourth, one has to explore the possibility of a smooth transition to a new routine. Strengthening baseline research and assuring vulnerable people's safety are two approaches to ensure a seamless transition to a new routine. Providing procedures that motivate displaced people to actively participate in displacement decisions that affect their fate, and actively promoting psychological and socio-cultural advancement that directly addresses the rebuilding of a new routine, are also other options for smooth transitions.

2.2.2. Place attachment theory

Bonding is a fundamental aspect of human existence in which people develop meaningful connections with particular objects, places, groups, and people (Scannel & Gifford 2014). These bonds, including place attachment, secure people in broader physical and social environments, link them to the past and affect their future behaviour. Place attachment is associated with the concept of place and place-identity. 'Place' refers to a physical space that is significant in

individual life, cultural, and societal activities. It is the environment in which people live, including gardens, recreational centres, market areas, and squares. Hauge (2006) examined 'place' in terms of the constructed environment having significant social, cultural, or biological influences. 'Place' provides coherence to social memories; it provides strong emotional attachment to the location, enduring memories of communal associations and lifestyles. People begin to identify themselves using physical places such as country, city, workplace, neighbourhood, and home when their affinity to a place grows. This connection to a place may lead to the development of place-identity.

'Place identity' is a substructure of a person's self-identification that includes memories, thoughts, feelings, values, attitudes, preferences, meanings, and concepts of behaviour and experience regarding the physical environment in which the person lives (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff 1983). People and groups establish place identities as a result of their cognitive, behavioural, and affective ties to their socio-physical environments (Buchecker & Frick 2020). In turn, these ties define the individual and societal components of identity, which Escalera-Reyes (2020) refer to as belongingness and collective identity. Both identities refer to how the physical and symbolic characteristics of a location affect an individual's sense of self or identity (Devine-Wright 2009). The human affective urge to be accepted as a member of a group to establish safe and close ties that provide a sense of care, security, and affection is known as belongingness or personal place identity. Individuals aspire to be a part of a group that provides them with a sense of identity, belonging and social reference.

According to Escalera-Reyes (2020), collective identity is a process by which the individuals who comprise a group gain recognition as members of that group and become distinguishable from other groups through the establishment of shared feelings of attachment and belonging.

Some of the most fundamental elements of collective or social place identity are feelings of belonging and attachment to a place.

Place attachment, a component of place-identity, is the feeling of a long-term affective bond to a specific geographic area, as well as the meanings assigned to such a bond as it evolves (Hauge 2006; Escalera-Reyes 2020; Mihaylov & Perkins 2014). Place attachment is a concept that indicates the bond that exists between people and their meaningful environment; it may incorporate ancestral ties, a sense of belonging, and an intention to remain in the place (Scannel & Gifford 2010).

Attachment, belonging, and collective identity serve as stimulants for the growth of local social capital, citizen participation, and community mobilization concerning their place and territory (Escalera-Reyes 2020). Place attachment serves many functions, including survival and security, goal support and self-regulation, providing a sense of belonging, enhancing identity and self-esteem, and providing temporal or personal continuity (Scannel & Gifford 2010). Place attachments in one's community are also motivators for people to voice their concerns about local issues and solutions.

There are three predictors of place attachment, according to Lewicka (2011): socio-demographic, social, and physical predictors. Socio-demographic predictors are age, length of residency, education and social status, house ownership, community size, and mobility. Social predictors of place attachment include community ties based on the depth and breadth of neighbourhood affiliations and participation in informal social activities in the neighbourhood. Access to nature, housing and neighbourhood quality, perception of safety, house ownership, municipal services, felt control over the residential area, community stability, and the absence of pollution and chaos are some of the physical predictors.

Scannel and Gifford (2010) also present a three-dimensional framework (the tripartite model) of place attachment. For Scannel and Gifford, place attachment is a multidimensional notion comprising dimensions of the person, psychological process, and place. The actor is the first dimension, and it tells us who is attached and how much of that relationship is founded on individually and socially held meanings. The psychological process is the second dimension, and it explains how affect, cognition, and action manifest in attachment. The third dimension is the attachment's object, which includes location features that focus on the attachment to and nature of the place. The following Figure depicts the three dimensions (the tripartite model) of place attachment proposed by Scannell and Gifford.
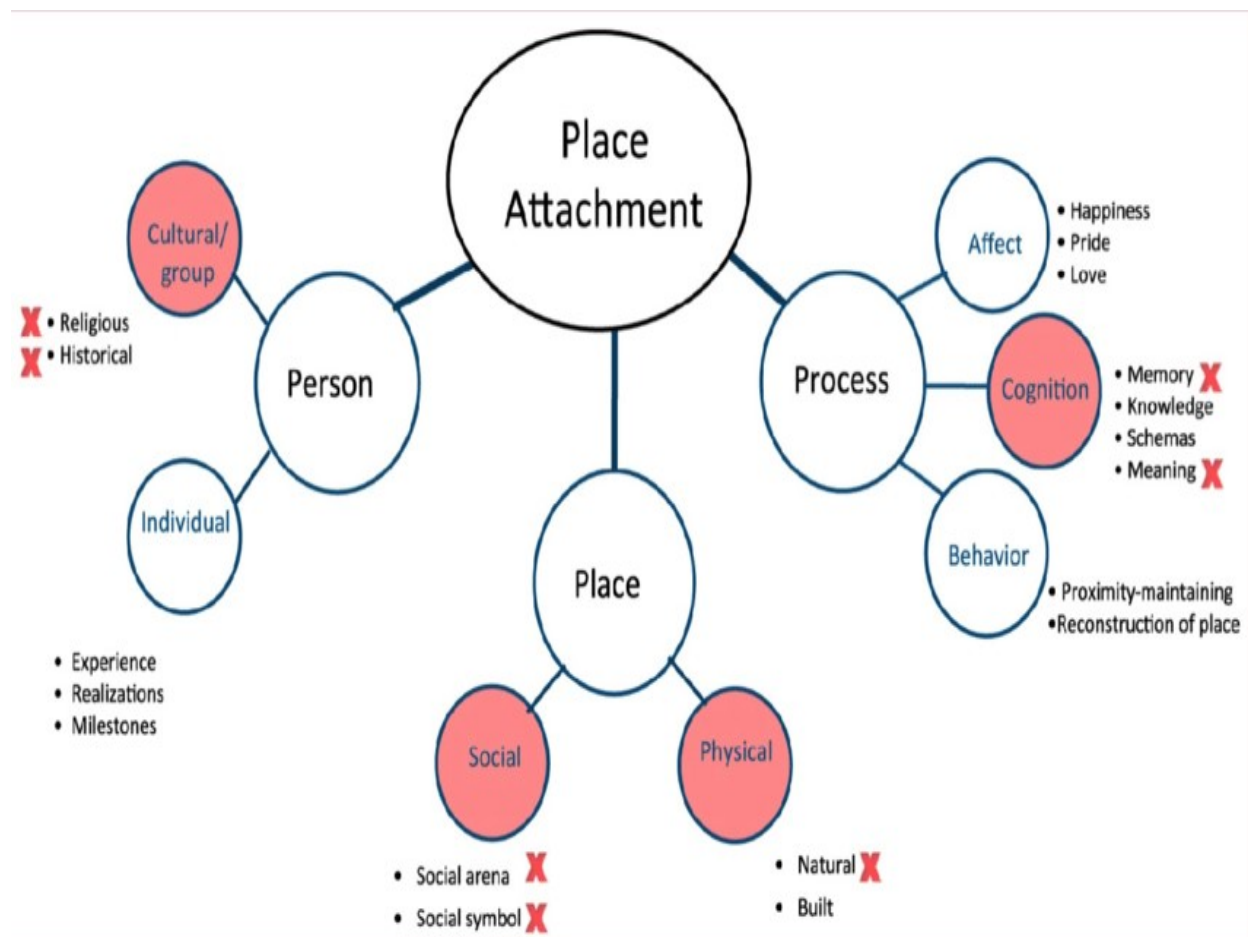
Figure 2.1: The tripartite model of place attachment proposed by Scannel and Gifford (2010)

Place attachment, the bonding of a place and individuals can differ with spatial level, degree of specificity, and physical characteristics of the place, and is reflected through cognitive, affective, and behavioural psychological development, according to Scannell and Gifford's person–process–place (PPP) framework.

The idea of a sense of place, which is an interaction between a person and environmental characteristics, is anchored in people's subjective experiences such as pride, memories, traditions, history, symbols, culture, and society, as well as objective and external environmental effects such as landscape, scent, and sound that influence it. As seen in the preceding paragraphs, a sense of place is a complex concept of feeling and connection to the human environment generated by people's adoption and usage of locations. It is a collection of symbolic meanings, connections, and satisfaction with a spatial setting aided by a group or an individual.

Shamai (1991) identified seven stages or levels of sense of place and these are lack of sense of place, knowledge of being located in a place, belonging to a place, attachment to a place, identifying with the place goals, involvement in a place, and sacrifice for a place. He characterizes each level of sense of place as follows.

1. The first stage, lack of place: is characterized by a lack of place-based identification and emotional attachments to specific locations.

2. Knowledge of being located in a place: at this level, people are familiar with the location; they recognize the symbols of the location, but they do not have an emotional connection to the location and its symbols. As a result, they do not become part of the environment.

3. Belonging to a place: At this level, people recognize and respect the symbols of the place. People become familiar with the place and develop an emotional connection to it on a stage.

4. Attachment to a place: People form a strong emotional attachment to a location, and the location becomes significant to them at this stage. The location provides users with a distinct identity and character through its beloved symbols.

5. Identifying with the place's goals: At this level, people are integrated with the place and recognize the place's goals. 'Place' gives a person a sense of cohesion, self-efficacy, self-esteem, and uniqueness. People have a strong attachment to the location because they are very satisfied with its goals.

6. Involvement in a place: at this level, people play an active role in the place and want to invest their resources, such as money, time, or talent, in the activities of the place. As a result, unlike previous levels, which were primarily based on attitude, this stage is primarily probed through people's genuine engagement.

7. Sacrifice for a place: this is the final and highest level of sense of place. The primary aspect of this phase is people's highest commitment to a place, and they are willing to sacrifice important attributes and values including, prosperity, freedom, or even life itself.
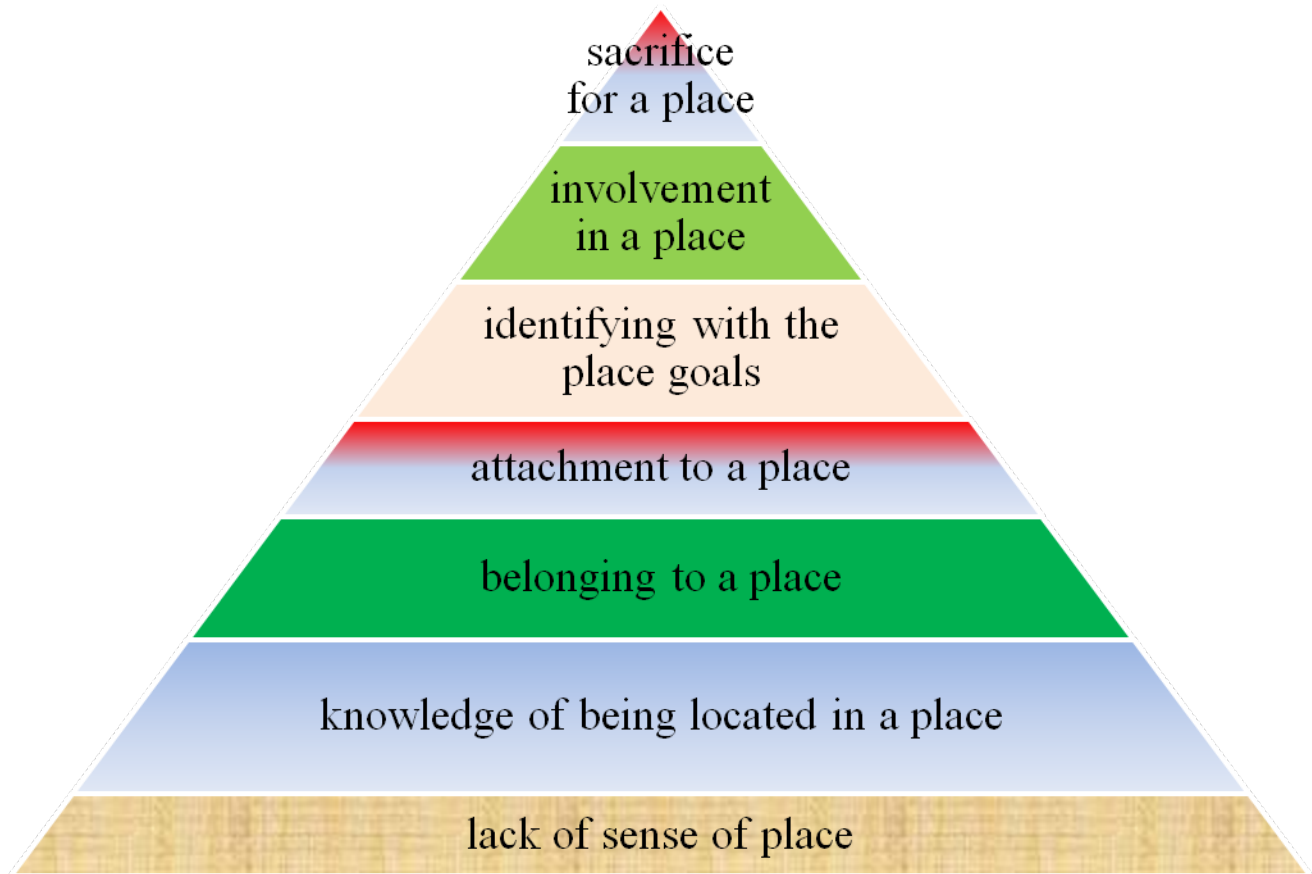
Figure: 2.2. Level of sense of place proposed by Shamai (1991)

Cross (2001) examined relationships to place and community attachments as two distinct but related aspects of sense of place to gain a more meaningful understanding of people's sense of place. Relationship to place refers to how people relate to places or the types of bonds they have with them, while community attachment refers to the depth and types of attachments to a specific location.

Cross also classified place attachments into six types: biographical, ideological, narrative, commodified, spiritual, and dependent. Biographical relationships that are described in terms of cognitive, emotional, and physical ties take longer to form and are strong in places where one has spent the most time. Spiritual relationships are founded on a profound sense of kinship or a deep sense of belonging. Unlike spiritual relationships, which develop unconsciously, ideological

relationships develop based on rational values and beliefs about how humans interact with physical places. Narrative relationships emerge from how people grew up with stories about places and their interactions with those places. People who have commodified relationships do so because of being unhappy in one location and wishing to relocate to a more attractive place. Dependent relationships develop because of either having no choice or having severe constraints on choice. The following table summarizes an individual's relationship to place.

Table 2.1: Relationship to place

Type of Relationship	Type of Bond	Process
Biographical	historical and familial	Being born in and living in a location evolves.
Spiritual	emotional, intangible	a sense of belonging that is felt rather than created
Ideological	Moral and ethical	living by moral guidelines for human responsibility to place, which may be religious or secular
Narrative	Mythical	learning about a location through stories, such as mythologizing, family histories, political accounts, and fictional accounts
Commodified	cognitive (based on choice and desirability)	choosing a location based on a list of desirable characteristics and lifestyle preferences, comparing actual locations to ideal locations
Dependent	Material	restricted by a lack of options, reliance on another person, or economic opportunity

Source: Cross (2001)

According to Cross, there are five types of community attachments: cohesive rootedness, divided rootedness, place alienation, relativity, and placelessness. Table 2.2 contains a summary of each of the attachment types.

Table 2.2: Brief summary of sense of place

Sense of place/ Community Attachment	Satisfaction With the Place	Home as insidedness	Local Identity	Type of Relationship to place	Future Desire
Cohesive Rootedness	High	Here (physical, spiritual, emotional)	Strong	Biographical, Spiritual Ideological	Continued residence
Divided Rootedness	Variable	Here and there	Split	Biographical, Spiritual Dependent	Variable
Place alienation,	Low	There (Physical, spiritual, emotional)	Weak	Dependent	Desire to leave but unable
Relativity	Variable	Anywhere (a mobile sense of home)	Moderate	Commodified Dependent	To live in an ideal place wherever that may be
Placelessness/ Uncommitted	Moderate	Anywhere/ Nowhere	Weak	None	No specific expectations of place

Source: Cross (2001)

People who have a strong sense of attachment, affiliation, and participation in their community have a cohesive rootedness. People who have a divided rootedness think of themselves in terms of two communities, have strong attachments to two places, and often have distinct identities

associated with each one. People who are alienated frequently have a negative opinion of the place, do not identify with it and are dissatisfied with it. This is because the location they love and feel anchored in has changed. Relativity refers to people who have lived in many places and have not deeply anchored in any community. Placelessness is a lack of place-based identity and emotional connection to a specific location.

As one can understand from the above discussions, 'place' evokes feelings of belonging, rootedness, identity formation, and is imbued with experiences that shape one's life. Places are locations where people have historical links, make commitments, and fulfil obligations. Place attachment may also play a pivotal role in an individual's life. It aids in positive action, relaxation, contentment, connecting people to nature, maintaining privacy, comfort, preserving treasured memories, enhancing self-development, developing a sense of control, and conferring aesthetic values (Scannel & Gifford 2013). An area's ambience determines how people are likely to feel at ease and whether they decide to move there. Loss of place (a loss of familiar places and social situations) occurs when people are away from their favourite place. Loss of place can happen at any time in one's life due to forced relocation, divorce, mobility, mental incapacity, criminal conviction, natural or technological calamity, or retirement in old age (Scannel & Gifford 2013). Those who are emotionally tied to their locations suffer various economic, social and spiritual losses due to the loss of place: rates of drunkenness, suicide, health issues, and unemployment may rise (Windsor & McVey 2005; Scannel & Gifford 2013). Mourning and expressing symptoms of sadness are also negative psychological repercussions of the loss of place bonds.

Although place attachment is undoubtedly helpful to people's well-being, it can be associated with contrasting experiences and emotions, which may be referred to as its downsides. One of

the negative consequences of place attachment is that it exposes people to stigma, mainly if they reside in a place that others see as low-status and unsuitable for residence (Scannel & Gifford 2013). In such instances, inhabitants may experience anxiety, their social networks may be limited, and some of their members may be forced to leave their typical habitat owing to social isolation and feelings of insecurity.

The second disadvantage of place attachment is that it can jeopardize one's well-being when one is attached to a place but lacks control over it, such as when authoritative outsiders impose incongruous policies and meanings on it (Windsor & McVey 2005). Expropriation of land possession in Ethiopia is a perfect example since farmers had no right to challenge the government's decision owing to the notion of eminent domain, even though they would suffer a severe psychological and socio-cultural crisis following dislocation.

Another downside of place attachment is 'place bondage,' which occurs when people continue to cling to locations that cause pain or fail to provide a range of many other needs (Scannel & Gifford 2013). Some people in Ethiopia, for example, are often observed refusing to leave their habitats despite signs of looming food crisis, conflict, or natural disaster.

I can say that place attachment impairs flexibility by causing obsessions with attachment objects and developing a sense of attachment permanence. If people are forced to leave their place bonds, this could lead to pandemonium and psychological disruption.

2.2.3. The social disorganization theory

The explanation of variations in delinquent behaviour and crime across space and time as a result of the disintegration of institutions such as family, religion, school, and friendship that have historically been instrumental in the formation of organized and cooperative relationships among people within their communities is at the heart of social disorganization theory (Porter, Capellan

& Chintakrindi 2015). Social disorganization is a failure of local communities to actualize the shared values of their people or handle regularly encountered problems (Kubrin & Weitzer 2003).

Social disorganization theory initially relied on three primary hypothetical prepositions to explain crime: low socioeconomic development, high rates of residential mobility, and high rates of ethnic heterogeneity (Shaw & McKay 1942). Later, Sampson and Groves (1989) added to social disorganization theory by claiming that family disruption and urbanization contribute to crime.

Sampson and Groves (1989) stretched social disorganization theory by postulating that communities with low socioeconomic status would have fewer informal and formal controls and less youth supervision. The theory states that low socioeconomic status is also linked to higher crime rates due to low organizational participation, which is a sign of a weaker relational tie within a community. Residential mobility will disrupt a community's social network. Residential mobility also makes it difficult for neighbours to establish pro-social bonds. Due to cultural and linguistic differences, high levels of ethnic heterogeneity affect crime rates by impeding residents' ability to reach a consensus. The disruption of families will result in a reduction in informal social controls at the community level. Urbanization is expected to weaken local kinship and friendship networks and reduce participation in local affairs.

According to social disorganization theorists, urban political context, formal and informal social control, mutual trust and solidarity, economic conditions, population density, and proximity to urban areas are also among factors that influence a community's ability to develop and maintain effective social control (Ciobanu 2016; Kubrin & Weitzer 2003).

Strong networks of social interactions reduce delinquency and crime. Social networks in the private sphere (kinship and intimate friendship relations), parochial networks (secondary group and less intimate relationships), and the public sphere (institutions and groups outside the neighbourhood) all play important roles in regulating behaviour, and social disorganization harms these networks (McMurtry & Curling 2008).

Place attachment, including neighbourhood attachment, is impaired by social disorder. A social disorder may impair social capital (which builds solidarity and trust among residents) and collective efficacy (the chance of people effectively controlling unwanted behaviour within their surroundings), which may lead to an increase in violence and crime rates. According to social disorganization theory, the breakdown of intergenerational networks, the mutual transfer of material commodities, advice, and information about child parenting, and expectations for shared informal support, control, and supervision of children within neighbourhoods can contribute to the emergence of deviance and crime (Sampson, Morenoff & Earls 1999).

Deviance and criminality are also caused by social institutions' inability to foster organized and cooperative relationships among groups in a local community (Porter, Capellan & Chintakrindi 2015). These institutions relate to the bonds people may have with their community, which reduces the possibility of individuals engaging in criminal or delinquent activity. When the institutions' potential for deterring delinquency or crime is diminishing, social disorder is likely to arise. Thus, according to this theory, dislocation undermines a fundamental mechanism of personal and social control, and the loss of collective experiences generates a sense of alienation when social connections are lost.

With all of its advantages in systematically understanding and explaining delinquency and crime, the theory of social disorganization is not without criticism, one of which is its inability to

predict individual-level behaviour because it focuses on the macro level (Bursik 1988). Critics argue that, while high crime rates may be the result of weak social ties, they do not adequately address the issue of impulsivity or agency concerning individual offending variations (Porter, Capellan & Chintakrindi 2015). Because the theory was originally developed to explain criminality and deviance in cities' concentric and transition zones, it is worth investigating its applicability in newly urbanizing rural communities, which is what this study attempts to do.

2.2.4. Devine-Wright's disruption framework

Not In My Back Yard (NIMBY) is a notion widely used to explain public resistance to new developments near homes and neighbourhoods (Devine-Wright 2009). Devine-Wright created the disruption framework, which examines NIMBY by studying people's ties with landscape and place, particularly concepts of place identity and place attachment.

Throughout the preceding sections, it was noted that place identity stems from place attachment, which can be both personal and social. Personal and social place identities refer to the way the physical and symbolic aspects of a location link to an individual's sense of self or identity (Devine-Wright 2009). The place to which one is linked provides a haven where the person may flee a danger, deal with problems, and get emotional comfort. Separation distress such as anxiety, acute stress disorder, and depression comes when disruptions to place-person attachments occur (Scannell & Gifford 2014). Of course, the loss of place affects both the social and physical aspects of the place, including the various functional, physical, economic, social, and symbolic characteristics (Christiaanse & Haartsen 2020).

A disruption framework makes detecting place-related person and community processes easier since disruption initiates and exposes previously latent or taken-for-granted attitudes and mindsets (Mihaylov & Perkins 2014). It demonstrates place-related thoughts, emotions, and

actions. The framework consists of the phases of disruption, perception, and response (Devine-Wright 2009).

Disruption is the environment that induces change to the place and its practices. Disruption of place attachment and/or threat to place identity affects the social networks that support people (Devine-Wright 2009; Mihaylov & Perkins 2014). Such disruption primarily affects low-income communities that rely on the resources of their members. It may interrupt the bonds of the place, causing feelings of grief. The disruption may also lead to new behaviours, such as anxiety, protest, aggression and crime, loss of social capital and networking, and social disorder (Devine-Wright 2009; Mihaylov & Perkins 2014). The disruption, generally, is determined by rapidity (suddenness of the disruption), extent (intensity of the disruption), and control (coping abilities of those who experienced the disruption).

Perception/interpretation of environmental disruptions transpires by recognizing the change, framing it in terms of physical and symbolic aspects of the place, and examining it in terms of the significance of the place and its disrupted characteristics. The disruption progresses over time as people make sense of what has happened or is about to happen and try to cope accordingly (Devine-Wright 2009).

The responses may take place both at the individual and collective levels. Thus, people may display individual or collective coping responses such as protective action, acceptance, adaptation, or resignation (Mihaylov & Perkins 2014). People's reactions might be confrontational when it comes to safeguarding the common space and its quality of life, or collaborative and constructive when it comes to designing and carrying out community development or rehabilitation projects.

When aspects of individual or social place cognition, community place definition, sentimental connections, or social capital are inadequate, acceptance of or adaptation to the environmental disruption may occur. However, acceptance or adaptation may result in deterioration of the quality of both the social and physical environment, and ultimately the political and economic climate, health, and well-being of the entire community, leading to the emigration of residents, disruption of place, and social ties, and the community's demise (Devine-Wright 2009; Mihaylov & Perkins 2014).

With the above information about the social disruption framework as a backdrop, I tried to see whether the three stages proposed by the framework apply to displaced farmers following urbanization.

2.3. Social capital theory

The social capital theory is one of the several sociological theories which investigate social structures and social behaviours that may be utilized as resources. This theory, similar to the others I have discussed earlier, can help us comprehend the effects of dislocation. Social capital refers to institutions, norms, and connections that form social interactions. The first comprehensive articulation of the phrase social capital and its introduction into academic discussions is credited to the pioneering work of three scholars: Pierre Bourdieu, James S. Coleman, and Robert D. Putnam (Bhandari & Yasunobu 2009). Since the three scholars' definitions of social capital differ slightly, I shall outline each scholar's concepts in the following paragraphs.

According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital is the resources (potential or actual) associated with group membership - the possession of a long-lasting network of somewhat institutionalized relationships. He emphasizes social networks that allow access to a group's resources when

defining social capital. The result of this social capital is eventually economic gain received through continued network interaction. Social capital is, thus, a way for people to gain access to resources that are highly valued in their cultures. According to Bourdieu, social capital is convertible to economic capital and so serves as a tool for financial gain in a capitalist society (1986). Social connections may exist only in the pragmatic stage, in economic and/or symbolic transactions that contribute to their sustenance.

Coleman (1998) defines social capital as mainly residing in the social structure of interpersonal relationships. He explains its purpose by stating that links or group memberships provide each member of the group access to the group's resources, allowing them to achieve their goals. Putnam (1993) defines social capital as characteristics of social institutions (such as norms, networks, and trust) that promote cooperation and action for mutual gain. Putnam defines social capital in terms of networks and the rules of reciprocity that govern them. He considers social capital to be the result of group-based interactions among members of a community. Social capital, for Putnam, is a resource that a community uses to foster its cohesiveness. According to Putnam, the development of community identity, community norms, trust among community members, and a willingness to provide benefits for one another would eventually rise to a strong civic awareness.

Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009) define social capital more broadly as follows.

> "Social capital is ... a stock of social norms, values, beliefs, trusts, obligations, relationships, networks, friends, memberships, civic engagement, information flows, and institutions that foster cooperation and collective actions for mutual benefit and contribute to economic and social development."

Though scholars approach social capital in slightly different ways, the underlying idea is that humans have essential assets in the form of human resources, collaboration, social interactions, values, trust, norms, institutions, and networks (Nigatu, Eden & Ansha 2013). These assets are used to improve a community's socioeconomic well-being and are referred to as social capital components by Gannon and Roberts (2018). Social capital thus consists of norms (behavioural guidelines developed within a specific community), reciprocity (taking responsibility for one another), trust (establishing a relationship in good faith), and networks (a web of social ties).

Social capital contributes to educational attainment, general happiness, public health care, community governance, economic performance, problem-solving, and crime reduction (Claridge 2004). Social networks or institutions also provide a range of services to Ethiopian farming communities, such as labour exchange, mutual insurance, savings and credits, and many socio-cultural roles (Nigatu, Eden, & Ansha 2013). Members in these types of networks will interact regularly; jointly celebrate holidays, marriages, funerals, and religious services; spend several hours in a day with neighbours, relatives, and friends; and undertake several tasks together.

There are three forms of social capital, which are not mutually exclusive: bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and linking social capital (Claridge 2018). Bonding social capital refers to ties within a group or community characterized by a high degree of similarity in attitudes, demographic characteristics, and available resources and information. Bonding social capital exists amongst individuals with strong ties and a high density of relationships among members (such as family members, close friends, and neighbours); these individuals offer emotional and material support while also being more inward-looking and protective.

Bridging social capital refers to links that connect individuals across a divide (such as location, ethnicity, race, class, or religion) that often distinguishes groups, organizations, or communities.

Bridging social capital applies to social ties of exchange, most typically between persons who share common interests or aims yet have different social identities (Pelling & High 2005). Linking social capital is the third type of social capital, which refers to norms of respect and networks of trusting vertical interactions among individuals who participate in society across an institutionalized or formal structure of power. Linking social capital is characterized by inequalities in social status and power among interacting individuals and groups. It defines interactions between individuals or institutions at various levels of the societal power structure.

The same social capital attributes that provide positive and constructive benefits can also produce harmful consequences. Some of the negative repercussions of social capital include acting as an agent of social exclusion, a barrier to social mobility, dividing rather than uniting communities, facilitating the proliferation of crime, limiting individuals' choices and actions, educational underachievement, and health-damaging behaviour (Claridge 2004). Social capital may also impede the flow of information across groups. Strong intra-group connections may foster local cohesion, limiting individuals to a single network, resulting in homogenized information and impeding information flow among various groups.

2.4. Conclusion

As already stated in this chapter, the eviction of people from their land often leads to dramatic changes in livelihood, family structure and gender roles, social structure and relationships, and culture and identities. The most vulnerable and marginalized communities are the ones most affected by displacement.

The study employs Downing and Garcia-Downing's theory of "routine" to "dissonant" culture, a socio-ecological approach to comprehend the lived experiences of displaced farmers because of

urbanization. The models, theories, and frameworks indicate that the risks of involuntary displacement are the most difficult to investigate and the least likely to be mitigated.

The theories, including the social capital theory and socio-ecological approach, depict challenges displaced persons may face, including the loss of non-physical resources such as social structures, cultural sites, networks and links, cultural identity, and mutual aid systems. Marginalization is caused by a loss of economic power, a decline in social status, feelings of injustice, a loss of trust, and a decline in self-image. The 'routine and dissonant' theory of culture explores the psycho-socio-cultural disruptions of forced dislocation and approaches to alleviate them without further harm.

The socio-ecological approach (mainly theories of place attachment) shows the perceptions, emotions, and actions associated with the physical and social aspects of a place. The approach focuses on the place attachment and environment that induces changes.

The theories of place attachment show that 'place' has no significance if there is no human existence; it has meaning when there is a particular symbolic representation and human experiences in connection to it. Place attachment occurs when people have a favourable feeling of a place where they have lived for an extended period. Place attachment theories place a greater emphasis on individual experiences. As we can deduce from the preceding discussions, place attachment and sense of place are influenced by social dimensions, physical factors, cultural factors, individual factors (mobility, experiences, and memories), ownership, time factors, and activities and interactions between humans and places. Individuals may acquire a negative or positive 'sense of place' depending on the stated dimensions.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1.   Introduction

As stated in the preceding chapters, my research is concerned with comprehending the experiences of displaced individuals because of urban expansion. It is important to have background information on global patterns of development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) to understand the issues. How urbanization began in the country, the types of state structures that the country follows; the condition of urbanization; and the types of laws governing land-related issues are all fundamental ideas that one has to understand the experiences of displaced persons. In addition, it is necessary to understand the implications of land grabbing and informal settlements on peri-urban farming.

Thus, in this chapter, I explore global DIDR trends and the likely causes, consequences, or effects of DIDR. I also try to provide insights into the development of Ethiopian urban centres and some facts about the country.

I discuss the land-related legislation of Ethiopia, as well as land expropriation and compensation determination. Finally, I also address land grabbing and informal settlements.

3.2.   Trends of development induced displacement and resettlement

Human displacement occurs as a result of a combination of factors, including socio-political turmoils such as ethnic and religious conflicts, civil unrest, and wars; natural disasters such as famine, drought, and flood; and planned resettlement schemes for urban resettlement, agriculture, industrialization, and other development projects (Ogaboh, Akpanudoedehe & Ushie 2010). When analyzing the causes of human development, one can generally identify three agents of displacement: development-induced displacement, conflict-induced displacement, and

natural disaster-induced displacement (Shami 1993). People have been forced to abandon their homes, social connections, and livelihoods due to the three agents in favour of an uncertain fate elsewhere. The aim of this research is to learn about the lived experiences of displaced farmers following urbanization. The primary actor in development-induced displacement is the state itself, to make way for development projects. Eminent domain is among the government's inherent powers. Development-induced displacement is based on the idea of an eminent domain (Don Bosco 2013). Compared to the individual, the government is believed to be a representative of the voice of the people and the collective (Dhru 2008). Governments, for example, construct streetlights on roadways because it is in the public's interest, not just one person's interest. Eminent domain or compulsory acquisition refers to the right of the government to expropriate private property for the benefit of the masses without the consent of the owners, but with pecuniary compensation (Gashaw 2015). The problem may arise relating to the concept of eminent domain when societies have multiple aggregates inside them, and there is at least political power disparity between them. A government that represents the interests of some segments or groups may also provide a priority, but it might be at the expense of the interests of another group (Dhru 2008).

Although financial compensation may tend to be a viable option for displaced persons in the name of development, practically compensation given is by no means adequate to substitute for the real loss due to displacement (Don Bosco 2013). Displaced people face many challenges in their lives. They are more likely to face economic, social, psychological, and cultural disruption following their relocation (Janhavis 2013). Political, social, religious, and cultural leaders of the affected population are more likely to become powerless to prevent the chaos and disorder that may take place. Displacement threatens to destroy the previous way of life of the resettled.

Resettlement weakens or dismantles vital social networks and life support mechanisms for families. Groups lose their capacity to self-manage. Society suffers a demonstrable reduction in its power to cope with uncertainty and becomes qualitatively less than its previous self. Even though people are physically existent, one may hardly find a community similar to before displacement. Displacement often leads to dramatic changes in family structure and gender roles, relations, and identities (Mertus 2003). The most vulnerable and marginalised communities bear the brunt of displacement.

Forced displacement is also a multi-dimensional, global process that affects many people and usually results in poverty. People will tend to be involuntarily affected by large and small development projects as long as the world continues to develop, and as the use of land and water resources changes with time. According to some researchers, 15 million people around the world are uprooted through development projects each year from their lands, homes, and communities to provide a pathway for development activities (Maldonado 2009; Hoshour & Kalfut 2010: 2).

In most developing countries, people displaced by development projects are involuntarily leaving their land and receiving monetary compensation without their consent. Numerous studies in Ethiopia indicate that development induced-displacement causes social and economic disruptions to displaced persons (see, for instance, Firew 2010; Teshome 2014; Ifa 2016). The financial compensation paid by the government for expropriating land for public purposes has not been effective in compensating farmers for their losses.

Michel Cernea has developed a model comprised of impoverishment, risk, and reconstruction (IRR) that outlines the types of problems people who are displaced may experience and the strategies that can help them rebuild their lives (Cernea 2000). Cernea stated that the IRR model

serves four distinct and interrelated purposes: diagnostic, problem solving, predictive, and research functions. I, therefore, used the model in this thesis to guide my fieldwork.

He is one of the world's foremost experts on DIDR and he identified eight impoverishment risks posed by DIDR. These are landlessness; homelessness; joblessness; significant deterioration in incomes and livelihoods; food insecurity, malnourishment, and hunger; severe declines in health, increases in morbidity, stress, and psychological trauma; a spiral of downward mobility leading to economic marginalization often accompanied by social and cultural marginalization; and profound social disintegration (Cernea 2000).

According to Cernea (2000), these processes are merely looming social and economic risks before dislocation occurs. However, if proper counteraction is not in place, these potential risks convert into a definite impoverishment calamity. Contingent upon local conditions, the force of each hazard varies. Cernea (2000) explained each risk as follows.

Landlessness: happens due to the expropriation of land that people's foundations for production, commercial activities, and livelihoods are lost. Landlessness may also result in de-capitalization and pauperization of displaced persons.

Joblessness: risk of losing wage employment and facing difficulties to create new jobs that ultimately expose displaced persons to unemployment or underemployment following a dislocation.

Homelessness: displaced individuals may face the loss of family home and the loss of a group's cultural space that might result in alienation and status deprivation.

Marginalization: happens because of the loss of economic power, drop-in social status, loss of confidence, feeling of injustice, and depreciated self-image.

Food Insecurity: displaced persons face the risk of temporary or chronic undernourishment. Their calorie/protein intake levels drop below the minimum requirement for average growth and work.

Increased Morbidity and Mortality: Displacement can result in an outbreak of relocation-related illness, epidemics, dysentery, and chronic diarrhoea because of lack of sewage system, stress, and psychological trauma. Infants, the elderly, and children are the weakest segments of the populations affected by displacement related health problems.

Loss of Access to common property and services: Communities do have common property assets like pasture, forested land, water bodies, burial grounds, vacant spaces, quarries. Displaced persons will lose access to such common properties and access to some public services like schools.

Social Disarticulation: One of the risks identified by the model is the untying of the existing social fabric. Fragmentation and disorganization of communities, the disruption of patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties, scattering of kinship groups, and loss of social capital are some of the risks that displaced persons may face.

Despite all the difficulties, projections show that the number of displaced people will continue to rise due to urbanization. The United Nations forecasts that by 2025 more than two billion people will live in major cities with more than one million inhabitants (Hoshour & Kalfut 2010).

Displacement due to urban expansion is more important in developing countries than in developed countries, as many people in developing countries live highly concentrated on the outskirts of urban areas. The number of evicted persons may be lower in many African nations with relatively small populations, but the degree to which they are impacted by development-induced activities, whether dislocation due to urban expansion or other types, is nevertheless

important, at times significantly higher than in Asian cases. According to Koenig (2001), there are practical examples such as the Akosombo Dam in Ghana, which evicted 80,000 people, or roughly one percent of the country's population, and the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam in India, which evacuated 127,000 people, or nearly 0.013 percent of the country's population (Koenig 2001). Such large-scale development programs are not common in Ethiopia. Though the Ethiopian government frequently claims that it has implemented the country's few successful development programs, gathering evidence on their negative consequences is difficult.

Pankhurst and Piguet (2004:419) claimed that a growing number of local communities have faced the consequences of the establishment of infrastructure such as hydro-electric dams, the construction of national parks, and the expansion of agricultural development schemes, all of which are considered to be of national interest but compete with those communities for access to resources. Because of these development projects, indigenous people are involuntarily leaving their areas and moving to marginal areas. Urban expansion is also one of the causes of displacement for rural farming communities surrounding cities in Ethiopia. Rural communities surrounding the expanding cities in Ethiopia have an advantage due to high land values, access to urban services, and urban-rural development linkages. Despite this opportunity, rural communities around these cities face problems of socio-cultural and economic challenges, environmental deterioration, and land tenure insecurity (Feleke, 2004). Access to and sustainable use of land for agriculture in the urban periphery is now becoming a critical issue for many areas of Ethiopia.

3.3. Types of development projects causing displacement

States are currently under pressure to strike a balance between their public interest in acquiring land and protecting the rights of people who will be displaced from their land. The dilemma is

growing as demand for land in the name of development projects is increasing. The kinds of development projects that trigger displacement differ over a broad spectrum. According to the categorization made by writers like Hoshour and Kalfut (2010) and Terminski (2013), such projects are divided into three groups namely: urban renewal and development, the extraction of natural resources, and dams. According to Maldonado (2009), forced eviction is not simply physical displacement from one's land; it ruins the lives of individuals economically, culturally, and socially.

The most important areas of contemporary urban change leading to population-induced dislocation include: (a) re-urbanization of existing units, including the demolition of districts of poverty; (b) urban expansion into new territories; (c) public transport projects; (d) water supply projects; (e) mass population relocation schemes within urban space; and (f) housing unit reconstruction (Cernea 2000). Urban infrastructure and transport projects that cause dislocation include the establishment of commercial and industrial buildings; slum clearance and refurbishment; upgrading and development of sewerage systems, construction of hospitals, schools, ports and the like (Terminski 2013).

3.4.   Displacement induced by urban expansion

As one of the forces for physical and social transition, urbanization has served as a driving force for urban-rural fringe settlement change. The urban growth strategy of Ethiopia is dependent on compulsory expropriation and relocation of peripheral rural people (Alemu & Amare 2015). Expropriations and relocation procedures are being implemented across the country in response to the increasing demand for land for investment, infrastructure development, and residential housing because of rising urbanization.

Urban expansion carries opportunities and challenges in urban and rural areas; the negative consequences predominate when mismanaged and in the absence of effective resettlement. Under these circumstances, it creates social and economic discontent in the lives and livelihoods of peri-urban farmers. An outward expansion of urban centres may contribute to encroachment on fertile agricultural land on which most of the farming community depended. Displacement due to urban expansion challenges displaced farmers economically, socially, and psychologically (Firew 2010; Alemu & Amare 2015). Displaced farmers encounter economic challenges because of land expropriation. Since land is the most important economic base for the agricultural community, displaced farmers face the risk of livelihood crisis resulting from unemployment because of relocation to places far from established sources of livelihood. In addition, farmers are generally not consulted regarding compensation decisions that usually ignore factors such as land fertility status and family size. While city administrations get significant income from leasing farmlands at a better price, the farm communities are not benefiting from it (Alemu & Amare 2015).

The compensation given is valued based on the price fixed by the state (administrative body). The compensation scheme is mainly monetary-based, usually far less than the actual market value and insensitive to vulnerable groups. Failure to build livelihoods of affected community forces deterioration of their economic bases, leads to lack of capacity to construct houses, a decline in productivity and food insecurity, socio-economic marginalization, weakening of social network, deterioration of access to community services after displacement. Expropriation of land without a fair compensation system disproportionately affects the poorest sections of the community, such as women-headed households, those with elderly members, those with many dependent members, and those with lower levels of education (Bikila 2014).

According to Alemu and Amare (2015), urban expansion affects farmers' means of subsistence, including livestock ownership status, total revenue from animals, and total land cultivated in hectares. Farmers in peri-urban areas are less educated, forcing them to participate in lower-paying and time-consuming tasks to meet their daily needs. Farmers have no way of protecting their land against government intervention, and they are at risk of eviction. When farmers involuntarily leave their land, they will change their sources of income. Their new sources of income, in most cases, cannot satisfy their current needs compared to their previous gains. The agriculture-based economic system by itself shaped the nature of the social networks of the farming community, and when farmers lose their land, they will be forced to engage in non-agricultural activities that in turn completely change indigenous means of communication and ways of working together (Cernea 2000; Bikila 2014).

Because of the loss of livelihood and economic power, displaced households are marginalized, unable to apply their previous abilities in their new location, and become inactive (Cernea 2000). In turn, this affects their social and psychological wellbeing due to loss of confidence, feeling discriminated against and becoming dependent on others.

Socio-cultural cohesion and solidarity are valuable assets and defining features in the rural farming community. Forced evictions affect people's social relations by disconnecting them from their social networks and exposing them to a new environment that they hardly adapt to. In Ethiopia, various traditional organizations (mutual self-help associations) exist in both rural and urban environments such as '*idir*' (traditional social insurance in which those who faced difficulties are going to be supported), social and religious gatherings ('*maheber*'), and local saving groups ('*ikub*'). These mutual self-help associations are formed by agreements between neighbours to collaborate when a need emerges in economic, social, or spiritual life. Because of

disruption of livelihood and other social ties, the established social system is likely to weaken with the loss of mutual neighbourhood help and inter-personal ties (Gezahegn & Hesselberg 2013: 34).

According to Bikila (2014), displaced farmers confront psychological challenges owing to the loss of traditional values, social networks, homeland, and burial place. The farming community is dependent on the environment, and environmental changes will have an impact on both individual and collective adaptive responses, as well as culture. Numerous research findings indicate that farmers have a strong connection with the land they farm. Farmers appreciate their landholdings because of their economic values, a strong sense of family bond, farming traditions formed over time, and a desire to preserve their farming legacies. Disturbance in their livelihood will negatively affect their emotions (Curran-Cournane, Cain, Greenhalgh & Samarsinghe 2016).

3.5.   Urbanization, land governance and expropriations in Ethiopia

3.5.1.   Some facts about Ethiopia and its urbanization

In 1995 Ethiopia became a federal state, comprised of nine states and two city administrations (FDRE Constitution 1995). Recently Sidama and Ethiopian Southwest Peoples states have declared through referendum their independence from Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State, with the result that the country now consists of eleven states. Zones, special zones, cities/towns, woredas/districts, special woredas, and kebele administrations exist beneath the states. The country follows the parliamentary system of government, and states do have autonomy about their affairs. The total area of Ethiopia is 1.12 million square kilometres, with an estimated total population of 114,963,588 (Worldometer 2020).

With high fertility and low mortality rates, the country is experiencing rapid population growth. Ethiopia is the most populous in Africa, next to Nigeria, and its economy is mainly dependent on

agriculture. The population is increasingly becoming urban too. Out of the estimated total population, 21 percent is urban (24,463,423 people in 2020). Over the past 65 years, the country's urban population has grown substantially from 5 percent (only 1,085,996 people were urban) to 21 percent at an increasing annual rate that peaked at 2.44 percent in 2008 and then declined to 2.23 percent at this time (Worldmetre 2020).

Even though Ethiopia is suffering from political instability and lack of diversity promotion, it has a long history of urbanization and state development. According to Teshome (2014), some researchers argue that the country had an urban settlement as early as the 5th century B.C. Although Ethiopia has been undergoing urbanization from ancient times, its urbanization is still the product of rural pushes without concomitant economic development. The country exemplifies how urbanization engulfs rural farming fields as populations rise. The following chart depicts the rural-urban dynamics in Ethiopia.
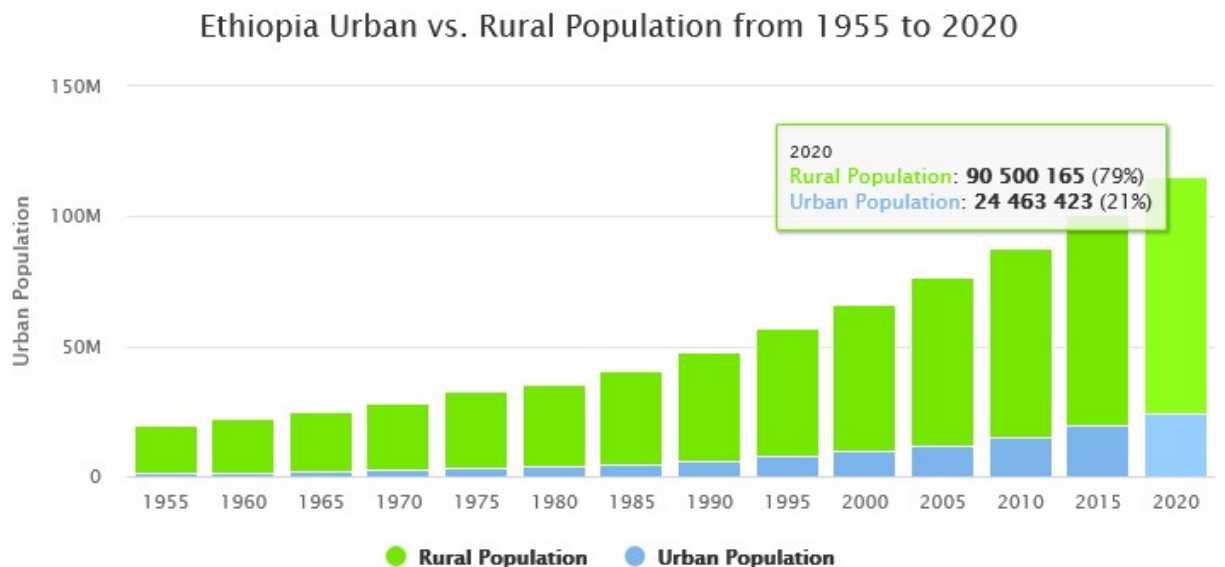
Figure 3.1 Growth of Ethiopian urban population (Source: Worldometer 2020)

Recently, the country's urban population is concentrated in the city of Addis Ababa, accounting for 28.4% of the total urban population of Ethiopia, and the state of Gambella has the lowest urban population with an average of 9.6% (Mefekir 2017).

Even though urbanization is still at an infant stage in the country, the yearly urban growth rate is one of the highest by African and even global benchmarks. Despite a modest decrease in the annual rate of urban population growth from 2.42 percent in 2008 to 2.23 percent in 2020, it was projected 11 years ago to rise by 3.98 percent on average, and by 2050, approximately 42.1 percent of Ethiopia's total population is expected to reside in urban centres (UN-HABITAT 2010).

Pilot city-level population estimates show that some of the country's big cities like Addis Ababa, Mekele, Hawasa, and Adama will more than triple by 2040 (UN-HABITAT 2010). If handled constructively, urban population growth provides an immense opportunity to change the structure and positions of economic activity from the agricultural sector to larger and more diversified urban services and industrial sectors. This could be an effective instrument for stimulating economic development, creating jobs, and leading the country to affluence. However, if not handled properly, rapid urban population growth may cause a demographic challenge, as cities are unable to provide employment opportunities, services and infrastructure, and housing. In many cities and towns of Ethiopia, infrastructure and service delivery are very poorly treated due to urban expansion and strained local budgets, while formal labour markets do not keep up with job demands.

According to Satterthwaite, McGranahan, and Tacoli (2010), a nation's urban population can rise due to natural growth (infants born minus mortality), net rural to urban migration, and reclassification of formerly non-urban areas as urban following continuous expansion. The

reason behind the growth of the urban population in Ethiopia is also in line with these three reasons stated above; there has recently been high reclassification and even annexation of rural 'Kebeles' to urban centres. Villagization programs aimed at extending services and facilities such as schools, water supply, and clinics to rural populations paved the way to increase the number of towns in Ethiopia as well (see Teshome 2014; Daniel 2015).

Currently, several rural areas are falling under urban administrations using criteria established in 2012 by the Ministry of Urban Development, Housing, and Construction. Using population size and administrative centre as criteria, therefore, urban centres are graded into five levels, namely small town (population size of 2,000 to 20,000), medium towns (population size of 20001 to 50,000), big towns (population size of 50,001 to100000), cities (population size of 100001 to 1,000,000) and metropolitan areas (population size of above one million).

Thus, government reclassifies some rural settlements as urban each year when they meet the criteria outlined. Several urban centres emerged in the country because of the consolidation of rural areas under urban administration. The expansion of these urban centres towards their neighbouring rural community poses a threat to the farmers.

Teshome (2014) argues that Ethiopian urbanization has proceeded in four developmental phases. These are the pre-Italian, the Italian occupation, post-Italian occupation, and the post-revolution phases. The first phase was the pre-Italian phase (up to1935), which was shaped by the social and economic role of the local rulers of the time. At the late stage of this phase, the country established bureaucratic structures. Smaller administrative entities ruled by the Emperors' feudal lords and military chiefs arose, transforming garrisons into townships. The construction of the Djibouti-Ethiopia railway contributed to the development of smaller towns at each terminal location.

The second phase (1935–1941), which was the Italian occupation era, was the construction phase. To effectively exploit the country's wealth, Italians established infrastructures such as roads and rail networks, bridges, schools, and other establishments that initiated the emergence of towns in many parts of the country. The third phase was the post-Italian phase (from 1941 to1974), during which the country experienced reform and a new phase of urban expansion. The fourth phase is the post-revolution phase, mainly distinguished by an increase in the number of urban centres and extraordinary population growth, which leads to the conversion of rural land to urban centres primarily in the central part of Ethiopia and Oromia.

There is no compelling evidence that these developmental phases resulted in integrated development by incorporating the peri-urban farming people into reaping the benefits of urbanization. Conversely, most cities and towns have spread into rural and peri-urban areas, displacing and promoting lifestyles that differ and are often at odds with the local communities surrounding urban areas.

The state of Oromia, where I have done this study, is prominent for its fertile land and other resources such as minerals, coffee plantations, livestock productions, and abundant surface and underground water resources. Oromos are the most populous group in Ethiopia as well as in the state. More than 90 percent of the Oromo people live in rural areas and depend on smallholder farming for a living, while the state of Oromia contributes 51.2 percent of Ethiopia's total crop production and 44 percent of the total livestock population (CSA 2007 as cited in Hussein 2018). Because of their egalitarian classless political economy, mainly noted for reciprocity and redistribution, the Oromo people are less urbanized (Jalata, 2010). Jalata further states that in several Oromia towns, one might seldom find a footprint of Oromo history, Oromo civilization, and Oromo culture. Historically, just as other minority groups, Oromos in Ethiopia have not

enjoyed a degree of political power proportionate to their number while being the largest. Historically, the country's rulers had systematically marginalized and expelled the Oromos from urban centres (Teshome 2014; Jalata 2010). Those historical, social, cultural, economic, psychological, and political influences on Oromo are still widely noticeable in some towns of Oromia.

3.5.2. Land and land tenure of Ethiopia

In several cases, Ethiopian rulers at different times enacted land laws, but these laws were not to safeguard the public's interests. Rather, they are laws meant to protect the interests of a few and rulers of the country. As a result, the public met the laws with constant criticism and opposition. Although different regimes have been enacting constitutions to deal with the difficulties they confront regularly, one may not see the laws made by their executives protecting and benefiting the mass from arbitrary eviction and dispossessions from their landholdings. Infractions of these laws are some of the causes of human rights abuses for Ethiopian displaced persons (Girma 2011; Jalata 2010; Hussein 2018).

I review the land-related laws that have affected the country's land governance because I think that it would aid in understanding how rulers at various times utilized land as a tool of domination and how rulers developed supporters in different parts of the country by using the land of the powerless. I also searched for land-related laws dating back to Emperor Menelik and included them in the table annexed to this thesis (see annex 6) so that readers could easily access the legislations and gain insights into Ethiopian land-related laws. I summarized what I came across while reviewing documents, and the lists might not be exhaustive, and state laws have not been included in the list except for a few from the State of Oromia.

3.5.2.1.   Land governance earlier to Ethiopia's current regime

The Land is not only an essential source of livelihood for people, but it is also a method for people to exercise their human rights. Thus, several legally binding international instruments acknowledge the right to land as a human right (Hussein 2018). Citizens may not exercise their rights such as the right to food, right to live, right to housing, property right, right to development, and all that is essential for ethnic groups to exert their right to self-determination without having or possessing the land (Hussein 2018). The land is also one of the pillars of a given country's natural wealth. Land includes the earth's surface, the ground beneath the earth's surface, and the air above it, as well as anything permanently attached to the earth, such as buildings, fences, and water wells (Daniel & Melkamu 2009). Land management and politics, military capability, socio-economic development, cultural honour, and social cohesion of a given country are interconnected (Malkamu & Zakaariyaas 2012). Thus, its management affects socio-economic development, cultural identity, and political stability.

The land is a mechanism of controlling power, and the tenure system is prone to repression in countries like Ethiopia. Before the reign of Dergue in 1974, Ethiopian politics was politics of North and South with implications for the land tenure system. Land tenure is a land governance system in which societies or those in power enact laws to regulate land ownership and use, including the rights and obligations of the owners or possessors in connection with their holding (Malkamuu 2019).

Before the reign of Emperor Menelik II, the landholding governance system in Ethiopia was through customary systems introduced by local rulers and clan chiefs, and there were no written laws that govern the holding systems in a unified manner. Among northerners, kings, churches, and even private individuals may own land based on the genealogical/lineage system. Until their

annexation to the northerner system, the southerners' customary system gave collective ownership of land legitimacy, and individuals get access to plots of land based on their membership in a community, clan, or tribe. Individuals used to have a given plot of land through ties they had with families, clans, or groups that own land collectively.

Before the annexation of the Oromo in the 19th C, for instance, the land was open, and no one owned it privately and could sell or purchase it (Workneh 2001). The Oromos believe that natural resources especially land, are owned and given by God (Waaqa) and that humans have an inalienable right to use them (Workineh 2001). People used to freely use the land that they believed belonged to Waaqa (God). The conquerors abolished customary land tenure systems of the southerners, including the Oromos (Teshome 2014). The southerners used to administer their land where clan and community leaders were in charge of allocating land flexibly while the northerners follow the 'r*ist'* system, a system through which individuals are entitled to land genealogically (Daniel 2015).

The southerners incorporated into the northerners system, and rulers from northerners grabbed the southerners' land through military dominance beginning from 1889, which consequently introduced '*rist'* and '*gebar'* land tenures that remained until 1974. Emperor Minilik, the king who annexed the south, utilized his primacy as the principal leader of the Ethiopian state to split the southern land. Minilik and his supporters declared that the land belongs to the Kingdom, and he allocated and gave the southerners' land to his relatives, troops, and churches (Workineh 2001).

The conquerors divided up the land of southerners into three equal parts based on the customary maxim, which says 1/3rd to the king/rulers, 1/3rd to the church, and 1/3rd to the tiller. By doing so, the conquerors tried to transplant the northern land tenure system into the southern provinces.

The rulers granted the king's soldiers most of the arable and pastoral land of the indigenous people through expropriation. The displacement of the southerners and the transformation of their cultural and environmental landscape took place with a violent beginning marked by invasion and occupation of their land by northerners. Sometime after the capture, the king functionaries allowed the southerners to use only one-third of their land, and even from that portion of land, the king functionaries granted to the *'balabat'* (those who were the king's assignee), and the southerners became *'gebar'* (tenant/servant) over their ancestral land.

Theoretically, the land tenure system in the north also had a '*gebar'* system even if its difference was, tenants of the northerners enjoy '*rist'* i.e. right in which landholders can inherit their ancestral land, which was not available to southerners. The southerners were paying tribute to '*balabat'* who have guilt right i.e. a right to collect tribute, sharecropping, or even forcing the tenant to offer him/her labour service. Thus, the northerners' annexation of the southerners rendered the peasants landless, devalued their sociopolitical status, and subjected them to servitude to the *'balabat'* (Daniel 2015). Daniel also notes that the name *'gebars'* does not connote the same meaning for northerners and southerners as *'gebars'* in northerners were peasants who have land and paying tax, but for southerners, it is the name used for landless and become servants of the conquerors.

Teshome (2014) argues that the first law promulgated by Emperor Minilik in 1907 that ensured the sale and registration of urban land in Addis Ababa created a plain ladder of wealth and rank by favouring members of the ruling class and disinheriting the Tulema Oromo farmers who lived in the area before annexation. Teshome further elaborates that the 1907 law benefited rulers by creating a new history that systematically frames people's minds by defining who are fit to live in Addis Ababa as those who should live in a city and who should relocate to the suburbs or beyond

as those who are unfit to live in urban areas. The conquerors worked tirelessly to displace indigenous Tulema Oromo, making the people's culture, identity, and languages invisible in the city[3]. There is still an argument that supports the assumption that, under the pretence of urban expansion, rural Oromos and other disadvantaged people are relinquishing their land, identity, and culture for the benefit of ruling elites and the well-to-do (Jalata 2010).

Though Emperor Haile Selassie's regime enacted laws related to land administration, Emperor Minilik's land tenure systems remained unchanged. Two processes have taken place for the emergence of private land during the period of post-Italian occupation. The first one was a land grant made by the Emperor to troops, victims of the Ethio-Italian war, and civil servants. The second was the 1942 tax reform. The 1942 tax reform came up with the idea that all land belongs to farmers who could pay tribute to the government for the land they used. Following the tax reform introduced in 1942, pastoral land became an object of expropriation, and the native settlers became victims of eviction under the pretext of no man's land (Teshome 2014; Jalata 2010).

In the 1950s, the government prioritized non-taxed state-designated land to accelerate privatization and the rise of commercial agriculture (Eyasu 2008). Since privatization allows anybody to sell or transfer land without restrictions, it has resulted in widespread displacement and increased obligations for southern peasants such as forced tenancy, labour services, and sharecropping (Hussen, 2004). As one can see from the above discussions, beginning from the

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[3] Southerners were oppressed from the time of their annexation. They were arbitrarily evicted from their landholdings. Oppression is defined in this thesis using Barker's 2014 social work dictionary and it is:

"the social act of placing severe restrictions on individual, group or institution. Typically, government or political organization that is in power places these restrictions formally or covertly on oppressed groups so that they may be exploited and less able to compete with other social groups. The oppressed group or individual is devalued, exploited, and deprived of privileges by the individual or group who has more power." (Barker 2014)

Displacement has recently put displaced people in jeopardy following fierce market competition and the ramifications of long-term institutional oppression.

annexation of southerners by northerners up to 1974, ruling classes controlled the Ethiopian land ownership under the monarchical system.

Dergue's ascension to power in 1974 marked a substantial shift in the country's land tenure system. Dergue won the heart of peasants by abolishing the servant-landlord relationships and proclaiming land to the tiller. Because of the reform, the landless, salaried workers, tenant farmers, and the lower class became victorious over the '*balabat'* and others who engaged in exploitation. Dergue declared that land belongs to the state, and this partly helped in de-concentrating land and redistributing it to the mass peasants. The regime abolished private, church, and communal land ownership and allowed only individuals and community members to use land. According to proclamation number 31/1975 article 5, transferring land through sale, exchange, succession, mortgage, antichresis, lease, or otherwise is prohibited except by inheritance if the successors are one's spouse, minor children, and sometimes children who had attained majority. Article three of the same proclamation rejected any form of compensation for the land, woods, and tree crops, save for moveable items and permanent works. Article 4 of the legislation also forbade land lease and labour hiring, and the size of land granted to any farming family was limited to ten hectares.

Proclamation number 47/1975 declared confiscation and nationalization of urban land and extra houses from the wealthy with no compensation. Regarding urban land, the above-stated proclamation put all land in the hand of the state, and no urban land can be transferred by sale, antichresis, mortgage, succession, or otherwise, just like that of rural land. Transfer of private houses can be by inheritance, sale, and barter according to proclamation number 47/1975 Article 12(1). Thus, natural resources and urban land were, at least in principle, state-owned during the regime, whereas suburban and rural land was under collective ownership.

Even though the incumbent administration initiated numerous economic and political reforms following the fall of Dergue in 1991, its land policy remained relatively unchanged from that of its predecessor. We do not observe substantial differences between Dergue's and the current government's legal frameworks on land-related matters; instead, they are more similar. With the belief that land has tremendous socioeconomic relevance in the lives of Ethiopians, the regime put land ownership issues into the constitution to achieve social fairness and tenure security (Daniel 2015).

The current regime affirmed through its constitution article 40 (3) saying:

> "The right to own rural and urban land, as well as natural resources, is solely vested in the Ethiopian state and peoples. The land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or other means of exchange."

Articles 40 (4 & 5) of the constitution allow farmers and pastoralists to have the right to obtain land without payment for grazing and cultivation. The clause also bans peasants and pastoralists arbitrary evictions from their land. Theoretically, expropriation is subject to compensation payments in advance of damages proportionate to the value of the possessions according to article 40(8) of the FDRE constitution.

Because such improvements fall within the scope of their private property, landholders have the right to sell, exchange, or use as collateral any permanent improvements they make to their landholdings. In terms of current land tenure, the government has control over land, sole ownership is in its hand, and there is a lot of land mining, acquisition, and expropriation going on without adequate compensation to land possessors (Abebe, Wasihun & Gifawosen, 2020). Discontents and rivalries erupt from time to time in the country because of the breakdown of customary land tenure systems, primarily of southerners, in favour of the rulers' imposed unjust

systems and the inapplicability of landholder-friendly legislation. The following subtopic briefly summarizes currently applicable laws and policy as well as practices concerning land.

3.5.2.2. Current landholding arrangements

The country's current land-related legal framework includes the FDRE constitution, federal laws, and state laws. Even if there is a legal framework, there have been reports of violation of constitutionally protected rights. For example, by leasing vast tracts of land to private organizations under the guise of encouraging commercial agriculture, the federal government usurps state constitutional jurisdiction over land and other natural resources (Zewudie 2013). Farmers are also claiming that the government has arbitrarily evicted them from their landholdings under the guise of development. The following subtopics nevertheless state the legal framework relating to the country's rural and urban land issues.

3.5.2.2.1. Access to rural land, rights and obligations of rural landholders

Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation 456/2005, also known as the "Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation," govern rural landholdings today, along with the federal constitution. Land in Ethiopia is under government and nations, nationalities and peoples ownership following the FDRE constitution and proclamation number 456/2005, and individuals, private entities, and groups (communal holdings) may acquire the right to hold and use rural land. The states have the authority to administer land under their territory and have the power to enact laws, redistribute land for their residents, and establish management methods that consider the interests and desires of their various populations.

Proclamation number 456/2005, just like the FDRE constitution, pledges that any person whose age is 18 or above and who wants to be interested in agriculture for a living will be entitled to free land. A person may obtain a rural landholding through family inheritance, donation, or

government provision, according to Proclamation No.456/2005, article 5 (2). Those who have obtained landholding rights will use their rights, lease them and bequeath them. States in Ethiopia established rural land use and administration legislation following the federal constitution and the federal rural land use and administration proclamation. Oromia state, the state in which I conducted my study, has enacted proclamations and regulations concerning rural land. One of the proclamations is proclamation ('*Megelete*' Oromia[4]) number 130/2007, and the law deals with rights and obligations of a landholder, land titling, and other related issues.

Even though there are several laws enacted relating to the governance of rural land, there are issues that have not yet been addressed properly. Some of these issues include redistribution of land, use of land use rights as collateral, lease-related and inheritance-related restrictions.

Redistribution of landholding may be one means of gaining access to rural land. However, such a possibility (redistribution) is obscured, and even the Oromia land use and administration proclamation limits its application to irrigation land and only in areas where unutilized land is available (Article 14(1) of Proclamation number 130/2007). Therefore, redistribution is rarely permitted and applicable.

The second limitation concerns land rights restrictions as collateral for loans. The laws do not allow land rights as collateral to protect rural land possessors from exploitations by loan sharks and land opportunists (Girma 2011). As a result, rural landholders' access to institutional credit is limited, and the government bears responsibility for its failure to address the issue.

The third limitation is restrictions imposed on inheritance. Land laws restrict rural land inheritance to family members who live in rural areas, while Ethiopia's succession law lays no restrictions on who can inherit a rural landholder's property and related rights. It seems that the

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[4] '*Megelete*' Oromia is the name of the gazette in which the laws of the state of Oromia are published.

laws have failed to consider the potential consequences of creating tensions over resource entitlement by inheritance among relatives.

The laws do not allow landholders to rent out all of their possessions at once, and Oromia land law, for example, prohibits renting out more than half of his/her land possessions (Article7(1) of proclamation number 130/2007). Such restrictions can affect persons with physical disabilities, the elderly, minors, and others who are not in a position to engage in farming activities[5].

By carefully examining the preceding paragraphs, one might conclude that Ethiopian laws appear to regard the rural population as immature in their ability to use their resources as they see fit, leaving the door open for the government to act as a guardian. The government's patriarchal approach hindered rural farmers' freedom to use the land as they wished, subjecting them to abuse and other illicit acts like selling their landholdings to illegal land dealers.

3.5.2.2.2. Access to urban land and currently applicable lease proclamation

In urban centres, land accessibility is described by the availability of land, the affordable cost of acquiring that land, and the security of tenure. The market-based approach, the right-based approach, and the empowerment approach are the three approaches to urban landholding (Begna 2017). According to the market-based approach, land titling raises the value of their land since title deed holders can use their landholdings as collateral for loans. The approach has been based on the notion of increasing investment and improving production. Title deeds have been viewed as a means of ensuring credit and opening up markets for the transfer of land from less efficient to more efficient uses. This approach ignores the right of people with low incomes to have their housing in the urban centre. According to Niyamet (2010), the market-based approach may alienate low-income individuals from the market for land and housing, erode customary tenure

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[5] These segments of the population used to rent out their landholdings for cash or in kind. Typically, youngsters used to rent or work for sharecropping on these people's landholdings.

mechanisms that historically made land readily available to the poor, and drive some of them to squatter settlement. In 1996, in Istanbul, Turkey, the United Nations established the rights-based approach (also known as the Istanbul Declaration), which offers a framework for equal access to land for all people (Dey, Sharma, & Barman 2006). The right-based approach sets the foundation for equal access to land by acknowledging housing as a basic human right for which the government is responsible in a transparent manner.

The third approach is the empowerment approach, and this approach focuses on satisfying people's needs and making suitable use of the environment rather than producing for profit (Begna 2017). The empowerment approach focuses on the problems of the poor and suggests that the government should empower urban poor people to take part in decisions that affect their lives.

Ethiopia's urban land policy has slowly transitioned from a permit system to a lease system[6] to meet the ever-increasing demand for land[7] for various urban development goals. Proclamation number 80/1993 was the first to introduce the lease system into Ethiopian urban land laws by providing routes for transferring or holding urban land by contract. Proclamation No. 272/2002 repealed Proclamation No. 80/1993, with the goals of collecting land lease income to ensure a fair share of urban land wealth and transforming the holding system into a lease system. As per provision of article 4 of proclamation number 272/2002, the holding of urban land by lease may be allowed:

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[6] Lease under the civil code of Ethiopia Article 2896 is defined as:
> "The lease of an immovable is a contract whereby one of the parties, the lessor, undertakes to ensure to the other party, the lessee, the use and enjoyment of an immovable, for a specified time and a consideration fixed in kind or otherwise."

[7] However, demand for land is not being met, and it is common to hear individuals criticize the government's leasing policy for failing to address the housing demands of its urban population.

1. following plan guidelines where it exists or if there are no guidelines, following the law enacted by the region[8] or city administration, as the case may be, and

2. On auction or through negotiation; or

3. Depending on the state or city government decisions

To achieve people's common interest and development while adhering to the principles of transparency and accountability, avoiding corrupt practices and abuses, and ensuring impartiality in the process, proclamation No. 721/2011 repealing proclamation No. 272/2002 was enacted in 2011. The revised lease proclamation also sought to reflect the value of land transactions (Article 4 of the legislation). The legislation specifies two methods of land acquisition: auctions and allotments.

Every land required for residential, commercial, and other purposes will be transferred through auction even if exceptionally allotment is possible. According to the proclamation's article 2(10), allotment is a mechanism for transferring land use rights used for the distribution of urban land by lease to institutions that could not be accommodated through auction. The benchmark price specified for the lease is expected to be paid by institutions as well as individuals entitled to an allotment under Article 12 of the proclamation.

The lease proclamation appears to be market-based[9], and it falls far short of meeting the needs of low-income people. Though the lease system intended to produce a fair allocation of land, raise urban revenue, generate funding for urban infrastructure, and accelerate urban housing construction by alleviating existing scarcity, promoting openness in land transfers, and minimizing land speculation[10], in practice, the government couldn't meet the intended objectives,

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[8] Region refers to a state that form the federal government.
[9] This is because the lease proclamation seeks to stimulate economic growth in urban areas by attracting investors and assuring the security of tenure through the granting of longer-term land rights.
[10] See the preambles of Proclamation No. 80/1993, Proclamation number 272/2002 and proclamation No. 721/2011.

and even corrupt practices in the area of land administration flourished. Daniel (2015) criticizes the current proclamation stating that the new proclamation highly restricts access to urban land compared with the previous lease proclamation. The proclamation adversely impacts urban land access for the poor, encouraging land transfer to a few rich individuals who would possibly pay unrestricted lease prices. Thus urban land will become concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy individuals, displacing the poor. According to Hussein (2018), in the long term, this trend (the trend of leasing land to the rich) may generate demographic shifts in many Oromia cities and towns, which in turn would affect the right of the Oromo people[11] to self-determination in social and cultural matters. It can also lessen the FDRE constitution's social equity and tenure security rationales.

3.5.3. Expropriation: its concepts and processes involved in Ethiopia

3.5.3.1. Concepts of Expropriation

The ownership right of a property provides the owner with the widest and most comprehensive rights such as rights of use and enjoyment, mortgage, lease, exchange, and inheritance (Article 1205 of the civil code of Ethiopia). The right to own property is generally based on three main pillars (Yiannopoulos 1967): 'usus,' 'fructus,' and 'abusus.' 'Usus' is a right to use and 'fructus' is the right to use the fruit of property. 'Abusus' is the right to dispose of the property or even destroy it. 'Usus' and 'fructus' are jointly referred to as usufruct, and those who have only possessory rights enjoy it.

As we have discussed in the preceding sections, the right of land in Ethiopia is not a right of ownership. It is a right of use (usufruct right) that does not include the right to alienate possessions in the form of sale, i.e. 'abusus' is not permitted. Landholders are witnessing the

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[11] Hussein's apprehension appears to stem from the fact that the Oromos fare poorly in terms of commerce and investment when compared to other ethnic groups in the country.

expropriation of considerable land due to Ethiopia's opening to domestic and foreign investment, as well as its rising urbanization. The concept of the public acquisition of land but without the owner or possessor's consent is known by names such as compulsory purchase, eminent domain, or expropriation. The naming differs depending on the legal system and in the Ethiopian legal system it is known as expropriation.

Expropriation as a method of acquiring land is a relatively new development in Ethiopian formal legal history. When Emperor Minilik II enacted a land charter for the newly founded City of Addis Ababa in1908, he publicly introduced the concept of expropriation (Daniel 2015). Though its legitimacy is debatable, it is a well-known notion around the world as a method for the government to acquire land for a public purpose (Dhru 2008). It is the government's inherent power over its administrative boundary. Expropriation is a compulsory surrender of land to the government for a public purpose (Article 1460 of the Ethiopian Civil Code). Under the usufruct right, the Ethiopian land laws allow landholders to use, lease/rent or inherit the land and properties attached to the land they possessed. The laws also guaranteed the continuation of enjoyment of such rights without intervention except under exceptional circumstances like expropriation for public purposes. Article 40(8) of the FDRE Constitution states that:

> "Without prejudice to the right to private property, the government may expropriate private property for public purposes subject to payment in advance of compensation commensurate to the value of the property".

At this point, it is essential to look into the rationale behind expropriation in the eyes of law itself. Proclamation number 1161/2019, which deals with expropriation of landholdings, explains in its preamble why expropriation is necessary as follows.

> "Land expropriation has become necessary to address the steadily growing urban population which requires more land for building houses, infrastructure; and for the redevelopment of the urban slums to invigorate investment and other services and for development activities in rural areas"

The law considers the government to be an entity obligated to offer land for residential buildings, establish infrastructure, and provide services, and hence the government can claim land for these objectives. It is feared that development will be stifled until individual landholders are forced to leave their holdings. Thus, the law assumes expropriation is necessary to guarantee the effectiveness of land acquisition to ensure social/economic development.

In today's Ethiopia, massive road construction, hydropower and irrigation dam construction, urban expansion, renovation of urban centres, the emergence of industrial zones, transfer of rural farmland to investors are taking place, and as a result, many become evicted from their landholdings with no or minimal compensations (Daniel 2015). To mitigate such problems, the newly enacted proclamation expropriation under Article 4 states principles that the authorities have to follow in the courses of expropriation as follows.

> "Principles
>
> 1. Expropriation of land for public purposes shall be made only based on approved land use plan, urban structural plan; or development master plan.
>
> 2. Compensation and resettlement assistance for the expropriated land shall sustainably restore and improve the livelihood of displaced people.
>
> 3. The amount of compensation to be paid at Federal or Regional or Addis Ababa or Dire Dawa level for similar properties and economic losses in the same areas shall be similar.

4. Where land is expropriated for a public purpose, the procedure shall be transparent, participatory, fair and accountable".

Looking into these principles is essential, as they will help me understand the real experiences of the displaced farmers in my study. The proclamation's first principle of expropriation permits expropriation if and only if there is an approved plan justifying the use of the land for the intended purpose. It tells us that no authority has the arbitrary right to exercise expropriation without having a predetermined master plan for development or an urban structural plan or land use plan.

The second principle set out in the proclamation is assistance for the compensation and resettlement of displaced persons. Agricultural land expropriation without fair compensation appears to be causing a variety of problems including poverty, unemployment, rural-urban migration, conflicts between governments and farming communities, and even between farmers and urban dwellers (Shishay 2011). Expropriation is an involuntary sale and it is different from confiscation by compensating the possessor/owner for the property taken. The expropriated person should be fully indemnified for the loss or damage sustained in the process. This principle is included as an assurance to the landholder on their lawful possessions and as a restriction of government power.

The third principle informs non-discriminatory compensation mechanisms if the loss is similar and situated in the same area. This principle is aimed at discrepancies created due to FDRE rural land administration and rural land use proclamation number 456/2005 article 7. The provision states as follow:

"Where the federal government evicts the rural landowner, the rate of compensation would be determined based on the federal land administration law. Where the rural

landholder is evicted by regional governments, the compensation rate would be determined based on the rural land administration law of the regions".

The last principle is telling us the government shall invoke expropriation only if there is a clear need for public purpose. This principle limits the government's power of expropriation and balances the public need for land and the protection of private property rights. Under Article 2(1) of the proclamation, it defines the public purpose and it says:

"Public purpose means a decision that is made by the cabinet or a regional state, Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa or the appropriate Federal authority based on an approved land use plan or, a structural plan under the belief that the land use will directly or indirectly bring better economic and social development to the public".

As the mentioned clause indicates, the scope of public purpose revolves around the generation of 'direct' or 'indirect' greater economic and social development for the masses.

Based on the principles of expropriation outlined in the proclamation, we can conclude that even if the constitutional right to private property is limited to the welfare and advancement of public interests, the government should compensate the landholder for the loss suffered. Even if the reality on the ground shows otherwise, the proclamation seeks a legitimate expropriation mechanism, a government that meets the condition of public purpose, and a government that ensures the right to compensation.

3.5.3.2. Procedure to expropriate landholding

The government should follow the processes outlined in FDRE expropriation proclamation number 116/2019 when expropriating landholdings. The initial procedure is a decision on expropriation. As a result, Article 5 of the proclamation states how the decision to expropriate is made, and Article 5(1)-(3) details the procedure. Article 5(4) allows landholders to object to

expropriation decisions relating to the lack of fulfilment of the criteria set out in articles 5(1) and 5(2) of the proclamation. The inclusion of Article 5(4) and Article 7 as the provisions restrict arbitrary expropriation is one of the positive sides of the legislation compared to its predecessors. According to Article 7, the government shall give priority rights to landholders if they fulfil the conditions set out in the article. Landholders shall have the right of priority to develop their holdings individually or in a group if they wish to do so. If expropriation is decided, the concerned body will follow the landholding handover procedure as provided in Article 8 of the proclamation. Consulting landholder a year ahead of handover about the type, benefits, and general process of the project; collecting landholding certificate and conducting inventory, amount and size of all compensable properties from displaced persons and deciding the legal rights of the holder before calculating and determining the amount payable are some of the initial steps (Art. 8(1(a-d))).

The responsible body must inform the landholder in writing to handover the land expropriated with the amount of compensation to be paid, the size and location of the land or house (Art.8 (1(e))). It should be noted here that the notification order is not intended to secure the landholder's consent; rather, it is simply to notify him/her that his/her landholding will be expropriated and that he/she must be prepared to vacate the land at the specified time; he/she will be paid the specified compensation amount. As can also be ascertained from the stated provision, the landholder will not be allowed to participate in the compensation amount assessment process. The responsible body should pay compensation or provide substitute land before the persons are displaced from their holdings (Art. 8(1(g))). The government requires landholders to submit landholding certificates or other documents demonstrating their ownership rights over the land during expropriation. Landholders must collect compensation payments or take replacement

plots of land or houses within 30 days of notification (Art. 8(4)).Thus, the government should pay the compensation before the landholder surrenders to the expropriating authority his landholding rights.

A landholder who receives notice of an expropriation order must surrender the land to the body concerned within 120 days of the date of payment of the compensation, or if payment is not made, the date the compensation is deposited in a blocked bank account in the name of the concerned body (Article 8(6))[12]. If the landholder does not receive the payment, the 120-day period begins on the date the compensation is deposited in a blocked bank account. If there is no crop or other property on the expropriated land, the time at which the landholder should surrender the land to the body concerned will be reduced to 30 days from the date of receipt of the expropriation order (Art. 8(7)).

3.5.4. Land grabbing and informal settlement in Ethiopia

3.5.4.1. Land grabbing

As discussed in the previous sections, although urbanization is occurring rapidly in Ethiopia, it is relatively small, and more than three-quarters of the population lives in rural areas. Agriculture contributes predominantly to the GDP of the country and is a major source of employment to the majority of the public making the economy primarily rural. Although agriculture is the backbone of the country's economy, land acquisition is a nightmare for landholders. Ethiopia has poor land management practices, with land being used without regard for its economic and social suitability, natural resource conservation, or even prudent planning and coordination between various sectors of the economy, such as agriculture, livestock, forests, energy and mining, water resources, wildlife, and tourism (Zemen, Solomon, Alehegne, Tigistu & Belete 2017).

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[12] According to Article 8, the land appears to be needed for an urgent purpose, and the law does not intend to give persons more than 120 days to surrender their landholdings after receiving notice.

Agricultural investments, as well as non-agricultural investments, are essential parts of combating poverty in the country. Employment is considered a key factor and investors always claim that they are committed to bringing technology, creating jobs, and appropriate infrastructure.

Nevertheless, land acquisitions happen so fast and on a huge scale that poor people are more vulnerable than ever to the injustice of land grabbing. The actual impact is often portrayed in a negative way, where displacement, forced labour, low wages, and involuntary land loss among small-scale farmers are prominent (Riedel 2011). Land acquisition becomes land grabs when violating human rights, failing to consult the people concerned, failing to obtain proper consent, and occurring in secret. Land grabbers overlook the potential impact of the land deal on social, cultural, and environmental matters. Baker-Smith and Miklos-Attila, 2016, define land grab as follow:

> "Land grabbing is the control (whether through ownership, lease, concession, contracts, quotas, or general power) of larger than locally typical amounts of land by any persons or entities (public or private, foreign or domestic) via any means ('legal' or 'illegal') for speculation, extraction, resource control or commodification at the expense of agroecology, land stewardship, food sovereignty, and human rights."

From the above definition, we can understand that land grabbing is taking place by anyone, both legally and illegally. It is an act performed through abuse of human rights and unfairly. Most land grabbing is technically legal, meaning the agreements obey national and state legislations and these legislations in many cases at least accept, if not help to grab.

Land grabbing can cause indigenous people to be displaced and their identities to disappear. There is no genuine protection to local people accorded in land accord. Political pressure,

coercion, and poverty strongly influence the consent of those who are displaced (Baker-Smith and Miklos-Attila 2016). Conflicts arising from land grabbing in Ethiopia have evolved into highly complex wars that disrupt the daily lives of the country's oppressed peoples (Malkamuu 2019). Since 2008, Ethiopia has leased out more than 3.6 million hectares of productive farmland to foreign countries and a few local investors (Hussein 2018). Even though farmland allocations to investors in Ethiopia have been ongoing since at least 1995, the government of Ethiopia used to argue stating as land leased for investors is unused lowland and no farmers being displaced (Riedel 2011). Expansion of amorphous cities and towns with no significant integration of indigenous communities and large-scale rural land transfers to investors due to the government's expansive investment policy are the main political issues that remained controversial in Ethiopia. Ethiopia's land-grabbing impact is manifested by five interconnected factors that the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) regime has designed to maintain its military, economic, and political power. The effects of previous and current land grabbing acts have destabilized the rural population's livelihood assets through the five elements listed below: aggravation of poverty, increased food insecurity, increased conflicts, degradation of ecosystem quality, and deterioration of human rights conditions (Malkamuu 2019).

The process of land transfer resulted in the eviction of local people from their possessions without just, adequate, and timely compensation, and, unfortunately, the government is not reinvesting enough of the money it receives from leasing land to private investors (Hussein 2018). The Oakland Institute also claims that Ethiopia's large-scale land transfer produces hunger and poverty because the government is taking key coping strategies away from their people (Mousseau 2016).

3.5.4.2.   Informal or squatter settlement

Informal settlements are residential buildings in areas not explicitly approved for housing development (Ali & Suleiman 2006). These are settlements populated by poor people who lack access to tenured land and live on vacant land, whether private or public. Informal settlements coexist with urban expansion in peri-urban areas of Ethiopia. Farmers began selling their landholdings illegally to informal settlers because of the governments' coercive expropriation policies. The physical structure and social life of rural farming communities surrounding cities and towns are changing as well, owing in part to informal settlements. Under this subsection, I briefly discuss the causes of informal settlements and factors that force farmers to transact their landholdings informally.

The size and trajectory of human activities are strongly associated with improvements in the spatial location of economic resources. Urban life is often associated with higher levels of education and literacy, improved health, better access to economic and social services, and expanded opportunities for political and cultural participation. In developing countries, urbanization is predominantly the product of people migrating for better economic prospects in urban locations or a shortage of jobs in their villages or home farms (Satterthwaite, McGranahan & Tacoli 2010). The shift of human settlements is extremely dramatic in cities in developing countries, where fast urbanization and demographic change are happening; resulting in a housing supply that falls short of what is required. The bulk of the people expected to reside in cities by 2050 will be in squatter settlements (Taher & Ibrahim 2014).

Unplanned and rapid population growth and urban expansion endanger sustainable development if the necessary infrastructure is not built and if policies are not well implemented. Poorly managed urban growth leads to rapid sprawl, pollution, and environmental degradation along

with wasteful production and consumption (United Nations 2014). Urban cities and towns in developing countries struggle to meet the basic needs of new urban entrants and illegally established squatter settlements, which are typically on the rural outskirts as a result of land speculators purchasing and setting aside rural land without providing roads, health, education, and leisure facilities (Bosena 2019).

Jamal (2019), referencing Sirgut (2013), identifies three interconnected and essential aspects of informal settlements.

1. Physical characteristics: Informal settlements have below-minimum infrastructure and services, and they are insecure due to a shortage of emergency services such as police and fire safety departments.

2. Social characteristics: Informal settlers are informal workers or low-income groups and earn a very low wage on average from part-time work/day labour.

3. Legal characteristics: Since settlers access public property without official consent and hence do not have legitimate possession certificates, informal settlements are inherently illegal.

According to Jamal (2019), informal settlements are known for lack of planning, the insecurity of tenure, inadequate infrastructure, poor environmental conditions, a lack of public facilities, and poverty and unemployment. A range of factors including land access, the tenure system, urban-rural migration, government-housing policy, accessibility of idle land, and family income hardship (Begna 2017), causes illegal squatter settlement. Ethiopia is one of the countries in which many live in squatter settlements. For example, there is a city called Burayu in Ethiopia where more than 54% of the total housing stock is squatter settlement due to issues related to land accessibility (Degu, Melese & Jafari 2014).

According to Bosena (2019) and Gondo (2009), the causes of squatter settlements in Ethiopian cities such as Addis Ababa, Jima, Adama, and Bahir Dar slightly vary from place to place. Unbearable land values for the poor are among the main causes in Addis Ababa. In Jima City, high costs of building materials, corruption, poverty, and inefficient processes of land administration pushed people to the informal settlement (Bosena 2019). The limited capacity of local authorities to develop and deliver land to the poor in Adama city; inefficient processes of land delivery, and poor land management are the main causes of informal settlements (Gondo 2009). The key causes of squatter settlement in Bahir Dar city, according to Gondo (2009), are low household earnings and people's failure to save money for buying or building houses following legal standards. The prime motive for squatting throughout the country is citizens' incapability to pay for other types of accommodation and their desire for independence from renting rooms in someone's house (Bosena 2019; Gondo 2009). In Ethiopia, low-quality housing, a lack of social services, and a lack of infrastructure identify informal settlements. Informal settlements are also known for urban decay and breeding grounds for societal ills such as crime, inebriation, drug addiction, and mental illness (Ali & Suleiman, 2006). In the context of urbanization, a significant number of people need housing in urban settings, so urban authorities need to strengthen their capacities to provide these services to promote lawful land transactions and resolve the risk of homelessness. Residents in urban centres of developing nations always raise the issue of adequate housing.

In poorer countries such as Ethiopia, urban housing serves two functions: it is a place to live and a place to work and earn money (Degu, Melese & Jafari 2014). However, land supply limits drive up prices because the land is a factor in house pricing. The tighter the restrictions, the less the housing market is capable of responding to increased demand, and house prices are more

likely to rise (Began 2017). Consequently, unlawful land transfers are happening at a high rate, and rivalry for land in suburban areas between agricultural and non-agriculture is increasing.

Changes in land values and markets in peri-urban areas frequently result in vacant land since rural landholders anticipate the benefits of selling or using it for non-farm purposes (Satterthwaite, McGranahan & Tacoli 2010). Although selling land is informal and illegal in Ethiopia, the farmer will revert to selling his land because of fear that the cash award from expropriation will be less than what he would receive if he sold it on his own (Teshome 2014).

The role of land brokers and speculators in persuading farmers to sell their land illegally is unprecedented. Speculators and brokers are the ones that frequently determine land values, housing market values, and house renting values (Jamal 2019). The main reason for such acts of brokers and speculators is that brokers are getting commissions based on the offered prices. What tends to make the issue worse is that many of these brokers have no formal education to guide their decision and the sole logic they follow is by whatever means to maximize their income. As there is little effective control over the transfer of land use from agricultural to non-agricultural purposes in the country, numerous residential buildings, and businesses are located and erected in peri-urban regions, either legally or illegally. Thus, demographic and spatial shifts in peri-urban areas have shaken the sustainability of the land tenure system and encouraged illegal land transactions.

3.6. Conclusions

In this chapter, issues related to displacement, its types, and effects are raised and elaborated. The chapter further discussed the trends of urbanization in Ethiopia. This chapter delves into issues with land, land legislation, expropriation of land in the Ethiopian context, land grabs, and informal settlements.

The chapter states that urban displacement is more prevalent in developing countries than in developed countries. The chapter describes urban expansion as one of the reasons for the eviction of rural agricultural communities around Ethiopian cities.

The chapter adds that Ethiopia's urban development strategy depends heavily on mandatory expropriation and relocation of outlying rural populations. The government is enforcing expropriation measures in the country in response to the increasing demand for land, primarily for investment, infrastructure development, and residential housing.

The chapter further argues that Ethiopia's economy depends primarily on the economic output of its natural resources mainly water and land. In Ethiopia, the land is a means by which those in authority control and defend their power, and the powerless become vulnerable to repression. Land management affects the socio-economic development, cultural identity, and political stability of the country. The chapter also states that conflicts related to land grabbing are rising and disrupting the daily lives of marginalized people.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

Earlier in chapters one, two, and three, I presented the introduction, the theoretical framework, and the review of related literature. In this chapter, I provide a more detailed description of the research method used in the research. The chapter describes how primary and secondary data are collected, the research design, tools used in data collection, sampling technique and sample size, data collection procedure, and the way data are analyzed. Besides, the chapter outlines the way I ensured the trustworthiness of the data. The chapter further deals with the ethical issues addressed in the research.

4.2. Research design

This study used a descriptive research design and a qualitative research approach to investigate the real-life situations of farmers displaced because of urban expansion. According to Kumar (2011), a descriptive research design is one where the main focus is on description rather than relationship exploration; it attempts to systematically describe a situation, problem, phenomenon, group living conditions, or descriptions of perceptions toward an issue. Qualitative research allows research informants to speak for themselves, to express their views in words and actions (Robert 2010). Qualitative research aids in the comprehension of multiple aspects and levels of reality, such as the kind of people who make up a group, how they think, how they connect, what kinds of norms or agreements are available, and how these dimensions come together to portray the group as a whole (Antwi & Hamza 2015).

An in-depth study allows researchers to understand informants' perspectives and their living conditions in detail. The approach I used helped me to know the thoughts, opinions, and

practices of the farmers in-depth. The approach enabled me to gain insight into and acquire a comprehensive understanding of the living situations of farmers, their relationship with the government as well as urban dwellers, and farmers' role in the process of dislocation.

The desire to reveal the human side of a story, letting for personal and informant expression of a lived experience is central to the qualitative research approach (Robert 2010; Creswell 2008; Patton 2002). The approach allowed me to describe and explain the deeper meanings of events related to my research topic. I aimed to understand the conditions of displaced persons, and I tried to understand reality as the displaced persons viewed it. Thus, the approach helped me in describing the life experiences of displaced persons in the process of displacement and resettlement. It assisted me in answering the "what" and 'how' questions that I raised in my research questions.

This approach enabled me to provide detailed descriptions of the experiences of displaced persons since informants of this study had an opportunity to describe their feelings and obtain their voices that have previously gone unexpressed. As I mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, development-induced displacement received less attention in research Thus, I believe that through investigating the subjective feelings and perceptions of development-induced displaced people, this thesis will serve as a springboard for the topic.

4.3. Sources of data

To obtain appropriate data that addressed the objectives of the research, I employed both primary and secondary data. I gathered primary data from my informants to understand their ideas, concepts, perceptions, viewpoints, feelings, and suggestions. I made a rigorous attempt to generate comprehensive and realistic data through primary sources using unstructured interviews and observations.

Secondary data collections were carried out using published and unpublished documents. Among the crucial secondary sources for this study were previous scientific studies, journals, the country's regional and national policies and laws related to development, Bishoftu city profile, and Oromia rural land management and environmental protection directives. Additionally, secondary data included media interviews with high officials and politicians, presentations and discussions by officials and politicians at training events, parliamentary reflections, and conferences focusing on urban expansion and displacement of rural farmers.

4.4.   Data collection techniques

As I stated in the preceding section, the study design I used was qualitative, and I collected data using in-depth interviews and observation. An in-depth interview is a conversation with a purpose that reproduces a fundamental process through which knowledge about the social world is constructed in normal human interaction (Legard, Keegan, & Ward 2003:138). Knowledge is constructed in the in-depth interview through collaboration between interviewee and researcher. An in-depth interview is a mechanism of collecting information by raising questions that can lead to several follow-up questions depending on the responses of the informant (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). An in-depth interview is an effective qualitative method for getting people to talk about their personal feelings, opinions, and experiences (Milena, Dianora, & Alin 2008:1279). According to Legard, Keegan, and Ward (2003:141-142), the in-depth interview has the following characteristics.

1. The structure of the in-depth interview is flexible in allowing topics to be covered. Since the issues for discussion are broad, it allows the interviewee to generate ideas, and the researcher can learn from probing.

2. It is interactive in nature. The researcher may raise an opening question in such a way as to encourage the interviewee to talk freely when answering questions.

3. It allows the researcher to use a range of probes and other techniques to achieve a depth of answer in terms of penetration, exploration, and explanation. The researcher while interviewing will use follow-up questions to gain a deeper and fuller understanding of the informants' meaning. The researcher can elicit informants' feelings, reasons, opinions, and beliefs by probing appropriately.

4. It is generative since new knowledge or thoughts may emerge. Interviewees may come up with thoughts that they have not explained before or may forward ideas and suggestions in proposing solutions to problems raised.

5. We must capture the responses of the informants in their natural state.

6. Since physical encounter is an essential context for an interview, we must be conducting it face to face.

The belief that investigating the subject's 'deeper self' confers more reliable information is at the heart of in-depth interviewing (Marvasti 2004). Under the qualitative research approach, broad and rich descriptions of phenomena may emerge through in-depth interviews and observations. The nature of an in-depth interview allows a researcher to investigate complex issues because the researcher is free to pose questions in various contexts.

I did in-depth interviews using interview guide questions. I developed the interview guide questions in English langue and then translated them to Afan Oromo. While translating, I took utmost care not to miss the original intention of the instrument. I gave it to my colleagues, and they assisted me by translating the tool from English to Afan Oromo and back to English languages to ensure consistency of the translation with the original interview guide questions. I

did a pre-test to know how well my interview guide questions work, how people understand them, and how they are likely to be answered. I took two individuals for the pre-test and tried to understand what to improve. I uncovered potential problems mainly concerning time management and tried to adjust myself. During interviews, I was able to trace the displaced farmers' recounts and memories they experienced following urban expansion.

I developed an observation checklist tool with thirteen items (see Annex 5) to collect information regarding displaced persons. The checklist mainly focused on the situations of displaced persons and their relations with urban dwellers. The checklist tool covered infrastructure availability and accessibility for displaced people, displaced people's housing and living conditions, displaced people's social, psychological, and cultural state, relationships between displaced people and urban dwellers, and other related matters. I spend many hours on weekends in the community, engaging in casual talks with community members and observations. I visited the community every two weeks or so for almost about 3 months and I had an opportunity of learning what members of the community experienced. Before starting the interview, I talked to the study informants about the purpose of my visit to their localities, the objectives of my study, and informally raised some questions about urbanization and related issues. After obtaining their approval and drawing up a constructive rapport, I arranged the date of the interview at the informant's convenient time. While I was in close touch with the study informants, I did the interview mainly once. It took me an average of one hour and three minutes to complete an interview.

4.5.   Sampling techniques and sample size

As qualitative information can be generated using non-probability sampling, I used purposive sampling techniques in recruiting participants for in-depth interviews. I recruited the first study

informant premised on the inclusion criteria listed. Based on referrals from the initial informant, I used snowball sampling to identify additional informants. Thus, informants referred me to other informants who had better knowledge and experience of the phenomenon under scrutiny.

In several instances, the initial study informant helped me locate the houses of each study informant. The inclusion criteria I used to select study informants were:

1. Being a farmer and displaced due to urban expansion or being a family member of a farmer displaced due to urban sprawl in Dembi and Kurkura Kebele;

2. Being at least 18 years old during the data collection periods; and

3. Being willing to take part in the research

Gray (2004) supports the concept of considering data saturation when determining sample size in qualitative research. Creswell (2008), believes a sample size from 2-25 can be enough to attain data saturation. In this light, I sampled 21 individuals who furnished ample information to my research project. In all cases, I have sought to take into account both age and gender in the recruitment of study informants, which has allowed me to establish a wide range of perspectives. Accordingly, I selected elders, adult men, women, and youths who had experienced displacement and were willing to take part in the in-depth interview. I excluded children under the age of 18 from this study on the assumption that they may not have had exceptional experiences from their older brothers and sisters over the age of 18 and their parents.

4.6. Trustworthiness and data quality assurance

In qualitative research, the information generated should be credible, dependable, confirmable, and transferable so that trustworthiness and data quality can be assured (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules 2017). Credibility refers to the degree to which the researcher genuinely reflects the opinions of the research informants. The use of various methods, such as repeated visits to the

area and observations, would ensure credibility. Results of qualitative research are not generalisable but can be transferable given that the researcher has provided thorough explanations of the topic under review so that anyone seeking to transfer the findings may make a wise decision. Readers assess the dependability of a study by auditing and evaluating the procedures used in the study. Confirmability refers to how we derive meanings and assumptions from the data we collected.

As a researcher, I took the utmost care of sampling, data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Because I used purposive sampling, I adhered to the selection criteria outlined in the preceding subsection. The study, therefore, involved informants who are well informed and who experienced the issue at hand. Before data collection, I paid frequent visits and spent extended time with my study informants to build rapport and understand participants' worldviews.

As the rapport grew, my study informants became more open and shared more valuable information about displacement with me. I tried to triangulate interview data with observations and literature. After analysis, I presented the findings of my study to the study informants and sought their feedback. I looked for any changes and searched for explanations that caused changes to happen.

4.7.   Data analysis and interpretation

Data is basic information and not knowledge by itself. Transforming data into knowledge requires specific research methods. As a result, to convert the data I collected into knowledge, I organized the contents of the data and then analyzed it. In the data analysis, I followed the procedures and activities listed below.

I kept track of the information I gathered by writing it down in a notebook or recording it on tape. Every evening, I rewrote the notes to ensure that nothing went unrecorded. I transcribed the

audiotapes using the rules of transcription. Per Padgett (2008), I included the informants' pseudonyms, dates of interview, and transcription on every page. Every guiding question was followed by the informants' answers; and nonverbal signals, clarifying words, and phrases that required translation were organized in a way that accurately reflected the interview. I took the maximum effort to use correct spelling when transcribing audio recordings (Afan Oromo language).

The transcription was written in Afan Oromo language and was translated into English as accurately as possible to do the analysis. Identification numbers were assigned to audio files and field notes to keep the link of various data sources for each particular case.

I read the transcripts repeatedly to grasp the main issues in the transcript. Before starting to code, I used two copies of the transcript (one was kept as a reference, and the other was used for coding purposes). When I started to code the transcript, and as I came to a passage that was relevant to my area of study, I highlighted the informants' words, phrases, and even sentences using different colours.

After identifying codes, I copied them into a separate document to categorize the codes. Then, I sorted the codes into relevant categories taking into consideration the objectives of my study. Finally, I identified the major themes and rearranged the categories under those themes. I clustered significant statements into themes that form the building blocks of my findings. I presented the findings of my study in a narrative explanation. This descriptive approach of presenting, characterized by the use of extended direct quotes gave room for multiple perspectives and helped to display the informants' experiences of the phenomenon.

The significant statements and themes were used to write what the informants experienced and the context or setting that influenced how the informants experienced the phenomenon. To do

this, I produced composite descriptions that illustrate common points among the informants' experiences. Following the review of related literature, observations, and stated aims of the study, I analyzed and described the interconnected and divergent points among study informants to demonstrate how the findings were consistent or inconsistent with that literature.

Since I have used observation as a data collection tool, I developed an observation checklist focused on the key questions of my study. Every time I visited my study sites, I used to jot down what I saw in my field diary. I used to take a picture of what I felt was important to the topic of my research. I analyzed the observational data and linked it to the interview data. I have tried to triangulate observational data with other data obtained in this report. I have used images as a supporting document in the study and interpretation of research.

4.8.   Ethical considerations

Due to the sensitive nature of the intended study, considerable care was undertaken during data collection. The vulnerability of the study informants and their life experiences were taken into account. During the preliminary interviews, I attempted to identify the ethical operational issues that I would be expected to address. Taking into account my study informants and wider environment, approval for my study was sought from UNISA and I secured the ethical clearance certificate. Permissions, as well as support letters, were obtained from the Bishoftu city administration as well as local administrative authorities.

Written and/or verbal consent was obtained from research informants who fulfilled the inclusion criteria to let them know that they will be researched and protect them from participating involuntarily. Verbal consent was used to study non-literate informants. The informed consent incorporated information such as the voluntary nature of the research, purpose of the research, procedures, and extent of anonymity and confidentiality.

The informed consent also anticipated and indicated the associated risks and the plans to handle them. The consent form included the right to withdraw from the interview at any time with no loss of benefit. I offered explanations to participants about all facts mentioned above before they took part in the research.

Study informants' preferences for place and time were taken into account during the interview. I carried out tape recording and note-taking, taking into consideration the willingness of each informant. I refrained from using a sound recorder as a means of recording sounds for those informants who were not willing as well as awkward. I only tape-recorded those who allowed me to do so and who felt comfortable.

The primary method by which researchers seek to protect research participants from accidental breaches of confidentiality is anonymisation, which can be accomplished through the use of pseudonyms (Wiles, Crow, Heath & Charles 2008). Thus, I took the utmost care to ensure the anonymity and privacy of informants. I used pseudonyms that only I understood instead of actual names to identify informants. I kept confidential the information generated from interviews. Hence, I ensured anonymity by not using any information that might identify informants and informing them that none of the conversations will be exposed to a third party.

4.9. Conclusions

The chapter presents an overview of the research design and approach of the study and justifies the chosen approach. The research I used was qualitative in its approach and descriptive in its nature. The approach was qualitative because I intended to understand the subjective experiences of 21 purposefully selected informants.

The chosen descriptive research design helps to describe what the informants thought, felt, and witnessed in the process of displacement and urban expansion. During the interviews, I created a

safe space for my study's informants to express their feelings about the displacement caused by urbanization. I took great care to ensure that the study was ethically appropriate because the research focused on a risk-bearing topic.

CHAPTER FIVE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA AND STUDY INFORMANTS

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapters investigated empirical, theoretical, and methodological concepts about the research questions posed in this study. This chapter has three subsections. The first subsection provides a detailed description of Bishoftu city and the people who live there. The second subsection describes the background characteristics of the study informants. In the analysis, I quoted informants' responses. Contents in square brackets '[ ]' are intended to provide the reader with additional important points like defining meanings within the quote.

5.2.   Background information of Bishoftu city and its surrounding

Bishoftu is one of the cities located in the Oromia state of Ethiopia. The city is located in central Ethiopia, 47 kilometres southeast of Addis Ababa, and was named in Afan Oromo by the Ilu of Ada'a clan, a rural Oromo ethnic group. There are arguments about what exactly the term Bishoftu denotes. Some individuals claim that the word Bishoftu means ugly or smelly. Some also relate the ugliness of the city to the smelly nature of the water of Lake Bishoftu. However, the natives told me that the word is borrowed from*"Bishaanoftu"* which means "the land of an excessive water body."

When I was observing my study site, I had the opportunity to talk casually with the community elders, and I asked many of them about the name of Bishoftu. One of my casual informants said:

> "As I have heard from our forefathers, the place was encircled by water. When rail transport started from Finfinnee to Dire Dawa, one of the railway stations was in our city, and at that time, the name of the station was Bishoftu. From that time on, the city is named Bishoftu." Tola Gurmu

All of my casual informants agreed with what has been said above. In reality, what the natives informed me seems to be rational as there is living evidence. Volcanic crater lakes like Arsade, Babogaya, Bishoftu, and Gerbe Megerisa are found in Bishoftu, and because of this fact, according to my informants, the area is labelled as the land of the excessive water body. The Lakes are home to several attractive birds such as Lesser Flamingo, Common Crow, Water Fowl, Geese, Swans, Eagle, Owl, Parrot, Cattle Egret, Egyptian Goose, and Common Crane (Alemayehu 2019).

The average elevation of the flat area in Bishoftu is around 1900 meters above sea level at the water level of Lake Bishoftu to about 2010 meters above sea level at the top of small hills southwest of Lake Hora Arsedi. In contrast, Bishoftu and its vicinity are surrounded by more than 2800 meters high areas like mountain Yerer to the north, mountain Sokoru to the south, and some scattered cinder and cover of the cones of the volcano to the east and west.

Figure 5.1: Housing conditions of Bishoftu during its establishment (Photo credit: Tulu

Degebasa 2020)

It is apparent from the above figure that the city was founded as a collection of rural hamlets.

Even though some writers claim the city was founded in 1917 with the construction of the Ethio-

Djibouti railway, the exact date is unknown. Those who believed that the city had been built

because of the railway development claimed that the first inhabitants were those involved in the

construction of railway lines. Between 1913 and mid-1914, the building of the railway line

reached the present Bishoftu, and the Bishoftu railway station was built (Tulu 2020). According

to the municipal sources, the city's founders were five French men and some of their Ethiopian

co-workers. Following the construction and establishment of the railway, the French men,

Ethiopian day labourers, and the surrounding rural people began building houses that gradually increased the number of houses and residents living in the area. The new settlers' demand for food supply encouraged the development of an economic connection with the surrounding rural people who started providing local food to the settlers. Food suppliers gradually began to stay near the settlers rather than travelling to and from their homes. This event thus marked the introduction of a permanent settlement of non-railway workers.

Before the Italian occupation, Bishoftu had been divided into two cluster settlements called 'Aroge Kidame' and 'Bishoftu Babur Tabiya'. Settlers at 'Aroge Kidame' were the landlords, governors, and some rural farmers who built their houses in the city. 'Bishoftu Babur Tabiya' settlement was around the station that consisted of the railway station itself, shops, warehouses, residences of merchants and railway workers with relatively more modern houses and buildings than 'Aroge Kidame' (Dereje 2002).

The beauty of the lakes, its strategic location, and suitability for recreation attracted the Italians during Italian occupations (1936-1941), and the Italians developed Bishoftu by improving the telephone and telegraph lines, launching services of electricity and post office, and granting free land to new non-agricultural settlers such as carpenters, weavers, smiths and people with a variety of occupations. The Italians used the city as a military base (Tulu 2020). The municipal administration was founded in 1943. After its establishment, the municipal administration started offering various services and building different infrastructures.

In 1947, Ethiopian Air Force founded its base in Bishoftu city and began operating as head office and a training centre. The Hotel Hora Ras was established in 1947 mainly for the recreation of the Air Force staff members. In 1967, the city received banking services for the first time. The establishment of branch offices of numerous government organizations, including the Ministry of

Interior, Finance, Agricultural Development, and Justice, are factors for the growth of the city (Dereje 2002).

Figure 5.2 Current urban residential buildings in Bishoftu city (Source: own camera)

Fig. 5:2 shows some standard residential houses found in the city, and as I observed, some people are interested in the city for a living. Oromia state also designated the city as a first-level city based on its natural beauty, industrial development, and tourist attractions (Megelete Oromia No. 65/2003). The city is historically built in the rural centre, and it is expanding to the rural areas at a fast rate. In 1992, the city area coverage was 3,280 hectares, and in 2018, the total land area coverage is 19,681 hectares (Bishoftu city plan and economic development office 2018). The city expanded through reclassification of land from rural to urban by engulfing villages and

farmlands. The city has expanded to five rural kebeles in the last two years, namely Kurkura and Dembi, Kajima, Gende Gorba, Gerbicha, and Kality, and these kebeles. The rural populations that surround the city, including the aforementioned kebeles, live primarily through agricultural activities. Areas incorporated under urban administration were previously producing high-yield crops such as wheat.

Upon the first introduction of the agricultural extension program in Ethiopia in 1955, one of the areas incorporated in the program is Ada'a '*woreda*' through the program known as the Adea Agricultural Development Unit. The unit introduced mechanized agriculture, which became a major factor in the eviction of large numbers of tenants from adjoining areas of Bishoftu, resulting in a rapid increase of the city population through rural-urban migration (Dereje 2002). Ada'a is a district ('*woreda*') under which rural kebeles surrounding Bishoftu are located. The district is known for producing high-quality wheat and *teff* in the country. The Woreda is home to the Ada'a Oromo, a sub-group of the Galaan, and it is named after the Ada'a sub-clan. Oromos are a Cushitic indigenous nation and the most numerous people in the horn of Africa. Afan Oromo, the language spoken by the Oromo people, is the fourth widely spoken language in the African Continent. The following figure depicts the ancestry of Oromo, including Ada'a Oromo.
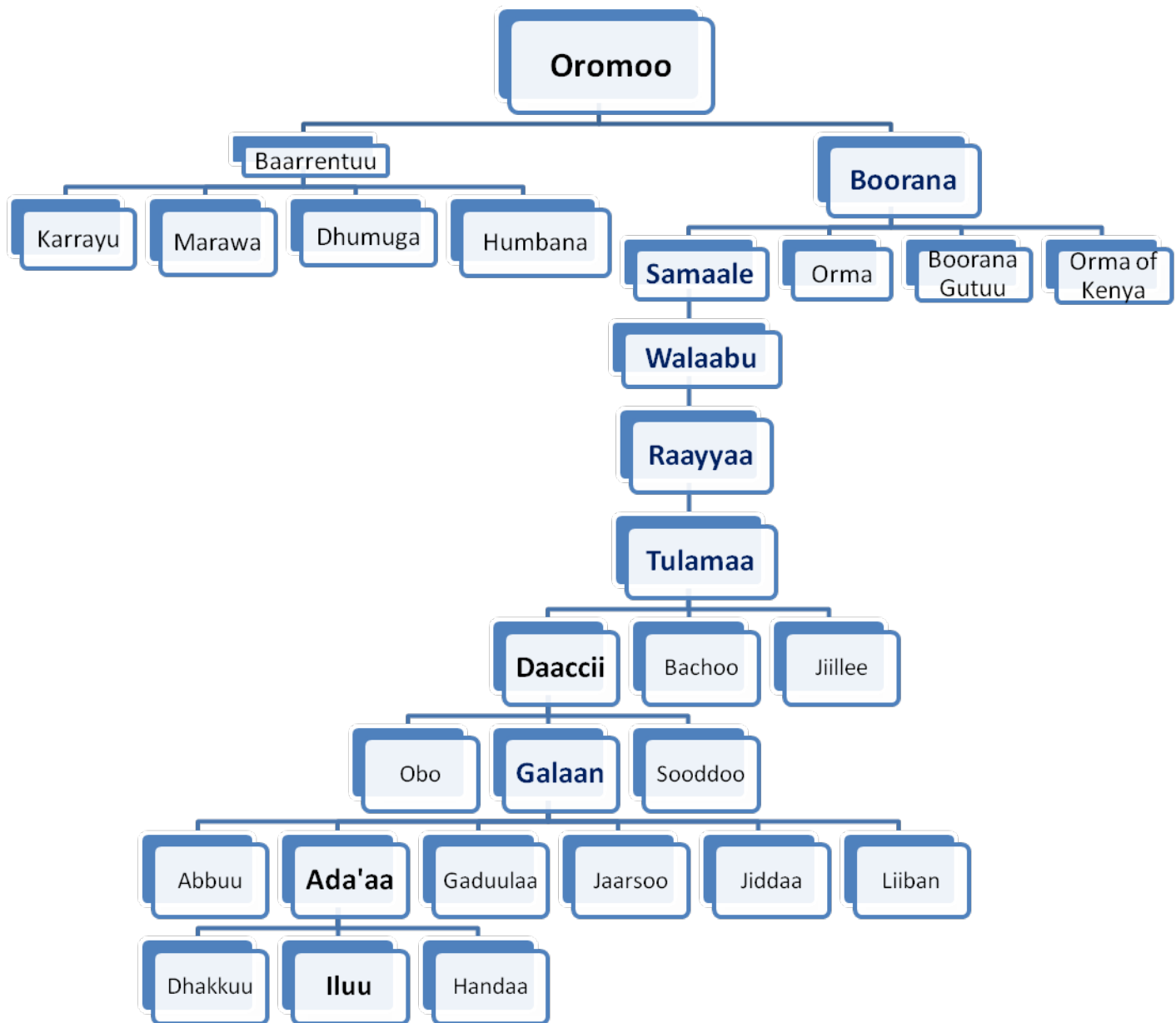
Figure 5.3 the ancestry of Ada'a Oromo and his three descendants

The Ada'a sub-clan is descended from the Gelan clan, as shown in the above figure, and Ada'a had three branches: Dhakuu, Iluu, and Handaa. The study informants of this study are descendants of Iluu, and the land of Iluu is where Bishoftu city was founded and expanded. Ada'a Oromos' are using the city as their capital. The city is the fifth populous urban centre of

Oromia State next to Finfine/Addis Ababa/, Adama, Jimma, and Shashemene cities. The overall population of the city was projected to be 201,408 in 2018, of which 103,725 (51.5 percent) are female, and the remaining 97,683 (48.5 percent) are male (Bishoftu city planning and economic development office 2018). The population of the city is growing at an average growth rate of 2.9% per annum. Apart from the natural increase, which is births over deaths, the city is considered to draw many people from rural and urban areas and abroad. The city's proximity to Addis Abeba and its favourable environment attracted many people to live and/or invest there.

Bishoftu has an important position not only among Ilu and among Ada'a Oromo but also in the Oromo nation since the city is the seat of the Oromo '*Gadaa*' Council, and it is the place where the annual Irrecha celebration takes place. '*Gadaa*' Council is an assembly composed of Oromo leaders called '*Abbaa Gadaa*' under the '*Gadaa*' system. The Oromo people have a rich culture with long-established systems and practices, among which the '*Gadaa*' system is one. '*Gadaa*' system is a structure of an age grade through which members of generations succeed one another every eight years in assuming political, military, judicial, legislative, and ritual tasks among Oromo society (Asmarom 2004). A generation is forty years long, with five '*Gadaa*' classes or stages in it. A person assumes a leadership position when he attains the age of 40, and a person within this age group is called *'Abbaa Gadaa'*. '*Gadaa*' System is a constitution of the Oromo society in which the society governed, tried to protect their territory, and largely controlled their economic system. *'Gadaa' system* is a self-governing democratic institution that has influenced Oromo's philosophy, history, art, social, religious, political, and economic life for many years.

The other colourful event Bishoftu hosts every year is '*Irrecha*'. '*Irrecha*' celebration takes place every year at Hora Arsedi. *Irrecha* is a thanksgiving and prayer ceremony to '*Waaqa*' (God) alongside big rivers/lakes and mountains. Irrecha is originally part Oromo indigenous religion

called '*Waqefana*'. There are two types of '*Irrecha*,' and these are '*Irrecha Tulu*' and '*Irrecha Melka*'. The Oromo people usually celebrate '*Irrecha Tulu*' on the mountain with the prayer and hope of waiting for autumn rain. '*Irrecha Melka*' is conducted especially on the lake during the spring season toward the end of September.

Irrecha at Hora Arsedi (the spring '*Irrecha*,') attracts more than 4 to 5 million people every year. The colourful annual ceremony of Irrecha at Hora Arsedi is part of the egalitarian, democratic Gadaa system in which the culture is manifested and recently becoming potential for eco-tourism (Mohammed 2008:4).
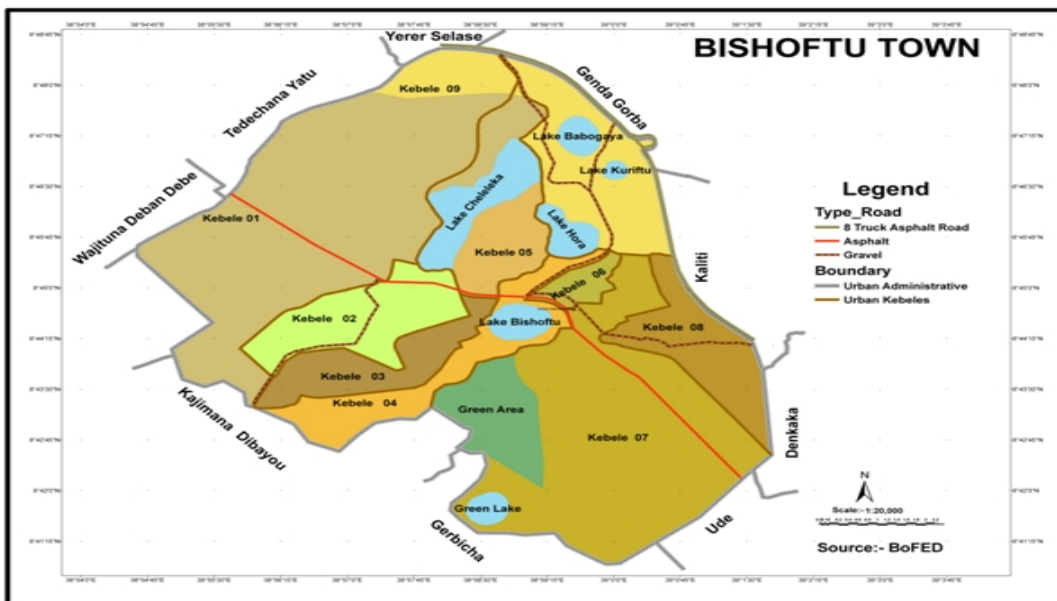
Figure 5.4 Map of the study area

5.3 Background characteristics of the study informants

In this study, the in-depth interview involved 21 individuals experiencing displacement. Though the study informants were from the same area and cultural backgrounds, attempts were made to involve participants with diversified backgrounds taking into account age, education, marriage, and occupation. Table 5.1 below presents the pseudonyms and biographical details of the interviewees followed by descriptions for each characteristic.

Table 5.1: Biographical details and study informants' pseudonyms

No.	Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Marital status	Education	Occupation	Size of household
1	Tulu Wako	M	27	Bachelor	10th Grade	Farmer and petty trader	2
2	Roba Boru	M	54	Married	3rd Grade	Farmer	10
3	Waktola Tura	M	41	Married	6th Grade	Farmer	6
4	Megra Dechu	M	30	Married	Diploma	Farmer and petty trader	4
5	Robele Tulu	M	44	Married	4th Grade	Day labourer	6
6	Chaltu Kefeni	F	48	Divorced	11th Grade	Factory worker	4
7	Kebede Tura	M	69	Divorced	12th Grade	Farmer	4
8	Solomon Bonsa	M	45	Married	Non-literate	Day labourer	4
9	Toltu Jiru	F	80	Widow	Non-literate	-	6
10	Korjo Hewas	M	27	Married	5th Grade	Farmer	6
11	Lelisa Alemu	M	46	Married	Non-literate	Day labourer	6
12	Seneso Kumbi	M	63	Married	Non-literate	Farmer	10

13	Buta Belda	M	24	Bachelor	6th Grade	-	10
14	Yami Boset	M	52	Married	8th Grade	Farmer and trader	11
15	Tolesa Ashebir	M	33	Married	4th Grade	Day labourer	4
16	Dandena Biru	M	32	Married	7th Grade	Day labourer	4
17	Nafyad Kedida	M	19	Bachelor	11th Grade	Student	8
18	Bontu Rago	F	19	Bachelor	10th Grade	Student	5
19	Seyo Ifa	M	49	Married	3rd grade	Guard	11
20	Almaz Buraka	F	53	Widow	Non-literate	Farmer	5
21	Chala Tulema	M	35	Married	Diploma	Farmer and employee	6

5.3.1. Sex of the study informants

As I stated under the subsection about the sampling technique of this research, I employed snowball sampling. I sampled the first informant using inclusion criteria and the remaining informants through referral linkages based on the inclusion criteria. Accordingly, I sampled seventeen male and four female informants. The study informants were narrating what they experienced as an individual and at the same time as members of the rural community who experienced dislocation. During the interview, the informants also provided me with information on many social, economic, cultural, and psychological issues related to gender.

5.3.2. Age of the study informants

The youngest informant of this study was nineteen, and the eldest one was eighty. As one may infer from the above table, individuals of varying ages, i.e. youngsters, early adulthood, middle adulthood, late adulthood, and elders, took part in the study. My aim of including people of

varying ages was to establish social circumstances in which participants could pose questions that might be important to their ages. Thus, I had the opportunity of knowing the experiences of differing generations.

5.3.3. Marital status of the informants

In this study, thirteen married individuals, two divorced, four bachelors, and two widowed participated. The experiences of each of the study informants, who were purposefully chosen from almost all marital status categories, assisted me in better understanding the context of the problems. The information I gleaned from these informants may be useful in understanding the situations of others, particularly those who are married, single, divorced, or widowed.

5.3.4. Educational status of the study informants

In terms of educational status, five of them were non-literate, and only two of them graduated with diplomas (10+3), and the number of informants who attended high school was five. Seven of the informants dropped their education before completing the elementary level, and the remaining two attended grades seven and eight. As we can see from the aforementioned table, many of the informants who used to go to school did not manage to attend high school level education. One of my study informants stated his educational experience as follows.

> "When I was attending grade six, my father told me to drop my education because he feared our land would be expropriated. On one of the plots of land we had, he constructed a house for me. I started farming, and I married, even though we could not save our land from being expropriated. Since then, I have not resumed my education again." (Waktola Tura, 41 years old, Male, 6th grade)

One of the youths who attended up to grade ten also described his experience saying:

"I recently enrolled on the school. Because of a lack of awareness, our community members did not concentrate on schooling children." (Tulu Wako, 27 years old, Male, 10th grade)

During my site observations, I also discovered that the high demand of families for child labour, poverty and the lower values schooling receives in the area are some of the factors that led to poor school attendance.

5.3.5. Occupation of the informants

In terms of occupation, six farmers, four individuals who subsist by mixing farming and petty trades, five day-labourers, two students, one guard, one factory employee, and two dependent youths took part in my study.

5.3.6. Size of the household of the informants

The table above shows that around two-thirds of the informants had five or more household members. The number of their household tells us that the displaced farmers are still having higher household sizes irrespective of changes happening in their localities.

5.4.   Conclusions

Bishoftu is historically built in the rural centre of Ada'a district (woreda), and it is expanding to the rural areas at a fast rate. The city is growing through the reclassification of rural areas under urban administration, which has engulfed rural villages and farmlands. Ada'a district (woreda) is one of the districts in the country that produces high-quality wheat and teff, and its agricultural productivity influences the entire country. If the current rate of urbanization in the area continues, agricultural productivity will undoubtedly be jeopardized. The Woreda is also home to the Ada'a Oromo, a sub-group of the Galaan. The Oromos are Cushitic indigenous people who

have the highest population density in the Horn of Africa. Afan Oromo, the language spoken by farmers around the city, is the fourth largest language spoken on the African Continent.

In the study, I involved informants who had been displaced and came from a diverse background in terms of age, education, occupation, and marital status.

CHAPTER SIX

LAND EXPROPRIATION PRACTICES AND INFORMANTS' FEELINGS

6.1. Introduction

As discussed in chapter three, the government has the statutory right to expropriate land for public purposes based on the principle of eminent domain. However, expropriation should be guided by due process of law, being non-discriminatory and guided by transparent rules defining the situations in which the dispossession is justified and the process by which the compensation is to be determined.

This chapter analyzes how informants identify processes associated with urban expansion and displacement. The chapter explores how displaced farmers represent the land and what land means to them. This chapter deals with the experiences of displaced farmers concerning compensation payments including procedures used to collect compensation payments, the fairness of the damages received, and how farmers used these funds.

6.2. The perceptions of displaced persons regarding land and displacement

Informants of this study believe that land is a non-perishable resource that appreciates all the time. The informants repeatedly claimed that if the current aggressive eviction without giving due regard to the farmers continues, their identities are at stake. According to research informants, it would be absurd to think of continuing as a nation without ensuring land tenure security for farming communities or alternative livelihoods for displaced persons. Their fears stem from the loss of vital resources such as their land possessions, means of subsistence, culture, and social networks. Informants believe that jeopardizing these resources will cause resentment, threaten internal stability, and put under question the continuation of a country as a nation. The country is also reeling from prolonged ethnic strife, rivalry over a limited resource,

land issues, inadequate infrastructure, and social services on top of weak governance. Many disputes are reported in various parts of the nation daily, and if correct procedures for land expropriation are not followed and the government fails to act honestly, such actions may be the source of future conflicts.

The way displaced people talk about their experiences now will have ramifications for the interaction between displaced farmers, city dwellers, and the government shortly. I believe that the way people describe their experiences with displacement will shape their lives, visualizations, and future decision-making. Accordingly, I asked displaced people and their families to explain what displacement means to them. Many of my research interviewees stated that displacement was a strategy through which the government supposedly took their ancestor's landholding under the guise of development. Lelisa Alemu, my research informant, when I asked him about his feelings of dispossessions, said, "You eventually experience the loss of dislocation just as kids gradually sense the death of their mothers. It is the same as sitting on a stone."

It is Lelisa's clear and insightful message about the gradual pain associated with a dislocation. Children do not immediately grasp the passing of their mothers. All children are cared for at the time of their mothers' deaths. However, the care is starting to diminish with time. The kids start worrying about the death of their moms. Moreover, as they get older, kids discover that their mothers are no longer alive and start crying. Around the same moment, they continue with their mothers' agony of death and longing. The same is true of the stone bench, which lets the person seated on it feel the roughness and comfortlessness of it steadily. Lelisa thought that the impact of displacement is something that displaced persons perceive in the same way that a child experiences the loss of his mother. The dream of becoming a beneficiary of urban infrastructure, the compensation paid, and the expectation of getting potential jobs in the urban world are what

farmers felt at the beginning but when they realise that what they aspired to failed to materialize and that their resources were exhausted, the displaced people continue to feel the pain.

The feeling of the farmers, including Lelisa's, stemmed from the fact that there was no noticeable and concrete development on the scale of expropriation in their localities. Lelisa stated as he is now leading his life as a day labourer, something that has never been seen before in the history of his family. He believes he has gone from being a productive individual to the poor of the poor. When discussing the displacement, nearly all of my sources used emotive words and phrases to express their outrage at government expropriations. "Snatching", "being deprived of ancestrally descended landholdings", "being overtaken by an alien", "making us slaves of others", "a sacrifice made for the advancements of few", "deprivation of landholding rights", "state of losing identity, culture, and self-rule", "putting farmers under land tenure insecurity and impoverishment", and "development as a pretext to dispossess landholdings" are some of the phrases and words they used.

According to the informants, in several situations, the city administration has responded by saying that the reasons for farmers' dislocation are for development that benefits the entire society. Yet, according to the informants, the truth is different from what the city administration says. The city administration used 'development' as an excuse to dislocate the farmers from their landholdings in many cases. The study informants said that had it been for real development cause, the city government will not ignore their demand and left them in misery. They felt they had nothing to gain from development. One of the informants shared his thoughts as follows.

> "We do not know the criteria used to get land for investment, but those who received land in the name of investment did not start any development activities. Like everybody, we want to see our society get benefit from development activities and investment. However,

the so-called 'investors' actually fenced the land and waited to resell it. Many of them sold the land they received. The so-called 'investors' are unlawfully enriching themselves. The aim for which we have been dislocated has not yet been accomplished. If there had been a genuine reason for our eviction, at least some of our community members might get the opportunity to work as day labourers." (Roba Boru, 54, Male, 3rd grade)

Similarly, a study conducted in Sululta town, Ethiopia, found that government organs, in the name of development projects, only focussed on securing land and left the displaced people vulnerable and hopeless instead of rehabilitating them and supplying them with assistance (Beka 2016). Similarly, with the Bishoftu city administration, the Debre Markos city administration of Ethiopia has also expropriated land from rural farmers, expecting that investors will request land, but many land plots have remained undeveloped for more than six years, according to Sayeh and Mansberger (2020).

6.3. Procedures pursued for dispossessing farmers' landholdings

As shown under the literature review, Ethiopia has several regulations dealing with how private property is protected and procedures that expropriate such property for the public benefit. The expropriation laws of the country assume that the government will not intervene in private property and individual landholdings unless there is a compelling need for public interests. The government should demonstrate how more important the landholding/property is to public use than it used to be for private individuals before expropriation. In practice, this study indicated that the government frequently expropriates landholdings in the name of public benefit without demonstrating a genuine need for the land.

Ethiopia's development policy seeks consultations with community members on development activities and anything else that may influence community member's life. In the expropriation

procedures, a government is required to inform a person ahead of eviction so that the person has enough time to plan and dispose of other properties located on the land. Article 4(4) of proclamation number1161/2019 also states that when the government is about to expropriate land for a public purpose, its procedure should ensure transparency, participation, fairness, and accountability. Article 42 of the constitution the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia declares that citizens have the right to engage in national development and the right to be consulted on policies and programs that affect their lives.

Before dispossession of landholdings, the government should inform the would-be expropriated person of the amount of compensation he will receive. Expropriation directives and manuals have emphasized the need for training on how to make a living after expropriation, particularly for expropriated rural landholders. The following points out the experiences of study informants regarding displacement processes.

6.3.1. Consultation with farmers ahead of displacement

The African Union Convention for the protection and assistance of internally displaced persons in Africa specified that, before the relocation of persons for development projects, States should ensure that all viable options are pursued, with full knowledge and consultation of people expected to be displaced by the development projects (Article 10(2)). Article 10(1) of the convention bans national authorities from arbitrarily evicting people from their landholdings or properties. National authorities must conduct a socio-economic and environmental impact assessment of any proposed development project, according to Article 10(3) of the convention.

In this thesis, when I am referring to people's participation, I am referring to the direct engagement and sensitization of people in issues that affect their lives to improve their resilience and capacity to respond to changes that may arise due to the intended intervention. The study

found that there was no consultation and participation of prospective dispossessed farmers in the process of displacement. The government has made sites selections for urban-dwelling constructions and investment unilaterally, without giving due diligence to land productivity. No one has assessed farmers' perceptions and opinions to lessen their suffering. My informant, Kebede, stated that the process lacks an evidence-based approach, and I have included his thoughts below.

> "The process of expropriation was not based on the socio-economic analysis. The expropriation was carried out abrasively. No one has taken into account the circumstances of community members impacted by expropriations. No [pre-displacement] survey was performed to know the circumstances of elders, youth, women, and other segments that need particular attention in the process of displacement. If it was based on research, the livelihoods of the people referred to above would have been adequately handled. I believe the right way forward is to group people according to their age, interest, and capacity so that their living conditions will not be adversely affected. But, the city administrators concentrated only on expropriating land and no government agency made earlier precautionary measures." (Kebede Tura, 69 years old, Male, 12th grade)

There was no consultation, and even farmers were unaware of what the government was doing in their villages. The study informants also stated that they did not even know which government agency wanted their land and order dispossession. They had no idea for what purpose the government needed the land. They stated they were naive about what was going on in their localities. With this respect, one of the informants mentioned his feelings as follows.

> "We were not consulted. We were told that our land was expropriated all of a sudden. When we asked the government officials, they stated the land was planned for investment

purposes. My father, grandfather, and ancestors were born and buried here. They were farmers, and so am I. Despite our long-standing links to the land, no one sought our emotions, concerns, and opinions during the expropriation processes. The authorities always consider us as living tenants that proprietors can evict if they wish to do so. I do not even feel safe on the land that remains. I don't know when I am going to be dislocated by the government for the benefit of rich and urban people." (Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Male, Non-literate)

Several studies undertaken in Ethiopia on displaced persons because of urban expansion have also shown that land dispossessions were taking place without consultation and involvement by the displaced population (Girma 2011; Teshome 2014; Beka 2016; Diriba 2016; Efa 2016). Even if failure to involve people in matters that relate to their lives is a significant violation of human rights under the current Ethiopian constitution, according to my study and other studies, the eviction of farmers from their landholdings without consultation is now commonplace.

6.3.2. Notification about displacement and compensation thereof to farmers

Under Article 37 of the Basic Principles and Guidelines for Development based Eviction and Displacement of the United Nations Annex-1 of the Special Rapporteur's Report, the following items are those which are likely to be considered in the process of urban or rural planning and development.

1. An appropriate notification to all potentially affected persons that eviction is being considered and that the proposed plans and alternatives will be discussed at public hearings;

2. The effective dissemination of relevant information, including land records and proposed comprehensive resettlement plans, by the authorities in advance, specifically addressing efforts to protect vulnerable groups;

3. A fair amount of time to openly review, vote on, and/or reject the proposed plan;

4. Opportunities and actions to promote the distribution of civil, professional, and other guidance on their rights and alternatives to affected persons; and

5. Holding public hearings to offer platforms for impacted people and their supporters to contest the decision on eviction and/or to propose alternate solutions and to express their demands and goals for growth

Proclamation number 1161/2019 under its article 8(1) is also dictating those government officials to notify landholders about expropriation at least one year ahead of it unless there is an urgency for land. The study also showed that government did not notify farmers about the displacement and of the amount of compensation prior their evictions. According to the study informants, farmers only learned that the government had expropriated their land when investors began fencing their landholdings. Megra told me his experience on notification of expropriation and related matters as follows.

> "The government officials did not notify us about the expropriation. After surveying our landholdings, the city officials were simply talking to the Kebele about expropriating the land. Most of the time, the officials visited the area with investors. Then investors simply fenced the land they wanted without the knowledge of our farmers/landholders. Usually, the investor or the body that is going to use the land is the one who is going to fence within one-month periods the identified land. No one cares about the farmer or even the yields the farmer has cultivated over the land. The farmer is then ordered to leave the

field. Once, fenced no farmer is allowed to enter the compound. When a farmer recognizes that his/her land has been fenced and reports to local administrators, the local administrators inform the farmer to go to the city administration and apply for compensation payments. In many cases, farmers were not willing to leave their land; they used to challenge the fencing and attempt to farm. However, those who attempted to resist the expropriation were criminalized just by demonizing their conduct by authorities." (Megra Dachew, 30 years old, Male, Diploma holder)

The government violates existing national laws as well as international and regional conventions during the expropriation process. My research shows that the government deprives farmers of their landholdings, infringing on their right to know, reflect, and complain about the expropriation. The significant power imbalance between the government and the expropriated farmers hampered the involvement of evicted people in the valuation and negotiation of compensation (Belachew 2013). According to Belachew, the government arbitrarily decides the value by its appointed property assessors, and if the evicted individuals disagree, pressures them under the pretext of obstructing the government's development agenda.

6.3.3. Training on livelihood strategies, IGA[13] and urban way of life

As mentioned above, training is, at least in principle, one of the benefit packages available to displaced farmers. The rationale for offering training is to make farmers acquainted with alternative sources of livelihood on the premise that many farmers are non-literate and do not have the skills to diversify their livelihoods and manage income. However, according to the research participants, the reality is quite different. The informants claimed that no one provided displaced persons an orientation let alone training. The study informants believe that the city administration officers did not take the farmers' securities as their duty and render them due care.

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[13] IGA is to mean income generating activities

According to the informants, officers are simply chasing after farmers' land rather than establishing methods to mitigate the risks of eviction. My informant stated his feelings as follows.

> "So far, the government has not taken any steps to mitigate the chance of displacing us. We were not briefed, we did not receive training on revenue-generating means, and we were not told how to diversify income sources. We were farmers, and we did not know anything but farming, and we lost our lands and skills associated with land use. We were left empty-handed." (Robele Tulu, 44 years old, Male, 4th grade)

Other researchers discovered, similar to this study (see Teshome2014; Beka2016; Efa 2016 Bikila 2014), that no displaced farmers received training on issues such as income-generating activities and how to handle compensation payments.

6.3.4. Procedures involved in collecting compensation payment

One of the areas that the study attempted to investigate was the process of collecting payments. The procedures, according to the informants, were troublesome for them. The government officials and civil servants assigned to offer such services were not humbly providing the services. When displaced farmers come to the office of city administrators to collect their compensation money, the research informants believe that the administrators regard them as a burden. The displaced farmers want to be seen by officials as persons who are giving up their landholdings for the sake of the public good. They want to be regarded as a hero to be respected rather than a liability, and they want to get timely compensation payments. Informants claimed they wasted many days to collect the compensation. Farmers were often compensated a year after expropriation, according to the study. Solomon stated his experiences as below.

"Late after expropriation, we were told to apply for a compensation payment. At the time we started the process, we were faced with a bureaucratic hurdle. We have suffered a lot to get access to the payment. The City officials used to belittle us, and they did not act decently when we asked to get the payments. We received the compensation as a beggar, not as a person looking for damages." (Solomon Bonsa, 45 years, Male Non-literate)

Although Article 8(1(c)) of Expropriation Proclamation Number 1161/19 requires a government to pay farmers a sum of compensation before they surrender their landholdings, the government has not done so in the study area. Girma's and Diriba's studies in Dukem and Gelan towns, respectively, yield similar results to mine (Girma 2011; Diriba 2016). Farmers persistently claim the lack of willingness from the government side to adhere to at least the existing laws.

6.3.5. Complaint logging mechanisms on the procedure of expropriation and damages

In all cases, the study informants complained that they were not aware of the displacement and the valuation for the compensation was not in line with what their land used to provide them. I then went on to examine whether or not the processes used to lodge complaints were in place. The informants reacted as the government's primary intention was to secure land for the projects it claimed. They stated that the government is less concerned with mitigating the adverse effects of dislocation on farmers. Below is the way Waktola described the issue.

"...the mechanism through which the government handles displaced persons' issues including, payment of the compensation money was worse by any standard. In cities like Dukem, it is even better than in Bishoftu. In those cities, farmers and their children who have been displaced, have been properly compensated and at least have better plots of land on which they can build houses. My father was dispossessed his plots of land by the government many times as he used to have a good number of parcels. Initially, he was

dispossessed about 10,000 m^2 for 2 birr per m^2. The maximum compensation paid to him was 18 birr per m^2. Once the officials have decided to expropriate the land and the amount of compensation, no one can oppose it. Farmers were obliged to vacate the land as far as the government claimed public interest. The farmers were labelled anti-development when they resisted vacating. Previously, the logging of complaints was unthinkable." (Waktola Tura, 41 years old, Male, 6th grade)

Chala further strengthens what Waktola has claimed stating as follows.

"The government has involuntarily and by intimidation dispossessed our land. We are really in disagreement with the administration. Farmers are unable to solve circumstances associated with displacement. They expropriated many plots of land from us. The amount of money that was received was not reasonable. Numerous displaced persons have opposed the displacement and have protested the unfairness of the compensation. Many of the displaced lost their livelihoods. Our community members have up to nine children and are largely dependent on agriculture. Many are leading a messed-up life after displacement. So far, farmers are protesting against the action of the government and they are demanding from the government additional compensation." (Chala Tulema, 35 years, Male, Diploma holder)

My research depicts that the expropriation procedure is against the expropriation laws and other national and international human rights instruments.

Considering the challenges displaced persons may face, under its preamble, the expropriation proclamation number 1161/19 specifies that it is critical to establish the decision-making process and the procedure for handling expropriation and compensation complaints. As a result, Article

18 of the proclamation requires all states and city governments to establish a complaint hearing body and an appellate council.

The proclamation also stated in Article 19 that every citizen has the right to file a complaint about expropriation to the complaint hearing body and the appeal council within 30 days of receiving the order. However, the government has taken no action to date to establish a recognized independent agency that handles complaints and appeals from displaced persons.

6.4. The Benefit bundles provided as reimbursement and associated issues

In principle, a displaced person expects to get compensation timely and as per the laws. As already discussed somewhere under the review of related literature of this thesis, the land is not privately owned property under Ethiopian law, and ownership of land is exclusively given to the state and public. Yet rural landholders have the right to use their landholdings without any time limit, and their children who make a living on farming can inherit the holdings. The landholders have immunity against arbitrary dispossession. Displaced people are entitled to compensation for their property on the land as well as, in theory, for the benefits they receive from the land. In this research, I tried to investigate benefits provided to farmers displaced as reimbursement; how the farmers used the compensation money, and related issues. These points are briefly summarized in the subsections that follow.

6.4.1. Benefit packages offered to displaced persons

The study shows that third parties, either by knowledge of government agencies or due to their incompetence, obtained unfair benefits to the detriment of farmers. According to the research informants, the grounds for their relocation from their land at various periods were not genuine, and the compensation was not fair. The core concept of compensation, as laid down in the constitution of the country and other subsidiary legislation, is to provide fair and sufficient

damages and other things deemed necessary to displaced farmers, and there should be no way for the inhabitants to be harmed or exploited as a result of their displacement. The number of displaced persons, on the other hand, grows as urbanization and accompanying development activities expand. The displaced people's living conditions deteriorate because of the partial or total loss of their farmland. The demand for government involvement is becoming crucial in rehabilitating people who are affected by urban expansion.

According to the informants of this study, the government promised on the media and at several meetings that it would provide benefit packages that it thought would improve the lives of displaced people. Government promises include the provision of training on income-generating activities, loans for micro-and-small scale business activities, and plots of land over which displaced households and their youths over 18 years of age develop homes. Proclamation number 1161/2019 has also broadened the modalities of compensation and resettlement benefit packages available for the displaced. The recognized compensation and resettlement packages under the Proclamation are property compensation (Article 12), displacement compensation and land substitution (Article 13), compensations paid for economic loss of income (Article 14), residential housing for peri-urban landholders incorporated into towns and cities (Article 15), and resettlement incentives (Article 16).

According to my informants, the government, on the other hand, failed to deliver its promises to the displaced. The profit package that they reported was liquid cash, and a few households were granted a 500-meter-square plot of land on which to build houses. The displaced people are desperate for having land as a form of compensation modality because they will get title deed over that plot of land. In their viewpoint, the payment does not compensate for damages, and

they felt the government's act as confiscation rather than expropriation. Seneso stated his experience as follows about benefits packages.

"The incentive package that we got is liquid money. The amount of money paid to us was not equivalent to what we lost due to expropriation. As a result of our joint efforts and our ongoing claims, the authorities told us that we would receive 500 square meters of land for a household to build a house. The city administration has also promised us that it will provide 105-square-meter of land for our children above 18 years of age. While the city administration has yet to fulfil its commitment to all of us, it has started granting land to some of the displaced households so that they can build houses." (Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Male, Non-literate)

I also attempted to know whether those farmers who got the land constructed residential houses over it or not. I learned that all farmers who got a plot of land in the form of compensation sold it. Although it is illegal to sell land in Ethiopia, brokers and officers in the city's land management office commonly buy land by cheating farmers at a low price. After building a very low-cost house over the plot of land, the illegal dealers (brokers and land management officers) will resell the land by tripling their profits several times. According to this study, without building a single room over it, even brokers often resell the land they illegally bought from farmers for birr 500,000 and make a profit up to 2,000,000.00 *Birr*. Almaz stated her feelings about the situation as follows.

"If you want to know the truth, let me tell you! We have been sacrificed to appease the belly of greedy faux investors and brokers. The government has confiscated our ancestral land in the name of investment and housing development for its urban dwellers. Either the land expropriated had been resold, or several expropriated empty sites were still waiting for

a sale. Many middlemen are becoming land dealers and money-makers without spending a penny." (Almaz Buraka, 53 years old, Female, Non-literate)

It is also becoming usual to see a broker advertise a land sale using multiple platforms.
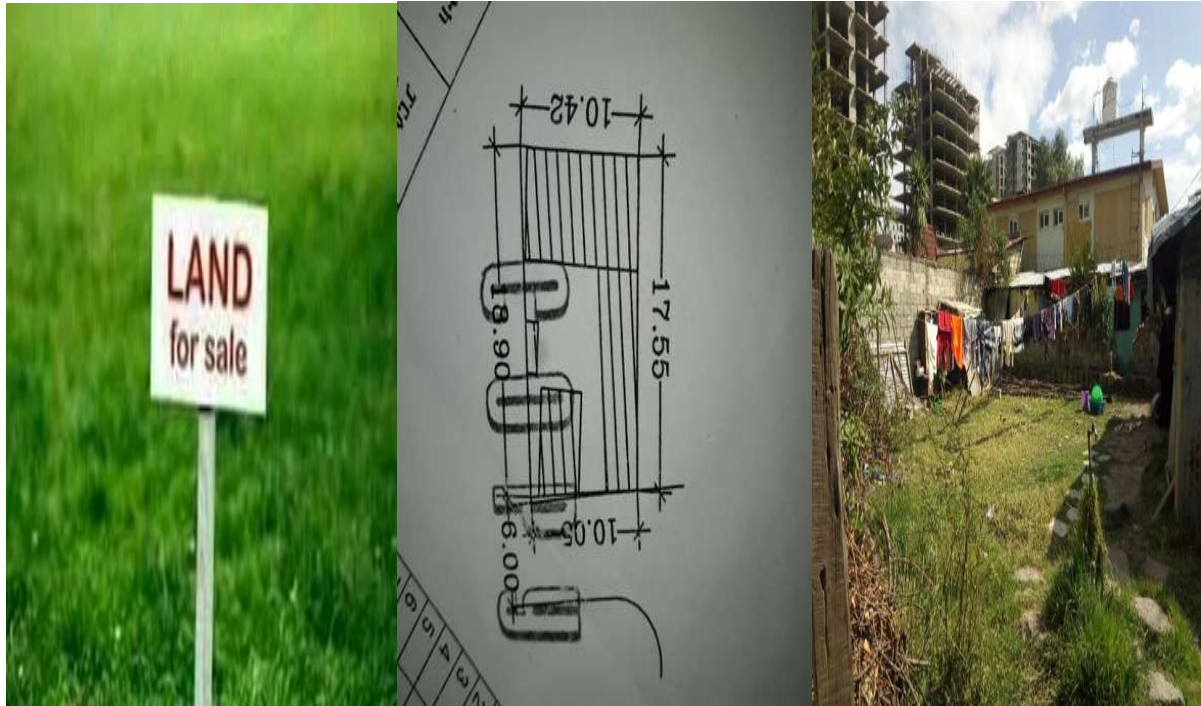
Figure 6.1: Advertisements for the sale of land by a broker (Photo credit: QEFiRA)

The main compelling reason the study informants stated that they were selling land is due to their financial failure to build a house based on conditions provided by the city administration, on top of the misleading actions of brokers. Seneso further elaborated saying:

"Our friends who had received the land in the form of compensation had sold it even before they had received the possession title deed. The land brokers and government's land management officers had stirred our farmers to sell the land. They deceive our farmers and buy the land at a low price. The kind of house that our farmers are supposed to build on the offered land is also not something they can afford to build. Thus, the only

choice the farmers have is to sell the land at whatever price and use the money." (Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Male, Non-literate)

Solomon, who got 500-meters-square of a plot of land as compensation, stated the situation as follows.

"I was also given land in the form of compensation. As soon as I received the land, the brokers started urging me to sell it. They called me every hour to bring in a buyer and I had no time to meditate. I had been asking my wife what I could do. My wife told me to sell the land because we did not have money to build a house on it. She also said that you could decide what you thought is good for the family. Then we just sold it. It was all too cheap. We sold 500,000.00 *birr*. Later on, I renegotiated with the broker and we received a further 100,000.00 birr. The feeling was disturbing. I have learned that the broker has sold back to more than 2,000,000.00 *birr*. It hurts when I remember about the sale. The brokers deceived me and grabbed me in the broad daylight." (Solomon Bonsa, 45 years, Male, Non-literate)

A study conducted in the towns of Dukem and Gelan depicts that most of the land acquired in the name of investment has been fenced off for several years or resold by brokers and misused illegally (Dirba 2016). According to Gemede, Abebe, and Cirella (2020) land speculation is still common in Shashamene City. Teshome (2014) also found that there are brokers, government officials, and 'investors' who are pursuing and benefiting from the displacement of farmers illegally. Those displaced farmers waiting for land are also with the same intention of selling the land and starting their own business with the money. One of the informants told me his plan as follows.

"...We heard that we will have a 500-meter-square plot of land and we are just hoping for that. I'll sell it and start a new business if I get the land. I am thinking about buying '*Bajaj*' and making money out of it **['*Bajaj*'** is a two-or three-wheeled motorcycle, imported from India and currently used to offer taxi service in the sub-urban areas of Ethiopia. The estimated price of a new three-wheel '*Bajaj*' is 175,000.00 Birr**].**"

(Dandena Biru, 32 years old, Male, 7th grade)

I have not been able to see any compensation packages available for the adverse effects of the displacement on culture, social relations, and underlying mental circumstances. The newly enacted expropriation law says little about cultural, social, and psychological harm incurred by the dislocation.

6.4.2. The way displaced persons handled the compensation payment

As I found from this study, there was a problem related to the efficient use of compensation payments. According to the study informants, many farmers lack the skills and knowledge to convert their resources into liquid money and use them wisely. They stated that the displaced farmers have not developed the tradition of saving money in cash from the outset. According to the study, farmers have no prior experience depositing money in a bank. Instead, they deposit their resources in the form of livestock and grains. If they need something to buy for their households, they usually do so by selling some grains and/or small animals like sheep, goats, and calves. They used to sell oxen and cows only in the case of a crisis. The informants depicted that those who put their money in a bank and had prior experience to do business had properly utilized the compensation.

"I was given reimbursement money, and I used the money properly. I am in a better economic status thanks to God compared to others. What I did with the money was

diversify my livelihood strategies. I think I handled the situation to my best advantage."

(Yami Boset, 52 years, Male, 8th grade)

A study conducted by Bkila (2014) also shows that few individuals were able to use compensation money for income-generating activities, taking urban expansion as an incentive. Bikila discovered that displaced farmers with prior business experience, a better level of education, and more wealth had properly utilized their compensation funds.

Those who lacked expertise with money, on the other hand, ran out of cash immediately. Lelisa stated what he noticed and experienced as follows.

"As I told you earlier, the compensation we received was not fair and doesn't compensate the loss we sustained. For instance, as we anticipated, my family and I did not get benefits from the compensation. I just remember spending the money on clothes for my wife and family members. We also bought utensils, and the remaining money was only used for domestic consumptions." (Lelisa Alemu, 46 years, Male, Non-literate)

According to research on farmers displaced due to the expansion of the Ethiopian cities of Bahir Dar and Debre Markos, farmers failed to efficiently use the money they earned, with many using it for everyday consumption and only a few for revenue generation activities (Sayeh & Mansberger 2020). According to Sayeh and Mansberger, the government provided no administrative or professional assistance to displaced households on how to use the money for income-generating activities.

As per a study conducted by Feleke (2004), displaced farmers following the expansion of Addis Abeba city were squandering the compensation payments because of a lack of expertise on how to expend it. According to Feleke, the farmers spent the money on consumer goods, social

gatherings including weddings and funerals, and non-productive activities such as smoking, gambling, drinking, and consuming food in hotels.

6.5. Informal settlement as a latent effect of poor governance and compensation schemes

The informal settlement is currently becoming a concern among displaced farmers. Farmers began to sell their landholdings illegally to city dwellers as a result of relentless broker agitation, owing to the government's unjust compensation scheme as well as economic pressures, according to the research informants. According to the informants, the government is also lenient in preventing such constructions. The brokers first spread misleading rumours as the government is going to expropriate their land at an unfair price and convince everyone to sell it at a higher price they propose, according to the informants. My informants thought squatters influence both their culture and demographic structure. Some informants claimed that it was an indirect war aimed at diminishing the culture of displaced farmers. Robele stated below how brokers are getting undue advantages in the process of informal settlement.

> "...Since then, brokers have begun deceiving many farmers and compelling them to sell their land to illegal settlers. The settlements you see here are the result of the actions of land brokers. At a time when the government used to pay us 2 birr per square meter of land, the brokers used to advise us to sell the land for 20 birr. We felt it was appropriate to sell for that price because we did not know about the government's potential strategy. Many of our farmers have sold their land for 20 birr per square meter. Many brokers have grabbed our land, and at this time they are selling 1500 to 2000 birr per square meter to others." (Robele Tulu, 44 years, Male, 4th grade)

Informants stated that no one wants to sell his landholdings before expropriation. Once farmers learned that the amount of compensation granted for expropriation was negligible, they began to

transact their land illegally. Several farmers have become landless by fraudulent brokers. Kebede further explained the reasons behind expanding informal settlements in his community as follows.

> "The government is not committed to controlling illegal land transactions. The fact that government officials are corrupt, the willingness of such officers to lead and execute current laws, is too poor. Farmers are selling their land not for investment, but only for better payment than for expropriation. The money they get from the sale is all spent without investing and making it productive." (Kebede Tura, 69 years, Male, 4th grade)

According to Teshome (2014), menial compensation payments for expropriation are one of the reasons for the rise of informal settlement, and this, in turn, encourages farmers to sell their landholdings to squatters before the government declaration for expropriation. Tamirat (2016) also states that displaced people transact their land to illegal settlers because of the unfairness of the compensation payments schemes and lack of money to subsist. Similar to my research, Jamal (2019) depicts brokers as determining the price of illegal transactions for informal settlement. Jamal also noted that, from time to time, the unlawful occupation of land in Addis Ababa has grown because of failure to enforce laws and orders and abstentions from taking measures following the construction of illegal dwellings. According to Jamal, abstention from taking action against informal settlers refers to the failure of government officials either intentionally or unintentionally to address the problem by taking legal measures. According to Jamal, the officials failed to act due to a lack of expertise in resolving the problem, a lack of understanding of the magnitude, nature, and severity of the problem, or even a lack of stake in the issue.

Figure 6.2: Partial views of informal settlements neighbouring displaced farmers (Source: own camera)

6.6. Conclusions

The study shows that the city's expansion to farmers targeted only getting land for its inhabitants and factories. As a result, the government confiscated farmland, displaced farmers following urban sprawl felt discriminated against and marginalized in their homes and surroundings, and a few (such as corrupted officials) unlawfully benefited themselves. A consultation with displaced people was not pursued as an alternative to the dispossession of landholdings before the displacement, and displaced people's participation in the process was not guaranteed. As a result, urban expansion has not taken people's aspirations and well-being to the centre, and the

economic benefits that can be derived from urban growth are not yet enjoyed by the displaced. As per Cernea (2000), most of the problems associated with displacement begin at the early stages of the process. According to Cernea, if the concerned body fails to manage the process during the initial stages of the displacement and gives little priority to displaced people, the crisis will worsen. My research, like Cernea's, shows that the people who were evicted faced challenges because the government failed to follow the legal procedures for expropriating land. Even though the country's constitution guaranteed citizens' rights, including those of farmers, the government failed to uphold those rights during land expropriation.

Following the confiscation of farmland, the city government's efforts to rehabilitate displaced people were negligible. The government has never provided alternative entrepreneurship training or advice, including tips on how to save money.

Concerning the calculation of payments, the government has defined the amount of compensation payment arbitrarily by its experts, and the displaced persons have had no choice but to acknowledge that amount. My research shows that the processes involved in obtaining reimbursement claims were tiresome and full of procedural obstacles.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATIONS OF DISPLACED FARMERS

7.1. Introduction

The chapter discusses the displaced farmers' economic and social state before displacement due to urban expansion. This chapter also aims to describe the thoughts of the displaced population about their categorization, i.e. whether it is urban or rural-based. It also details the social and economic circumstances of displaced farmers. The chapter also states emerging social issues related to urban expansions in detail. The chapter further illustrates the relationship between urbanities and displaced farmers.

7.2. Pre displacement economic activities and social state of the displaced farmers

7.2.1. Pre-displacement economic state of displaced farmers

The study informants depicted that farmers used to have sufficient farmland and grazing land, and the main livelihood of these farmers before displacement was agriculture. The displaced farmers were subsisting upon herding and cropping before dispossession. Both herding and cropping have customarily been the foundation of the dislocated farmers. One of the interviewees stated his experience as follows.

> "...My parents owned more than fifteen hectares of land. We had a lot of farmland and more than enough cattle. At that time, we did not have to worry about feeding ourselves because we produced more than enough. We had enough grain as well as milk and dairy products." (Robele Tulu, 44 years, Male, 4th grade)

Land possessions, crop yields, cattle, housing, and other household assets are the most important indicator of a household's measurement of economic status in the study area. Thus, the base for their livelihood was land. For most farming households in developing countries like Ethiopia, the

land is the means for generating a livelihood and is an asset that provides a foundation for economic activity and household wealth. Land used to be one of the integrating factors in the community. It was simultaneously the basis of survival, production factor, wealth, and home. Following the long-established practice of the community, the land was not something for sale but used and then passed on to the next generation. The goal was to satisfy the economic and social needs of the community living on the land. The farmers primarily used to cultivate teff, wheat, beans, chickpeas, and peas. Livestock was the main source of household investment and raising cows, oxen, goats, sheep, hens, and donkeys were common. One of the participants in the interview shared his experience in the following way.

> "Before displacement, we were self-sufficient in clothing children, educating children, feeding children, and all household members. We used to cultivate various crops such as wheat, bean, pea, '*teff*', and chickpea. We used to have ample livestock. Also, we used to support each other and provide some kind of assistance to our relatives living in urban areas." (Megra Dachew, 30 years, Male, Diploma holder)

Some of the displaced persons used to sell dry grass, firewood, livestock products such as cheese, butter, egg, and the like to support their livelihoods. They often used to rely on agricultural by-products. One of the interviewees said: [NB. I put what he meant in Afan Oromo to make it more meaningful than the translation. I have occasionally used the same thing in a few other quotes as well]

> "Yeroo durii galabaan xaffii warrii keenya qotanilee nu jirachiisa ture. Baasii mana keessa warri keenya galabaa gurguruun nu jiraachisaa turan." (Tolesa Ashebir, 33 years, Male, 4th grade)

This means: "We used to sell '*teff*' straw to help finance some of our household requirements before we were displaced. Household costs were compensated by straw sales."

According to my sources, agricultural by-products with economic value include straw, hay, dung cake, and other crop residuals. Trees and fruits used to be additional assets obtained from the land. The displaced farmers held a belief that their living conditions were better before displacement. They depicted that their purchasing power was better before displacement and the role of cooperatives in stabilizing the market was immense. The communist Dergue government had pursued socialist economic and political programs such as producer cooperatives and state-run farms. The main goals of cooperatives and state farms were to improve the nation's productivity and citizens' well-being. The cooperatives at that period were agricultural cooperatives, credit and saving cooperatives, mining cooperatives, small industry and craft cooperatives, and housing cooperatives. The regime (Dergue regime) was concentrated on transferring large villages to newly formed settlements to promote basic social services. One of my interviewees stated his experience on the aforementioned points as follows.

> "In terms of economy, we used to be in better condition. Life was not that hard. We were producing surplus grains; the purchasing power of money was high. We were organized under cooperatives. We used to get subsidized items to form cooperative organization-based shops. Cooperative shops used to provide utility items including food items to consumers with a reasonable and subsidized price during the Dergue regime. In the past, we used to meet the needs and expenses of our family by only selling 100 kg of '*teff*' per production year, but not now." (Kebede Tura, 69 years, Male, 12th grade)

The other point emphasized by the study informants was that they were producers of what they needed to survive on and did not purchase food items like '*teff*' from the market. They stressed

their self-sufficiency at least with what they eat at the household level. For prolonged years, Ethiopia is a country that has been suffering from food insecurity. In 2019, the global Hunger Index ranked the country 97th out of 117 countries, and in 2020, it ranked 92 out of 107 countries (Global Hunger Index 2020). Food insecurity and poverty are inseparable in Ethiopia and the main aim among rural households everywhere is to achieve food security through a self-centred hand to mouth strategy (Lefort 2013). When study informants were stating they were better off in the past, they meant they could feed themselves through their farm production. One of the informants said that:

> "....Before we were displaced, we were all producers. We ploughed the land and produced 'teff'. We even used to grow 'teff' for the market. We used to sell 'teff' and buy some other essential things." (Chaltu Kefeni, 48 years, Female, 11th grade)

Even youths used to think that they had boundless resources. Below is the experience of Dandena.

> "We grew up as children of any rural community. We used to herd cattle and help our parents throughout the farming seasons. My father was a hard worker. As a child, I could not understand what poverty meant. I thought that resources, including farmland, were plentiful everywhere. But eventually, I began to notice the pain as the size of the farmland grew smaller." (Dandena Biru, 32 years, Male, 7th grade)

According to this research, research informants defined self-sufficiency as a household's ability to provide food to its members, and they felt self-insufficient and insecure when they did not have access to it. Beka (2016), similarly to my study results, indicates that before their eviction, the farmers in his study grew various crops and raised livestock, and they felt they had a better quality of life.

Even if Ethiopia's rural households face a range of obstacles that hinder their ability to maintain the country's food security, they are still needed to feed the country's growing population. Large private and state-owned enterprises account for just 6% and 2% of the country's food and coffee production, respectively, while rural households account for the remaining bulk of food and coffee production (Gebreselassie & Bekele 2013 as cited in Beneberu, Admasu & Sarah 2019). Farmland size is one of the factors that influence agricultural productivity (Beneberu, et al 2019). A decrease in farmland size will have a negative consequence on farming productivity and household food security. In any case, agriculture and agricultural areas continue to play a significant role in the lives of the country's population.

7.2.2. Pre-displacement social network, social support system and socialization

Everywhere in the globe, any community depending on its way of life has its means of handling issues related to its members, including social networking, social support, and socialization. These glues keep together members of a given community. A sense of belonging is the human emotional urge to be accepted as a member of a group to establish strong and safe ties that provide a sense of security, care, and affection (Escalera-Reyes 2020). Human beings require collective living or membership in a group that allows for rooting and develops identity and social reference. This study also depicts that displaced farmers used to have many social networking and support systems. Over several years, traditional peoples of Ethiopia have developed and promoted mutual support associations such as *'idir', 'ikkub', 'senbete', and 'mahiber'*. The farming communities enforced and practiced these social support networks to address their members' social needs. In this study, informants described how farmers used to interact regularly before displacement, and one of the participants stated his experiences as follows.

"Before the displacement and expansion of the city, we were interacting every day through our social networks. In addition, during difficult times and crises, we used our social networks to support each other. Elders and community members met under 'Oda' trees to discuss various issues. Such trees can no longer exist because they were cut down due to urbanization." (Tulu Wako, 27 years, Male, 10th grade)

Almost all research informants remembered how they used to have multiple social ties and support networks. The informants' experiences in this respect were nearly identical. And I presented the experiences of one of them below.

"...Also, we used to help each other and even provide some kinds of assistance to our urban relatives. People have been interacting with each other daily. Neighbours, family, and friends spend most of their time together enjoying holidays, working together, and even coping with difficult situations. '*Meskel*', '*Enkutatash*', '*Fasika*', and other major holidays were observed together." (Megra Dachew, 30 years, Male, Diploma holders)

The informants also stated that the community members work together to resolve problems and conflicts in the community. Kebede described his experience in this respect as follows.

"Many of us used to lead communal life and, we were celebrating weddings, '*mahiber*,' '*christina*,' grieving, dispute resolution, and peacekeeping jointly. We were settling problems using our traditional mechanisms. '*Jarsuma*' was our primary way of settling conflicts among our villagers." (Kebede Tura, 69 years, Male, 12th grade)

The research informants stated that there were circumstances in which farmers work in groups and there were cases in which farmers support the weakest, particularly, the sick and old ones through labour contributions. *'Jigi'* and *'Dabo'* are among the structures of labour contributions of the farming community. Both *'Dabo'* and *'Jigi'* are labour contributions during planting,

harvesting, and social events. The host, who benefited from '*Dabo*' and '*Jigi,*' was supposed to prepare food and drinks for the labour exchange. The songs and dances of the farmers engaged were a source of enjoyment for children and youths. Here below, one of the youngsters mentioned his experience in this regard.

> "As a kid, I used to raise calves with my younger brother. Our parents had sufficient yields for harvest and livestock as well. I recall our mule, cows, donkeys, and sheep. We had larger plots of land than our neighbours, and we rode donkeys with my friends and brothers. Our father used to work in '*jigi,*' particularly during harvest time. People used to sing and dance while working on '*jigi.*' Kids used to dance and sing at the '*Meskel*' festival, and elders gave them money in exchange. '*Meskel*' was one of the ceremonies we have been celebrating for about a week. I used to buy educational material with the money I earned as a gift during '*Meskel's*' holiday dances." (Nafyad Kedida, 19 years old, Male 11th grade)

Gurage, Sidama, and Konso people living in southern Ethiopia adjacent to the Oromo have similar social networks and social support structures in which people can work together to support the sick, care for the elderly, assist the needy, bury the deceased, and deal with any group issues and problems (Niagtu, Eden & Ansha 2013). My study also found that there was strong social support for poor and needy ones. Many said that they used to support each other. They were sponsoring each other's parties to share happiness or sorrow. They even borrow items from each other, and the following is stated by one of the participants.

> "When our villagers went hungry, they would borrow food from one another, and any of our neighbours would feed our children. We used to have coffee with our friends, and we used to go to the neighbours' house and share what they had with each other if we did not

have anything to eat at home. …We had strong social connections, and we shared our joys and sorrows. As far as social life is concerned, we had a good relationship with each other; we enjoyed both holidays and grievances together. Whether in challenges or excitement, we were facing with solidarity. We had a tradition of sharing what we had with others in need." (Seyo Ifa, 49 years old, Male, 3rd grade)

Since ancient times, Oromo people have been using coffee, and the practice of coffee preparation is a core feature of their everyday cultural rituals and ceremonial performance (Ayehu, Kamil, Lenin & Dereje 2019). In Oromo society, people use coffee as food, drink, traditional medicine, social networking forum, and socialization school (Bula 2011). In my study, informants depicted that their community members used to socialize children through storytelling during a coffee ceremony. According to my informants, the ceremony strengthens the social bonds between neighbours. It is a means through which people interact daily with their neighbours, usually during the morning and evening. During coffee ceremonies, neighbours discuss various issues such as social, political, and economic matters. Elders were there to tell children stories, foretell prospective futures, and offer prayers and blessings. Villagers used the ceremony as a way to resolve disputes or complaints among neighbours. It was a way to reinforce social ties. In the words of one of the informants:

"We were having a coffee ceremony together with our neighbours. It was a way for us to maintain our social well-being through exchanging ideas and information, praying, and other similar activities. The ceremony was not only used as a means of discussing events and concerns but also a session in which we offered and accepted guidance and advice from each other." (Almaz Buraka, 53 years old, Non-literate)

My study, in conformity with that of Ayehu, Kamil, Lenin and Dereje (2019) and Bula (2011), depicts that coffee ceremony used to serve as means of gaining relief and blessings, a medium of conversation, stage of the debate, instilling and auditing norms, and the moment of social harmony. According to my research, community members can develop a sense of belonging, collaboration, and responsiveness through social networking, in addition to norms and group loyalty.

A sense of belonging is the human emotional urge to be accepted as a group member to establish safe and close ties that provide a sense of security, affection, and care while also giving rise to collective identity (Escalera-Reyes 2020). Cross (2001) defined cohesive rootedness as people's strong attachment, identification, and involvement with their communities, which is what my study portrayed as a form of community connection among community members.

Villagers are primarily responsible for driving the process of learning how to become a person and a contributing member of one's community. Socializing and disciplining children were not left to parents alone, and the villagers used to play a significant role. According to my informants, the socialization of children was considered the responsibility of every adult member of the community. One of them articulated the matter best as follows.

> "There was a presumption that children belong to villagers and relatives, and not simply to their parents, and thus any member of the village is responsible for the proper socialization of children. We had a duty to support each other. In our culture, it was taboo to leave someone in need of support. We were helping each other through '*Dabo*' and '*Jigi*' during farming." (Roba Boru, 54 years old, Male, 3rd grade)

Regardless of the impact of previous regimes' rulers on local cultural, religious and other issues, the people used to be subservient to government. The study also reveals that the relationship

between the government and the local community was not as tense since the community members did not experience displacement and were, in turn, vigilant as to what the government demanded of them. Toltu's experience in this regard was as follows.

> "We were fulfilling the obligations of the government. We were providing national services, paying taxes and we had enjoyed a good friendship and neighbourhood[14]...."
>
> (Toltu Jiru, 80 years old, Non-literate)

As one can see from what was stated above, the displaced persons had strong neighbourliness, community members trusting each other, and shared identities. The displaced community used to have strong norms and networks that promote collective action for common advantages, including the socialization of its new generations.

7.2.3. **Availability of infrastructure and housing conditions of the community members**

According to the study informants, their village no longer has as many amenities and services as it always did. The community members had limited access to schools, health centres, and roads before their evictions following urbanization. The villagers' members had little access to anyone who had gone to school and learned to read and write. Despite being adjacent to the city, farmers were unable to access tap water, electricity, and other essential services. The Dergue regime (1974-1991) envisioned villagization as a strategy for providing such services and infrastructure to rural communities. The clustering of communities in a completely new trend of grid-plan villages is known as villagization (Lorgen 1999). Villagization programs typically encourage a population influx into villages. The program's goal was to unite the scattered rural population in one living location and provide essential services and infrastructure. While the Dergue regime

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[14] It appears that before displacement, farmers accepted, albeit under coercion and oppression, what the government wanted of them and went about their daily lives because they at least had land over which to generate yield in their social environment.

hoped that its villagization program would provide vital infrastructure and services to rural people, it was ineffective in many places, including my research site. One of the youths shared her experiences about the accessibility of services and infrastructure as follows.

> "My parents did not get a chance. There were no local schools in our vicinity until the urban expansion. It was not an easy feat for women to travel long distances on foot to reach school. A lot of them did not have a chance. Except for young people, a significant proportion of people are still unable to read and write." (Bontu Rago, 19 years old, Female, 10th grade)

Housing conditions of displaced persons before displacement were one of the areas investigated in this research. Starting from human arrival on earth, the need for shelter as a means of surviving harsh weather conditions, fearing wild animals, and keeping some food emerged. The housing conditions of displaced farmers before displacement were based on individual households' economic status and only well-to-do farmers were used to having tin-roofed houses as a status marker, whereas other ordinary members of the community used to have thatch-roofed houses. Be it the tin-roofed or thatch-roofed house, its wall was made up of wood plastered with mud, according to the study informants. Megra described the types of houses that community members used to live in as follows.

> "We used to have thatch-roofed homes, but now we all have been forced to convert our homes to tin-roofed houses. The thatch-roofed house is hardly seen in our area due to the shrinking of a field on which the grass grows. Due to the scarcity of land on which the grass grows, the thatch-roofed house is hardly seen now in our area. Until a decade ago, tin-roofed houses considered a status symbol and were mostly owned by well-doing households. But now all the residents in our area are living in tin-roofed houses due to a

shortage of thatch. Compared to thatch-roofed ones, even though tin-roofed houses are sturdy, they are too warm to live in during the warm season. Tin roofed houses do not control temperature, whereas thatch-roofed houses do regulate temperature." (Megra Dachew, 30 years old, Male, Diploma holder)

House, together with clothing food, and water, is one of the most important needs of human life. Attachments and values established to the houses help the inhabitants create an irrevocable affection for their homes, which could mean that the better the houses are, the stronger the bondage and values people have for the houses (Terefe & Djamba 2015). Consequently, individuals pay more attention to a shelter. My research indicated that a home's goodness and badness relies on the local community's perception and that the perception is emanating from the local environment, cultural factors, and purpose for which the house is designed. The houses shown in Figure 7.1 are the styles of houses in which most farmers lived before their eviction, while the house shown in Figure 7.2 represents most homes for displaced farmers. The former types of houses are more valuable to displaced farmers than the latter. According to my research subjects, living in the former makes the occupants more comfortable and dignified.

Figure 7.1: Housing conditions and homestead of non-displaced rural farmers (Source: own camera).

Figure 7.2: Current housing conditions of displaced farmers following urban expansion (Source: own camera).

7.3. The current economic and social state of displaced farmers

One of the aims of this research was to identify the current situation of displaced farmers in terms of economic and social matters. Displaced people can face both opportunities and difficulties associated with urban expansion. By providing opportunities for education, health care, and employment, urbanization can help people advance socially and economically. In the same line, it also may pose a threat to the rural people's way of life. Thus, this study sought to identify the urban way of life and displaced persons' self-identification, current economic and social state of displaced farmers, and described them under the following subsections.

7.3.1. Urban way of life and displaced persons' self-identification

The '*Kebele'* in which this study was carried out has now become part of the Bishoftu city administration and the displaced farmers are at least administratively urban. Thus, I have tried to explore the perceptions of farmers about the urban way of life and whether they identify themselves as urban or rural. I, too, asked them how urban residents identified them. Below are the experiences of study informants on the stated points.

7.3.1.1. Perceptions of displaced farmers on the urban way of life

The feeling among my study informants about the urban way of life is not uniform. Youths were more or less at ease with the urban way of life, however, adults and elders found it challenging. Urban places, according to the informants, are places where one can get better infrastructures like clean water, schools, health facilities, public toilets, electricity, and the like. However, the informants stated that farmers incorporated under city administration do not receive what urban dwellers do in terms of both services and infrastructures from the municipality. The incorporation under city administration, according to the informants, was done to make it easier for the city administration to gain access to farmers' land for urban expansion whenever the need

arose. This study also shows that the farmers though included under the city administration, continue to lead the rural way of life. Informants stated that many displaced farmers could not adapt to the urban way of life. My study depicts that it was not the farmers' way of life that converted to urbanism, but it was due to the expansion of the city that their lives were messed up. Few households were able to adapt to the urban way of life and benefit from it. The following are the experiences of study informants, including the youngest girl's feelings.

> "I am fascinated by the availability of clean water, electricity, and access to modern technology. Nevertheless, you do not see the culture we used to love in childhood. Now, we are more individualistic than ever. In terms of work, my parents prefer herding and farming. However, we do not have any cows, and we buy milk from shops. In our rural community, people are not accustomed to buying and selling milk. My parents are still ashamed of buying milk from the shop. But we have no land to raise cattle, so we have to buy milk for our family. Now we missed the coffee ceremony we used to celebrate with our neighbours.

> The urban lifestyle is appealing though it is demanding money. It is necessary to have money to get your needs. The kind of friendship that you build among urban dwellers is not the same as what exists among rural people. Urban people just talk to you when they are looking for something from you. People in rural areas are willing to help you without expecting anything in return. We are missing the previously established sense of belongingness among our rural people and more focusing on our own needs." (Bontu Rago, 19 years old, Female 10th grade)

The other informant witnessed an urban way of life as follows.

"We do not like joining the city. We found it impossible to support each other. Assessing our current situation, I prefer to live our farming and herding life. ...Our farmers do not want to see the city administration as they hated the system...there is no sufficient road and water supply to our farmers. We still, feel rural. The government is forcefully administering us under city administration for its purpose. We cannot now construct a single room if we wish to expand our dwelling. If we do the construction, the city administration demolishes on the pretext of unauthorized construction. The city administration has refused us at least to build an animal stable. We have to go through rigid and corrupted bureaucratic procedures to renovate or build additional rooms." (Chala Tulema, 35 years, male, Diploma holder)

One of the widows I interviewed told me her view of the urban way of life as portrayed below.

"Urban life is a very challenging one. Now, as we used to be, we are not food growers. We are supposed to buy the food we eat. My husband died three years ago, and I am a widow. There was a tradition in our community that supported poor widows with minor children. Yet, no one here in town cares about a widow. The compensation we got was negligible and did not remain with us for longer than five months." (Almaz Buraka, 53 years old, Female, Non-literate)

Some managed to adapt to the urban way of life, and one of the informants stated his experience as follows.

"The urban lifestyle is not awful rather it is exciting for individuals who have additional expertise, experiences, and resources. However, many of our community members do not have the experiences and capabilities to lead the urban way of life. Many of us used to be farmers, yet we lack the expertise and experience of trade and alternative livelihoods. I

managed the situation to my advantage. I used urban expansion as a positive opportunity and managed to lead a decent life. To be honest, urban dwellers are inconsiderate [in protecting the safety of their neighbours]. Our rural neighbours are sociable and often want to protect the safety of their neighbours. It is this heritage of support that urban dwellers lack. I fear that our century-long traditional social relations and support system may disappear as a result of urbanization." (Yami Boset, 52 years old, Male, 8th grade)

In a study conducted on farmers displaced by urban expansion of Laga Tafo Laga Dadi town, according to Teshome (2014), there was also a disparity in stakeholders' expectations about urbanization. Those in charge of government agencies continued to believe that urbanization had improved the lives of the local people. On the other hand, before the advent of an urban way of life, local people who depended on farming were cynical about it. According to Teshome (2014), this cynicism emerged from farmers' discontent with what they experienced following urban expansion by comparing their living standards pre and post-land annexation.

7.3.1.2. The informants view on the way displaced farmers identify themselves

Except for two of my study informants, everybody identifies themselves as rural. According to the informants, the displaced farmers are still not comfortable with the urban way of life. The farmers in the 'Kebele' were also, during my stay in the field, identifying themselves as rural. Here is the way Robele narrated the situation.

"I do not know how to express myself and tell you about my current situation. In any case, I do not consider myself a city dweller. I consider my family and myself rural. However, as you can see, we are surrounded by city dwellers, our old production methods are gone, and our children are more interested in city life. It is not our way of life that has changed as a result of urbanization; instead, the expansion of Bishoftu city has changed our lives for the

better or worse. We used to grow and generate a surplus for the market until we were displaced. We did not buy food from the market except spices, salt, edible oil, and kerosene. Now we buy every item with the scarce money we have. My income is not enough to live on it." (Robele Tulu, 44 years, Male, 4th grade)

As we can understand from Robele's statements, what matters is not being lived under the urban environment to be classified as urban rather it is the way individuals lead their livelihood. When I asked Seneso if he considers himself to be rural or urban, he responded as follows.

"I was, and I am, a farmer waiting for another round displacement. Nonetheless, I am trying to deal with all the challenges and strive to handle my life until the worst comes."

(Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Non-literate)

Many elderly Ethiopians who chose to identify themselves as rural associate rural people with good moral ethics, kindness, cleanness, self-sufficiency, and honesty in contrast to city dwellers whom they associate with materialism, violence, immorality, and selfishness.

The remaining interviewees classified themselves as urban, and Bontu, a high school student, described herself and her parents as follows.

"I accept myself as being urban. My family feels so rural. At any given standard, the urban way of life is better than the rural one. If you are asking me about our economic position, we are at the subsistence level. But, I am fine with the urban way of life. Yet my parents feel that they are not happy with the present circumstance. It is Amharic, which is more often spoken in the city, and I believe that language is another barrier to our parents communicating with urban dwellers." (Bontu Rago, 19 years old, Female, 10th grade)

Bontu focused on language and other characteristics to identify people as rural or urban, whereas other informants focused on livelihoods and living conditions. Varkey and Manasia (2019)

classified displaced farmers as absorbed peri-urban. The absorbed peri-urban category applies to places that have been adjacent to or within the urban framework for a long time. Due to the expansive nature of urban areas, these hybrid spaces reveal continual changes in land use. The area in which these farmers live is neither fully rural nor truly urban. It appears that how displaced farmers identify themselves stems partly from where they live, the infrastructure development, their livelihood, and their previous perceptions of the rural-urban dichotomy.

7.3.1.3. The informant's view of how urban dwellers identify the displaced farmers

The research informants often thought that some, including city administration and urban dwellers, defined them as rural Oromo farmers. According to my study informants, urban dwellers believe that displaced farmers come from a lower socioeconomic class. I also noticed both the urban dwellers and the city administration describing displaced farmers as 'development-induced displaced Oromo farmers.' According to Robele, urban dwellers may perceive displaced farmers as the following.

> "...Since urban dwellers do not know our previous economic status, I think they could consider us destitute rural persons. Many of us are impoverished; the land that urban dwellers constructed houses used to grow Ada'a '*teff*' [Ada'a '*teff*' is the best quality '*teff*' in the country]. It was very fertile land, and the land is turned into an urban centre leaving us forever in poverty. I often also learned urbanites call our children 'የገጠርልጆች' which mean rural folks in Amharic." (Robele Tulu, 44 years, Male, 4th grade)

Based on my observation and the reflections of the research informants, my research demonstrates that the psychosocial makeup of the displaced persons remains in the rural lifestyle category. According to Teshome, being urban is a reflection of psychosocial dimensions like the attitudes, values, behaviours, and tastes of dwellers' life and activities (Teshome 2014).

Teshome's same work also shows that farmers rearranged under city administration due to urban expansion are still inclined to their rural lifestyle.

7.3.2. Livelihood

According to my research, rural farmers become driven further away from their conventional environment by urban expansion and fall into marginal living conditions. Their landholdings become reduced into a much smaller one, or even some of them become empty-handed. The livelihood typology that the displaced persons are accustomed to either disappears or becomes ineffective. Crop production and animal husbandry are nearly extinct as agricultural and grazing land shrinks. As I have learned from this research, urban expansion has been a cause for a displacement of farmers for the past 20 years, leaving some of my research informants with less than 2 hectares of farmland, while others have lost their land and are engaged in day labour and other non-agricultural activities. My study informants further stated that expropriation of their land is equivalent to being deprived of survival[15]. According to the informants, money alone will not be enough to compensate for displacement. Seneso stated his view as follows.

> "Displacement has expelled us from our means of survival. The land and the knowledge that will allow us to cultivate that land are what we farmers have inherited from our forefathers. The government has snatched this advantage [essential resource] from us for the benefit of the powerful. It seems like the government feels that it is right and appropriate to expropriate at any moment when the need arises by paying monetary compensations in a way it wishes. But the fact is that, as a result of expropriation, not only are we missing land but we are also forced to put aside all the expertise and talents that we have built over a long period." (Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Non-literate)

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[15] Many of the displaced farmers I met with stated that their land is their backbone since it is the center of their lives, and farmers cannot survive without land.

In the same vein, Gashaw (2015) also argues that the Ethiopian government's policy did not take into account the lives of local people residing in the periphery of cities. As a result, rural settled farming societies experienced displacement and faced trouble. Policymakers' understanding of rural people and places will influence how they formulate policies. Since policymakers regard rural people as naive and rural areas as economic, ecological, and cultural backwaters, it would be easy for them to exclude rural people from resources. According to my findings and that of others, rural populations are making sacrifices for development that will only barely benefit from. The non-agriculture-based economic sector of Ethiopia has not been able to absorb these displaced farmers, since most of them are unskilled labour. The impoverishment derives from their lack of expertise for a new way of life and the depletion of their longstanding income source. They are barely equipped for the urban way of life. According to the informants, how to feed a household with a meagre or no resource at hand is becoming a big concern to many household heads. Most households' daydreams are about feeding the family. Because of the expropriation, some displaced farmers along with their family members are forced to look for 'morally undesirable' and 'degraded jobs' such as begging, day labour, and guarding. According to my study informants, some displaced farmers have poor health conditions because they forcefully abandon their former way of life and work as day labourers in deplorable conditions. Buta, a young person, stated his view with this regard as follows.

> "It is very challenging to lead a life for a person who used to produce surplus yield for his/her household consumption. A young person like me may work as a day labourer and make money. But how can the elderly and the sick deal? Almost all of us are buying everything for household consumption. We cannot get anything without money. We are casual labourers, and our income is not reliable. Many of us are leading impoverished

lives. In our community, you rarely find an economically better-off family. After land expropriation, our way of life becomes troubled." (Buta Belda, 24 years, Male, 6th grade)

Though the goal of the investment program for which farmers have been evicted is to provide job opportunities so that local people may benefit from the wages they get (Yonayad, Saiyosapon, & Chaiphar 2017), it has yet to materialize in Ethiopia. Often the Ethiopian government welcomes foreign investment and provides several incentives; including nearly free land, tax privileges, and cheap labour. These incentives implicitly contributed to the exploitation of displaced persons who have no job prospects other than being day labourers. The salary displaced persons earned through day labour could not even help them to feed themselves. As a result, the displaced farmers felt they had become the rich's slaves, forced to live below the poverty line.

Very few people are taking advantage of urban sprawl to live a better life. Those that have been comparatively successful have made significant attempts to diversify their livelihoods. They rely on renting quarters, petty trade, and dairy and poultry production in addition to farming some crops.

Waktola is among those displaced persons who have an opportunity of diversifying livelihood, and he stated his experience saying:

> "Expansion of the city toward us, for persons like me, brought positive change [impact]. In terms of the economy, I am getting better than I used to be. Now, at least among my household members, there is a change in food culture, and the urban way of eating has begun. ... If you ask me about my status, I am getting about 10,000.00 birr [per month] from home rent. The emergence of factories in nearby areas has allowed me to rent some of my rooms." (Waktola Tura, 41 years, Male, 6th grade)

In line with the livelihoods of displaced persons, many studies have been done and nearly all of them share the same findings as my study (see: Feleke 2004; Bikila 2014; Efa 2016; Diriba 2016; Efa & Gutema 2017). According to Oduro, Adamtey, and Ocloo (2015), many people who suffer from dislocation are resource-poor natives and long-term settlers who lose their agriculture-based livelihoods and lack the financial resources to pursue alternative livelihoods. According to Beka (2016), displaced farmers because of urban expansion have abandoned their original way of life, primarily agricultural activities, and are unemployed and face food insecurity. A study conducted in the state of Amhara has also shown that, while expropriating farmers from their land holdings, local municipal bodies have not taken into account the possible challenge faced by farmers and mechanisms to address these challenges (Mohammed, Kosa & Juhar 2017).

Research in Malaysia has shown that local people who experienced displacement are engaged in low skills and low-paying occupations as garbage collectors, housekeepers, babysitters, cleaners, and hawkers. The same study suggested that the conversion of rural land to settlement or built-up areas limits the amount of land available for agricultural operations and endangers the subsistence of the displaced populations (Samat, Ghazali, Hasni & Elhadary 2014). The study conducted by Firew (2010) also noted that the horizontal expansion of Hawasa city of Ethiopia has adversely affected displaced families, causing poor diet, insufficient food, poor schooling, poor health, and limited marketable expertise and skills.

7.3.3. Infrastructure

Urbanization is promoted, among many other aspects, as a healthier place of human residence, which is linked to better social facilities such as access to electricity, clean water, roads, schools, shops, telecommunications services, recreation centres, health establishments, proper waste disposal system and access to financial loans. Concerning the aforementioned infrastructural

developments, this thesis shows that some areas have shown relatively significant improvements, while others have yet to access them. Informants mentioned that physical access to school and a health institution is improving. There are private schools for those who can afford them, and there are public schools for the wider community. However, many are still lacking electricity, tap water, roads, and even there are no public toilets.

One of the things that happened to me during my observation is the recent acquisition of open market services in the area. As thousands of urban households are living in the area due to urban sprawl and illegal construction, the city government has organized an open market centre. Another is that although cultural areas and indigenous belief centres are fading away, I have seen newly constructed mosques and churches that have not existed before to serve the people of the city. Lelisa expressed his thoughts on infrastructure development as follows.

> "...They [government officials] do not even consider it their responsibility to solve our infrastructural needs. However, the question raised by other urban dwellers is immediately addressed. Let me tell you, my brother, the city government has provided the people who are now living in our area [urban residents] with the infrastructure they need. However, our case is not taken as the main responsibility of the city administration. To this day, we still have no electricity, no roads, and no water except for some of us. We have been fighting for many years, and very few of us have recently had water. I assume that the reason for the government officials' deafening attitude is that they want our land and not us." (Lelisa Alemu, 46 years old, Male, Non-literate)

Some of the displaced farmers are also getting water and electric power from nearby urban dwellers. One of my study informants who are optimistic about her future destiny reflected saying:

"Even though we do not have our lighting and meter in our yard, some of us use electric power from nearby residents. There is no water in our yard, but our women do not travel long distances. Our women and children are fetching water from people around the city. It is a good opportunity for some of us to have access to clean water and electricity at this time… We are close to school now. We hope that progress will be made shortly." Chaltu Kefeni, 48 years old, Female, 11th grade)

Research by Beka (2016) has shown that displaced farmers have improved social facilities and infrastructures such as water supply, electricity, telecommunications, health, school, banking service, leisure service, paved road, etc. attributable to the expansion of Sululta town of Ethiopia. Contrary to Beka's finding, Tamirat (2016) depicts that farmers displaced due to the expansion of Jima city of Ethiopia did not access basic infrastructures and services including water, electricity, roads, and telephone services.

Because of solid and liquid waste from cities, peri-urban areas become dumping grounds (Varkey & Manasia 2019). Population pressure, combined with a lack of waste disposal systems in peri-urban areas, results in health risks from solid waste dumped on residential areas. As a result, environmental issues endanger the quality of life and contribute to agriculture being ruined and degraded.

During my research, I also confirmed that the local community did not have access to waste disposal services. It is common to see garbage scattered here and there in the community. There are few public toilets in the city, but none of them are built in the displaced farmers' area. I observed some people urinating and defecating outside.

Figure 7.3: Polluted areas nearby displaced persons' homestead (Source: own camera)

7.3.4. Social interactions and social organizations

The idea that urbanization is as much a social phenomenon as a territorial and economic phenomenon is now widely accepted because it affects social interactions, social organizations, family roles, the nature of jobs, population patterns, and the like. It modifies the family's domestic relationships and obligations. Urbanization also redefines concepts of social and individual responsibility. Neighbourhood, engagement in community events, and social bonds are some of the social features mentioned by informants as place attachment markers. Following displacement, these social features deteriorate and lose their significance. My research reveals

the presence of indicators of social disarticulation. Social ties, including family relationships and neighbourhoods, are weakening. Communal activities and social organizations such as extended family conferences *('walda fira'),' Dabo', 'Jigi', 'Idir', 'Mahiber',* and some communally held feasts are absent and/or declining. Social support and social control systems previously established are becoming weak. Socialization at the neighbourhood or community level is becoming non-existent for children and young people. In comparison to his own experience, Dandena has described contemporary social interactions and social organizations as follows.

"I cannot compare our current social life to that of our previous ones. Our people are more self-centred than communal now. I think our social values have been lost. When we were kids, I remember how our neighbours treated us. We felt like our neighbours' house is our parents' house. We took what we wanted from our neighbours' homes. Our neighbours are the ones who raised us. Right now, I do not see our children sharing what we were feeling about our neighbours. During our childhood, our community elders used to socialize us. It was the responsibility of everyone in the community to shape our behaviours and we were submissive to what our elders ordered us to do. At this moment, individualism prevails and child socialization becomes the sole responsibility of each family. Our communal system of support, in which the sick, poor, and other needy are supported, is diminished. Because of the tense life we lead, our interaction with our relatives is also declining. Our *'idirs'* and *'mahibers'* become slack in enhancing our social ties." (Dandena Biru, 32 years old, Male, 7th grade)

The demise of social networks resulted in a decrease in social capital and the inability of community members to participate in collective activities such as socialization of their newborn children. Similar to my thesis, Ethiopian studies on displacement caused by urban expansion

revealed that dislocation resulted in social disarticulation (See Firew 2010; Efa 2016; Teshome 2014; Beka 2016; Diriba 2016). In his study, for example, Bikila (2014) claims that farmers displaced due to the expansion of Dukem town in Ethiopia suffered the loss of pre-displacement social networks including '*mahiber*', neighbourhood, '*idir*', relative ties, '*ikkub*', and '*debo*' structures due to pre-displacement. Bikila noted that the collapse of the social network is due to the disruption of the old social environment, the loss of agricultural practices, the absence of daily interaction, and the dispersion of group members from their original community structure. Buchecker and Frick (2020) also argue that an increased urban expansion decreases social aspects of place attachment (such as social contacts), people's satisfaction with their surroundings, and community cohesiveness.

My research also shows increased participation of women in the public sphere following urbanization. The expansion of educational opportunities and the emergence of social and other life stressors have forced women to join the public domain. According to the research informants, women began to engage in various paying work activities and attend different public matters, including meetings, because of life stress. Men were unable to support their families on their own, so women began looking for wage jobs. Due to the urban expansion, the relative participation of girls in schooling has been increasing day by day. As a result, there has been a relative improvement in the social participation of girls. One of my study informants comparing women's social status to urban growth in their localities has now expressed her thoughts as follows.

> "Women's involvement in social life was restricted in the past. They were less interested in attending public meetings and expressing their opinions at public gatherings. There was also a time when women had been abducted and married without their consent. The

consciousness of our people is increasing now compared to the previous time partly due to urban expansion. Parents are also getting their daughters into school. Many parents used to be concerned about a girl being abducted if she travels a long distance to study. Now, there is a positive change like asking girls for consent before forcing them to marry. The position of women is relatively better at this time. Young women have now, in particular, begun to work outside their home and become employed in some factories as a day labourer at least." (Chaltu Kefeni, 48 years old, Female, 11th grade)

Similarly, Nuredin (2020) depicts that while accessibility depends on the cost of life, women are relieved from travelling a long way to fetch water and gather firewood. A study by Nuredin also shows that schooling and health institutions are moving closer to promoting school attendance for children and promoting healthcare facilities. According to the OECD (2019), well-developed infrastructure in urban locations would contribute to greater gender equality in which women will have a career of their own and are not supposed to rely on men for work. As a result, urbanization enables women to have a high stake in the domestic and public spheres.

7.3.5. The relationship between urban dwellers and displaced farmers

According to this study, displaced farmers and urban dwellers have yet to integrate and form strong bonds. The informants have shown that their relationship with urban dwellers is at arm's length. According to the informants, the biggest hurdles to interaction were language and way of life. Here is the reflection of my informant on this matter.

"We have almost lived with some of the urban dwellers as neighbours for about ten years. Yet we have not developed a sense of belonging. I think that language and other cultural barriers have hindered our communication. Our children are trying to communicate with their [urban] children, but we have a language barrier as parents. We speak Afan Oromo,

and most of our urban neighbours are unable to speak our language. They communicate with us in Amharic, a language we rarely understand. We even face difficulties at work, as some of the day labourers [in the factories] are non-Afan Oromo speakers. Living next to each other and not interacting is disrespecting in our culture, but it has happened." (Robele Tulu, 44 years old, Male, 4th grade)

The informants of this study felt that urban dwellers are not interested in building ties with their rural counterparts. According to the informants, rural neighbours prefer communal life but urban residents want privacy. The informants felt that even urban dwellers do not want their children to play with the children of the displaced farmer and always want to separate them. The youth whom I interviewed stated his experience as follows.

"... Among young people, both urban and rural, I see no problem at all. We are attending classes at school together. We are also playing together. Parents of urban children do not want us to play or walk with their children nor do our parents interact with urban dwellers. I think urban dwellers believe that we are deviant as well as below their social status. We have no collective social organizations like '*Idir*' with our urban neighbours. We do not celebrate holidays and cultural festivals together as well. You may hear music and dance from the neighbouring compound of urban dwellers at a time when you mourn the loss of your dears and nears." (Nafyad Kedida, 19 years old, Male, 11th grade)

According to the informants, the relationships between farmers and urban residents have deteriorated from time to time, particularly after the living situations of displaced persons have worsened. One of the eldest individuals I have interviewed, Kebede, described his feelings regarding their relationships in the following way.

"In preceding decades, we had a good relationship with our urban friends and relatives. We even used to support each other. Now, the trend has changed. Neither our urban neighbours nor we greet each other. Our urban neighbours do not interact with us, their gates are always closed, and we do not know each other. [In the Oromo tradition, especially in rural areas, closing gates while household members are in the house is taboo. According to the local's tradition, neighbours are expected to greet and interact with one another daily.] We do not know their whereabouts. We do not know both their cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Our standard of living is not comparable to theirs. Neither our urban neighbours nor we invite each other on different occasions, such as weddings, cultural or religious festivals. This is especially prominent among us and those urban dwellers who live in the '105 area' [105 area is a new urban residential area established in 2007 after dislocation of farmers]." (Kebede Tura, 69 years old, Male, 12th grade)

According to this study, displaced farmers began to see urban expansion in general and urban dwellers in particular as a threat to their survival. The farmers feel that their ancestral land, which they used for farming and herding, was dispossessed by the government for the benefit of urban dwellers and that dispossession is partly contributing to weak, if not hostile relationship between urban dwellers and displaced farmers, according to the study. One of the informants stated his view with this regard as follows.

"At this time, our relationship with urban dwellers is not as it used to be. Now we feel that investors and urban dwellers are more of a threat to us. We feel that their presence affected our way of life. For example, the compensation given to me is meaningless. If I have only cultivated my land for a year, I can generate 50,000.00, birr whereas the compensation we have received is below that. This kind of unfairness by itself has begun to affect our

emotional attachments. The fact that we received compensation that did not compensate for our loss continues to influence our relationship." (Roba Boru, 54 years old, Male, 3rd grade)

Another thing I have understood from my findings is that the cattle of displaced farmers are one of the reasons for the occasional poor ties between displaced farmers and urban dwellers. Due to a lack of pastureland, displaced farmers let their cattle graze along the roadsides of urban dwellers' homes. These actions of the displaced farmers have led to misunderstandings between the dislocated and the urban dwellers, as cattle often encroach on the city's community and feed on their gardens.

Figure 7.4: The farmers' cattle in search of grass in the city (Source: own camera)

As one can understand from the above stated the mismatch between the cultural and social fabrics between locals and new urban dwellers has hindered the two groups from integrating and improving their relations. Furthermore, the relationship between displaced farmers and city

dwellers in this study seems tense because the displaced persons are dissatisfied with the evacuation process, including compensation payments. Such a strained relationship is not something that newly emerged only in my study area. Others also identified the antagonistic relationship between urban and rural societies in Ethiopia. As Yeshitila, Kjosavik, and Shanmugarantnam (2016) revealed, the rural-urban cleavage (*'Getere'* and *'Keteme'*) occurred in the country starting from the Ethiopian state formation. Cultural orientations and socioeconomic inequalities are the real cause of the dichotomy. This societal dichotomy may have its origins in the early 20th Century's evolution of urban centres. Many urban centres began as military garrisons and eventually grew into modern administrative centres within the period mentioned.

Initially, inhabitants of urban centres were primarily Amharanized residents who first settled in urban centres as soldiers, merchants, missionaries, civil servants, and construction workers (Jalata 2010; Abiodun & Asemahagn 2015; Yeshitila, Kjosavik & Shanmugarantnam 2016). Even though many of them are of other ethnic origins, Amharanized residents are more predisposed to the social, cultural, linguistic, religious, and political orientations of the ethnic Amhara.

In his discourse analysis of the discursive development of identity, Yosef (2016) also argues that the elites of Oromo share a discourse that assumes that Oromo is a native people that had lived a democratic, equitable life under the Gada system until the end of the 19th century. According to Yosef's analysis, what followed the Minilik's expansion into Oromo land was the formation of garrison towns of privileged settlers whose goals were to keep the structure intact, with an ideology different from that of the locals. Since then, urban elites have assumed cultural and political dominance, and they dominate Ethiopian literature, arts, and media (Yosef 2016).

In many instances, the country's political decision-makers either have urban roots or are accustomed to urban life. As a result, under the umbrella of Ethio-nationalist (representing urban interest) and Ethno-nationalist (siding with rural interest), the discontents between rural and urban-based political elites have remained. Rural elites support multiculturalism over urban elites who aim to promote homogeneity (Amharanization) (Jalata 2010). A study of African elites found that these elites employ two strategies; namely urban political strategy and rural political strategy (Rabinowitz 2013). These strategies use two different value systems that are reflected politically to represent the cultures of people living in urban and rural areas. Urban political strategy is divorced from its rural counterparts and advocates for the establishment of a pan-global, progressive culture. Leaders in urban political strategy strive to appease urban groups by enacting policies that benefit city dwellers while harming peasants and local elites. The rural strategy is based on policies that benefit rural residents and traditional elites while ignoring urban groups. According to Rabinowitz (2013), in Africa, a regime that can mobilize a strong rural power base and repress organized urban sectors will be able to enact policies that keep traditional rural elites in check, undermine the organizational capacity of the urban opposition, and promote agricultural growth, fostering stability and minimizing military politicization. The inverse is also true: a regime that cannot suppress its urban political base and has a weak rural political base will use policies to promote urban interests, alienating rural areas, undermining economic growth, and, as a result, fracturing the military and destabilizing the regime over time.

The current conflict we are witnessing in Ethiopia is the result of tensions between these two forces. During the Addis Ababa city council[16] meeting on July 16, 2022, one of the pro Ethio-nationalists asked the city mayor, Adanech Abiebie, an ethnic-nationalist, why students in the city are forced to stand for the Oromia State's flag anthem. The mayor responded that Addis

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[16] The city has its council, which is in charge of enacting city laws and appointing the mayor and city cabinet.

Ababa is surrounded by Oromo farmers while also serving as the capital of the Oromia State. In addition, the mayor stated that Afan Oromo students in the city are required to stand for the State anthem since they follow the Oromia State curriculum. The mayor continued to express her feelings as follows:

> "In the last 30 years, Addis Ababa has more than doubled its horizontal size to the surrounding rural farming community in Oromia State. Let us put our political differences aside and think rationally. Don't you believe those to whom the city has spread have their language, culture, and identity?" (Adanech Abiebie July 16, 2022)

Takele Uma, the ruling party's higher official since 2005 and current Minister of Mining and Petroleum, reflected in 2014 on the master plan intended to integrate Addis Ababa City and surrounding villages and towns in Oromia, which met fierce opposition from the Oromo people, resulting in widespread protest and the plan being put on hold. During a training intended to inform media professionals and higher state officials about the importance of the integrated master plan, Takele expressed his opposition to it. The following is Takele's argument about the master plan.

> "The issue of Addis Ababa and the surrounding cities is not only about an urban issue; it is a question of identity. When we say identity, we mean that the plan should embody and respect Oromo identity, history, and politics... We already know about Addis Ababa's expansion... What we want is an Addis Ababa that embraces the peasants and their children, not one that grows by evicting Oromo peasants" (Oromia Television, 2014).

The debates and arguments made by higher political officials and what my study informants said about the magnitude of the problems among displaced farmers, demonstrate how elites politicize farmers' issues with little or no commitment to addressing farmers' problems. The study

somehow highlights the urban-rural divide in Ethiopia and the invisible hand of the elites in many of the evils farmers face. I referred to those in the urban camp as 'the unidentified,' because they want to live wherever they find suitable for them, seeking homogenization, while those in the rural camp were referred to as 'the identified,' because they want to maintain their identity somewhere and prefer to live in a heterogeneous environment, having their own identity respected. It is now commonplace in Ethiopia to see those representing Ethio-nationalist (the urban camp) and ethno-nationalist (the rural camp) opposing each other while serving the same government. One hardly finds pieces of evidence that any of these camps are addressing the real problems of the people they are lucidly representing or the country's problem in general. The government has yet to implement the multi-national federalism that the country claims to follow; citizens are frequently at risk of conflict, displacement, and death at various times because of their identity.

7.3.6. Currently emerging social issues

I) Conflict within the household

Research informants of this study indicated that conflict within the household occurs between partners, parents, and grown-up children. The clashes progressed to the point of murder, where a husband killed his wife. At a household level, the conflict is mainly due to economic pressure, particularly when the money for compensation is misused. Part of the conflict stems from the male household head's alcoholism. The study shows that there is also conflict between grown-up children and parents. The source of conflict among parents and children emanates when the parents become unable to fulfil the need of their children. Children's demand varies, and some of them need basic needs like food and clothing while others request the purchase of items like cell phones. According to the informants, a family is becoming more of a hostile environment to its

members than a place of psychological comfort. According to the study, mental illness, child flight from home, divorce, and family disintegration emerged in the community because of the conflict. Yami, my study informant, stated his experience with this regard as follows.

"These days, there are more displaced farmers who are unable to feed themselves. People who do not use the compensation properly are causing conflict among their family members. Even if the story I am telling you now did not happen in our village, a man from a neighbouring *Kebele* allegedly killed his wife for compensation money. He is still in prison, and his children are alone without parents. The person was very drunk. The government expropriated his land because the recently built railroad and the highway were running through his farm. At that time, he and his wife took the compensation payments. Often he returned home intoxicated, and occasionally he clashed with family members. As he was drinking more and more, his wife began to make sure he did not spend too much money. She locked the money in the box and started holding the key in her hand. He always got into an argument with her, and the fight advanced. He asked her to give him money the day he killed her, but she refused. Then, he tried to break into the box, and grab her and killed her. Family feuds have been more widespread in recent years. Some of our farmers are frustrated. Many of them waste too much time on alcohol." (Yami Boset, 52 years old, Male, 8th grade)

Research conducted in Gonder, Ethiopia shows that domestic violence occurs due to conflicting views of family members, male alcohol intake, and impoverishment of the household (Tegbar, Anwar &Yigezu 2004). Tegbar, Anwar, and Yigezu (2004) found that many women are assaulted after their husbands consume heavy alcohol and those who consume alcohol frequently are more likely to assault their partners.

II) Conflict among relatives

Due to the shrinking of farmland size, conflict is emerging among relatives. According to the study, people are increasingly valuing things and relationships only on their monetary value than on other factors. The fact that the price of land appreciates from time to time also acted as a cause for conflict. One of the study informants stated his perceptions saying:

> "Connections between relatives are even becoming rough and fragile from time to time. We do note a dispute between relatives over a piece of land. Initially, when land expropriation began, many families entered into conflict stating expropriated land as their belonging and seeking compensation. Others began claiming possession rights over the remaining land plots." (Robele Tulu, 44 years old, Male, 4th grade)

Evidence indicates that, following urban expansion toward farming community, tensions have begun to erupt as a result of a decrease in social and family ties, giving way to monetary values and redefining property like a pool of money rather than a common asset shared and passed down to the next generation (Teshome 2014).

III) Conflict among displaced farmers and non-displaced farmers

One of the concerns depicted by this study is a conflict between neighbours. It happened between households that have lost their landholdings and are unable to cope with the displacement effect, and those that have not yet lost their landholdings. It happened because they were undermining each other and their jealousy. As I understand from my observation and interviews, conflict emanates from any form of speech, act, or look, by misinterpreting by one of them, and provokes verbal as well as psychological abuse.

Those who did not use the compensation money properly and become destitute suffer more from the label. Seneso stated the current tense relationships among dispossessed farmers and non-dispossessed ones below.

> "...There are divisions inside us indeed presently, as we have never seen some time recently, let alone communicate with each other frequently. Those persons, whose lands have not been taken, since their lands are a little farther from the city, blame us, the persons whose lands have been taken. By considering the recompense cash we have gotten as a huge entirety, others who are not evacuated humiliate us as extravagant. They thought we had misused the money but not true in reality. We, like them, believed the compensation settlement was a large sum of money when we received it. They are gossiping us from behind. Some of these farmers are making fun of us and undermining us as well. They harass us with their words, eyes, and actions. They are making us very nervous. The gap between us is very widening. There were displaced farmers who, in face of ridicule, fled from our village. Where they go, no one knows. Our pain goes beyond our comprehension." (Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Male, Non-literate)

Downing and Garcia-Downing's (2009) statement of the "blame-the-victims" fallacy better explains how non-displaced farmers explain the status of displaced farmers. The presumption of non-displaced farmers derives from the belief that the psycho-socio-cultural issues of displaced persons are a result of their failure to take advantage of the opportunities offered. According to my report, the displaced farmers are also unwilling to acknowledge the identified differences in social standing among community members. As stated previously in chapter 5, the Oromos were

egalitarian[17], and the displaced community is new to the stratified and hierarchically identified community that is prevalent in urban and capitalist society.

IV) Tense relationship between government and displaced farmers

Due to unfair compensation schemes, deceptions made, and unfulfilled promises by government officials, the study informants stated that their relationship with the government is getting rough and even at some times tense. The lack of consultations before dislocation, the intimidation from government officials during expropriation, the bureaucratic hurdles dislocated persons faced in receiving compensation payments, and the government's failure to respond to displaced persons' economic, social and cultural demands strained the relationship. One of the study informants stated his experience as follows.

"Even if we expect the government to listen to us and understand our feelings about issues that affect our lives, most of the time it does not involve us. We have lost many things, including our livelihoods because of unilateral government decisions. Honestly, we do not have a good attitude towards the government right now, as we used to be before we were displaced. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find a person who carries out the government's orders. We do not trust what the government officials are telling us because the government has been cheating us for so long.

We do not have most of the infrastructure, as you can see. Some investors promised to build essential infrastructures, such as clinics, schools, and tap water, during their initial investing phases. Despite this, practically all of the investors failed to keep their promises. The government has not monitored the investors. Now, we feel as if the government and the investors have consulted and cheated us. At this time, we have no

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[17] Equitable principles are based on the underlying assumption that all humans are equal in underlying value or moral standing.

good relationship with the government. We are looking at government suggestions and directives with scepticism." (Megra Dachew, 30 years old, Male, Diploma holder)

Similarly, one of the reasons that forced the government of Ethiopia to change direction, beginning in 2014 and finally in 2018, was the resistance of the Oromo people, especially the rural population, to the government's proposal to extend Addis Ababa to the nearby rural areas. Displaced farmers in other countries are likewise protesting their governments' unfair acts. For example, India and China experienced mass demonstrations by evicted farmers against the governments of China and India over the last two decades because of discontent with the government's eviction and compensation schemes (Ghatak & Mookherje 2011). The studies thus reveal that if a government is not revising its policies concerning land expropriations, massive unrest that will hamper investments and development will erupt.

V) Rise of crime, drug addiction, and other unacceptable acts

According to the study, there are newly emerging immoral sayings, acts, and a rise in crime following urban expansion. Respect for elders, adherence to the community norms, and the tradition of helping one another are all fading. Instead, youths started adopting socially unacceptable sayings from the nearby urban setting, according to the informants. Some statements and taboo words introduced by the youths of Amharic speaking origin have put a strain on the norms of displaced farmers, and the following are examples mentioned by informants.

እንብላ ጎጂ ባህልነው። "It is harmful to invite others to share our meals with us."

ምርቃት ኪስ አይገባም። "An elders' blessing does not go into your pocket."

እናትህን ልብ*ት። this is a taboo phrase meaning "let me fu*k your mom."

According to this research, gambling, alcohol, and other substance consumptions, obscenity and non-compliance are becoming popular among youths of displaced farmers. Nowadays, more and more houses that sell *'tela', 'kcha't, 'areke',* and other substances are operating in the vicinity of displaced farmers, according to the informants. The informants stated that the emergence of the stated houses is directly the result of urban expansion. Young people are wasting their time away from jobs and school because gambling, such as pools, has been introduced into every neighbourhood. According to the informants, youth unemployment initially played a significant role in motivating some of them to engage in substance abuse and gambling. Since then, youth academic performance and participation in education have been fluctuating. According to my study informants, poor households force their children to leave school and work to support themselves and their families. Due to parents' pressure, some children dropped out of school and took up part-time employment such as driving a horse-drawn wagon.

Theft is also common in the villages of displaced farmers. According to the findings of this study, villages near informal settlements are more prone to theft. The owner of unlawfully constructed house frequently keeps it empty, rents it, or has it guarded by anonymous individuals, allowing thieves to take advantage of the situation. These houses frequently serve as a day and night fortress for thieves, posing a threat to the neighbourhood. Robele described the situations of crime and related social problems as follows.

> "Although there have been crimes in the past, we did not see as many as we do now. There is a lot of cheating, robbery, and theft. The more anonymous people are, the less we can control crime. What is happening now is that a large number of strangers are roaming our neighbourhood. New neighbourhoods and uninhabited neighbourhoods have led to increased crime since wrongdoers are using these houses as shelters. Our youths

have also begun to do unusual things like gambling and alcohol consumption. Most of their behaviours seem inherited from the urban environment. Our tradition of respecting each other in general and elders, in particular, has diminished. Occasionally there are clashes and killings as well." (Robele Tulu, 44 years old, Male, 4th grade)

Adults as well as young people are becoming addicted to alcohol, according to the study. Some land expropriated farmers become idle and spend their time drinking. As a result, conflicts and health problems related to alcoholism are prevalent in the study area, according to the study informants. The study also shows that some people even died from HIV/AIDS and alcohol-related health complications. The following is how a woman whose husband died of alcoholism expressed her feelings.

"My tragedy is a very serious one. I can say that because of the city expansion, I lost my husband, whom I had loved for years. He was the father of my children, and we were living together in love. When the government expropriated our land, my husband started drinking alcohol, and then our house began to shake. The only thing we did with the money we got was to build these three additional rooms in our compound. The rest of the money ran out in a couple of months. My husband, too, was drinking a lot. There were always yells and conflicts among us. He started hitting me every time he came in. Eventually, he left us empty-handed and died. This is the apex of the city-expansion crisis." (Almaz Buraka, 53 years old, Female, Non-literate)

Mefekir (2017) reveals the spread of many crimes, alcoholism, and addictions because of urban sprawl, which is similar to my research. Stealing, robbery, illegal land grabs, insults, and the like, according to Mefekir, are becoming common in the urban setting of Areka town of Ethiopia.

VI) Decline in informal social control and traditional way of crime investigations

According to this study, social control mechanisms used to discipline citizens and control deviation from standardized norms are becoming less effective. The community had norms that used to shape deviant children during the pre-displacement period. Any mature community member has a responsibility to counsel and discipline deviant youth or children. It was the responsibility of all mature adults, whether the deviant child was a relative or not. People used to respect the rules of their community so that they would not be ostracized, but this time the influence of the community's norm diminished. The community members also used to have their tight ways of investigating a crime. One of my informants stated the way the community used to investigate crime as follows.

> "In the past, there was a crime as well. However, we were able to reduce it because there was a strong connection in our community. Now, these connections are getting weaker and weaker. When a crime was reported, we had our traditional method of investigation. It is called '*Awuchachign'*, which means extractor. With this method of finding a criminal, all members of the community should be able to come out and prove that they did not commit a crime or that they did not see it happen. In this way, everyone would gather and search for the culprit. Now, this method of investigation is not in use. Crime is also now on the rise. The criminals are escaping without being caught." (Yami Boset, 52 years old, Male, 8th grade)

The community used to have a powerful traditional conflict resolution mechanism known as *'Jarsuma'.'Jarsuma'* is equivalent to arbitration, which is a mechanism in which elders and revered members of the community arbitrate a dispute. The community deems the members of 'Jarsuma' neutral and they are known by the collective name called '*Jaarsolii biyyaa'*, which means elders of the community. In addition to arbitration, '*Jaarsolii biyyaa'* are involved in a

variety of community issues such as dealing with misconceptions, blessing and cursing, guidance, and counselling as well as praying. However, according to the study, the hegemony of '*Jarsuma*' is waning, and young people are deviating from cultural standards, according to the study informants.

'*Jarsuma*' tends to resolve disputes in contrast to formal litigation by saving time, shortening distances, minimizing court costs, creating chances for contestants to engage openly, fighting corruption, taking advantage of flexible processes as compared to structured litigation, and ensuring restoration, as compared to winning-loser mentality (Dejene 2002). My findings indicate that the displaced community simply abandons and loses the traditional dispute settlement mechanism that benefits all of the points mentioned above. According to the study, some members of the community also started inclining toward formal litigation rather than '*Jarsuma*'.

7.4. Conclusions

Before the urban expansion and displacement, the informants felt farmers led their lives in a stable and orderly way. Farmers did not have to worry about feeding their families or raising and caring for their children before the eviction because they had the resources to do so. The displaced farmers used to produce yields for both their domestic and retail use. Their grain and animal yields were somehow sufficient to meet the demands of household members. Their living standards were more or less similar at the community level because community members were more or less egalitarian. Their social relations were strong since they used to interact regularly. Their community members had many social values in which they strengthened the support net to their members in need of support to deal with economic, social, and psychological stressors.

They had their indigenous systems to investigate and control crime and to modify the behaviour of perpetrators. They also used to have alternative conflict settlement methods.

However, as the urban grew into their locality, they became economically impoverished, and some of them were forced to abandon farming as a viable means of subsistence. They were unable to work in factories or other non-agricultural industries due to their poor education, lack of skills, and other social obstacles. As a result, the displaced persons have been economically marginal relative to urban dwellers. Their experiences demonstrate that displaced people continue to face difficult living conditions.

This study also extends the social disorganization theory's argument that location matters (for example, living in an urban concentric zone exposes people, particularly young people, to crime) when it comes to criminality. My research has revealed how farming communities near urban areas are experiencing social disorganization. The thesis demonstrates that the emergence of class stratification among egalitarian community members, the formation of heterogeneous societal groups, the tense relationship between residents and the government, and the failure of previously held social control mechanisms created favourable situations for criminality. A decline in farmland size, the rise of idle people and alcohol abuse, and inappropriate use of compensation payments are all potential sources of crime and illegal activity in peri-urban areas.

Displaced farmers have experienced social alienation, powerlessness, inferiority, physical vulnerability, embarrassment, and other poverty-related vulnerabilities after displacement. Similar to my study, Scannel and Gifford (2010) theorized that displacement causes inhabitants to lose familiar institutions and interaction patterns, perhaps leading to the breakdown of a community. Farmers' spatial and social segregations have become common in places where they live alongside urban residents. Farmers who live among urban dwellers are kept separate with no

or limited interaction with urban dwellers. In contrast to urban people, who enjoy protection and ownership of their immovable property, the remaining land currently occupied by some displaced community members is always at risk of expropriation. The Oromo people use the land as a tracer of one's pedigree, and land possession is primarily a way to join a specific lineage. My research informants believe that they had been dispossessed of the land that '*Waqa*'(God) had given their fathers and predecessors to use, rule, and establish their identity over it.

My research also reveals that displaced community members still consider themselves rural citizens, either because they value a more rural way of life or because they are vulnerable due to a lack of needed services and infrastructure at the urban level, or both. The study also revealed some beneficial effects, such as increased access to school and social services following urban expansion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE OF DISPLACED PERSONS

8.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the cultural and psychological state of displaced persons. Its first subsection provides a detailed account of the farmers' pre-displacement cultural practices. The second subsection describes the current cultural and psychological states of displaced persons. In the last subsection emphasis is given to the religion and language of displaced persons. The last subsection also further illustrates concerns related to the spatial change and change of names of places following urbanization.

8.2. Pre-displacement cultural and religious practices

One of the most under-researched topics is the impact of urbanization on the religious and cultural practices of displaced farmers. This study, therefore, attempted to shed light on how eviction affects religious and other cultural practices. As mentioned in this thesis, expropriated farmers are from the Oromo ethnic group, their language is Afan Oromo, and their religion used to be '*Waqefena'*. They follow the *'Gada'* system, even if the system is getting weak due to numerous factors, including pressures from the Ethiopian political mainstream. What makes Oromo presumably peculiar to other ethnic groups in Ethiopia is that the Oromo tend to come from the same genealogical order with the same religion, administrative system, and socio-cultural background (Tulu 2020; Alemayehu 2019). There are also instances where Oromos gave an Oromo identity to an individual or group through adoptions called '*Guddifacha'* and '*Mogasa'*, respectively (Alemayehu 2019). Displaced farmers also used to perform various cultural and religious practices related to their economic system, including land, trees, and animals. The following are some of the points identified by the study informants.

8.2.1. 'Oda' tree and its significance

'*Oda*' (Sycamore) is a tree under which all matters relating to the '*Gada*' system takes place. Regardless of religion or geographic location, the tree is a symbol of identity, peace, unity, affluence, and coexistence across all Oromo societies. People carry out religious and socio-political activities under the tree. It is a gathering place for *'Gada'* rulers to enact laws and resolve conflicts. The Oromo chose the '*Oda*' tree to convene under it because it represents the people's hope and the Oromo nation's prosperity (Tulu 2020). According to the research informants, the tree (*'Oda'*) and its surrounding area are sacred places. According to one of the informants, the following is how the community thinks about the *'Oda'* tree.

> "'*Oda*' trees are not only trees under which people gather together and discuss community issues, but they are also used to enact laws; worship God, and refresh the mind. The trees are places where people sacrifice bulls and pray to the Almighty God to make a fortune in the life of the people. The trees remain moist even during the dry seasons and the elders used to pray under the trees of '*Oda*' so that it would rain during such dry seasons." (Tulu Wako, 27 years, Male 10th grade)

As the Oromo society used to be egalitarian, there were many things that the Oromo community members had in common regardless of age or gender. '*Oda*' trees, regardless of age, gender, or any other social category, are open places for all individuals. The informants perceived the trees to be water sources that embody human harmony, politeness, and peacefulness.

Fig. 8.1: '*Oda'* tree (Photo credit: Gadaa Foundation, 2017)

The research informants believe that '*Oda'* trees are a location where the truth is uncovered. As the sites are respectful and places of truth act, the Oromo society used to enact laws under '*Oda'* trees. Seneso, one of my informants explained this matter as follows.

> "'*Oda'* is not an ordinary tree at all. It is a tree that God has given us, and no one is supposed to deceive or cheat when attending meetings or holy events. Everyone acknowledges the area's sacredness and refrains from deception or dishonesty. It is a gathering place where people make peace and discuss social and legal matters." (Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Male, Non-literate)

According to my research informants, the large and evergreen leaf of '*Oda'* is supposed to be a symbol of wealth, and its divisions signify the vastness of the Oromo genealogy. Furthermore, the informants revealed that the residents used to perform rituals such as '*Atete*,' '*Borenticha*,' and '*Dhibayu'* under the shadows of giant trees such as '*Oda*.' Solomon's research also indicated that each part of the '*Oda'* tree has its own mysterious and cultural meanings among Oromo

society (Solomon 2017). Scannell and Gifford (2010) also refer to this form of bonding as group-framed bonding, which comes from the symbolic meanings of an object or a location where people practice and preserve their shared traditions.

8.2.2. Ceremonies of *'Atete'* and *'Borenticha'*

In the study area, *'Atete'* is a custom performed predominantly by women among the Oromo people. It is a sacred rite and thought of as the unique spiritual power granted by *'Waqa'* to women. Meals made for the ceremonies are mostly from milk and milk products. A woman who used to celebrate *'Atete'* stated what *'Atete'* means and her experiences as follows.

> "'Atete' is a ritual rite performed by women and girls. It is a festival in which women and girls pray to their God (*'Waqa'*). Our ancestors believed that women are interposers connecting the holy and corporeal. We used to celebrate collectively, and we used to be served food items like porridge prepared of milk, *'Buna Qalaa'* [*'Buna Qalaa'* is prepared from roasted and smeared coffee with butter], yogurt, and butter." (Almaz Buraka, 53 years old, Non-literate)

According to the study informants, rituals performed at 'Atete' represent the Oromo public's desires for the sustainability of life on Earth, and the milk and milk items used in 'Atete' rituals serve as a symbol of prosperity and enlightenment. Informants in my study also stated that women deserved respect in their community since they possess spiritual power. Similar to my research, Temam identified rituals performed to convey happiness, enable cattle to breed well, combat animal misery, mitigate crop loss, overcome recurring droughts, alleviate disease outbreaks, or defend the nation's territories from attack, as well as protect women's rights from abuse by their mate partners (Temam 2019). In the *'Gada'* system, women have many options

for asserting their rights, and a study conducted by Temam has shown that '*Atete'* has a great deal to do with women's rights.

Borenticha, also known as the river's spirit, is a calf and ox protector (Workineh 2001). Unlike 'Atete,' men perform this ceremony. Its ritual celebration consists of feasts shared by family, relatives, and villagers. According to one of the informants, in Afan Oromo:

> "Boranticha irrajira warra dhiiratu godhata. Ayyaana kanarratti sirbatu jira. Hawaastti martti halkan walgaha. Warri firaa, hollaan, akkasumas warren biro walwaamaniti waliin kabaju. Halkan guutuu nyaataaf dhugaat bulu. Kuni hawaasa wallitti fida ture. Jaalallis baay'ee cimaa ture. Hundumtuu mijuudhaafi nyaataan waleebbisa ture. Eebba booda taphatu jira akkasumas hinsirbu." (Korjo Hawas, 27 years old, Male, 5th grade)

This is literally to mean,

> "*'Borenticha'* is primarily celebrated by men. There were songs and dances in this ritual. All the villagers used to come together in the house of the person holding the ceremony in the evening. No one was left out of the crowd, including family members, relatives, and villagers. During the night, all attendees used to enjoy feasts and drinks. The practice used to gather all villagers together. The love among villagers was immense. On the occasion, the elders were praying and blessing the attendees and the hosting families. After the prayers and blessings of the elders, the youths used to continue singing and dancing until the next morning."

The celebration of '*Borenticha'* is exactly like that of '*Atete'*, but men perform it, and '*Borenticha'* is represented by males (Finfinne Tribune 2012). It is one of the spirits that the Oromo have feared the most. Both sexes are permitted to sit only to accompany and feast with

each other on '*Atete*' or '*Borenticha*', but women are the owners of the festivities for '*Atete,*' and men are the owners of '*Borenticha*'.

8.2.3. '*Dhibayu*' and '*Ogliya*'

'*Dhibayu*', according to the study informants, is a prayer to one's own ancestral spirit and sacrifices made because of a response to the prayer. Both sexes commemorate it by making offerings, primarily by slaughtering animals and preparing local drinks. It is a kind of sacrifice provided as a reward for successes attained, including a good harvest. According to Alemayehu, the Oromo, like any ancient people, perform various rituals in memory of their deceased ancestors (Alemayehu 2019). '*Ogliya*' is also a kind of spirit that people believe in, and only a few possess. The spirit is supposed to speak through the mouth of a human possessing it and can respond to prayers and foresee the future. In both '*Dhibayu*' and '*Ogliya*', participants dine and drink meals prepared by the hosting household. One of my study informants explained both '*Dhibayu*' and '*Ogliya*' as follows.

> "Our parents used to be '*Waqefata*' [Oromo indigenous religion follower], doing varieties of rituals, and '*Ogliya*' and '*Dhibayu*' were one of them. Through 'Dhibayu', they used to honour our ancestral cult, and '*Ogliya*' was a way of interacting with '*Ayyaana*'/'*Ayyaantu*[18]." (Tolesa Ashebir, 33 years old, Male, 4th grade)

According to Tulu's book, the Oromo '*Waqefana*' is regarded as one of the earliest religions in the world, and its people worship '*Waqa*' (God), the supreme God who created the heavens and the earth, human beings, animals in general, and all living and nonliving things (Tulu 2020). The '*Waqefana*' religion teaches that there are multiple holy deities called '*Ayyana*'/'*Ayyaantu*'/, each shown as the manifestation of one '*Waqa*' (Workineh 2001). '*Ayyaana*'/'*Ayyaantu*' is

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[18] '*Ayyaana/Ayyaantu*' refers to spirit in Afan Oromo; if the spirit is male, it is referred to as '*Ayyaana,*' and if female, it is referred to as '*Ayyaantu.*'

thought to be capable of expressing human concerns to 'Waqa' and acts as '*Waqa''s* angel that intermediates '*Waqa*' and human beings. There are various rituals in the religion including '*Atete*', '*Dhibayu*', '*Borenticha*', and '*Ogliya*'.

8.2.4. '*Irrecha*'

Under the '*Gada*' system, '*Irrecha*' is one of the thanksgiving institutions reflecting the cultural, religious, and historical values of Oromo (Alemayehu 2019). It is a religious and cultural festival that symbolizes the fundamental solidarity and unity among the Oromo Nation. It is among the main foundations of the Oromo's identity. In comparison to other cultural activities, *'Irrecha'* has become the dominant ritual of the Oromo people, opening the way for and strengthening other cultural practices such as the increased demand for traditional clothes. The informants described how their community members celebrate 'Irrecha' since the beginning of the celebration, and how the villagers still go to both the mountain (*'Irrecha Tullu'*) and the river/lake basin (*'Irrecha Malka'*). The mass along with the elders and religious leaders, holding grass and flowers, conduct their prayers while the ritual is going on and praise '*Waqa*' (God). Mountain and river/lake basins are chosen to be free from all kinds of noise and to focus on worshiping '*Waqa*'. '*Hora Arsadi*' (Lake Hora Arsadi), one of the six **'*Waqa Hora*'** among the Tulema Oromos, is a place where '*Irrecha Melka*' takes place (Tulu 2020). As Bishoftu is home to Hora Arsadi, millions of Oromos and other individuals gather in the city for '*Irrecha Malka*' every year. Buta expressed his experience of '*Irrecha*' as follows.

> "We perform '*Irrecha Malka*' every year in the spring season, and this is a thanksgiving event. We thank God who has given us a chance to survive the heavy rainy season and has helped us see the glorious spring season. Every May, in '*Irrecha Tulu*', we pray.

Usually, we pray to God that He will encourage us to prepare for the coming agricultural season." (Buta Belda, 24 years old, Male, 6th grade)

The study informants think that offering thanks, praying, and sacrificing aids them in resolving environmental problems that threaten their lives. These rituals are also means by which, according to my informants, people fulfil their spiritual needs during the '*Irrecha*' festival.

Fig. 8.2: Irrecha at Lake Hora Arsadi of Bishoftu (Photo credit: Social media)

8.2.5. *'Hamachisa'*

Naming an infant or a child is a common practice among human societies. But, how names are given varies from culture to culture or place to place. Naming a child transcends the personal identification of a child and carries significant cultural meanings. Personal names reflect traditions, events, beliefs, cultural contexts, and people's life scenarios regarding the present and past as well as expressing the future through wishes, dreams, and fears (Alima 2018).

'*Hamachisa*' is one of the naming mechanisms for children among the Oromo. My study informant stated '*Hamachisa*' as a cultural naming ritual that involves persons who possess '*Ayyana*' (spirit). People used to bring their babies to '*Ayyana*' practitioners to have the naming rite done on them. Yami stated his experience as follows.

> "Our parents used to have a naming practice in which a newly born infant will be named by '*Ayyaana*'/'*Ayyaantuu*' on his/her 40th day after birth. We call the ceremony '*Hammachisa*'. The parents of the infant are expected to pay a visit with the infant to '*Ayyaana*'/'*Ayyaantu*' for naming. The names given were in line with our identity."
>
> (Yami Boset, 52 years old, Male, 8th grade)

According to research conducted by Merga, the naming practices through '*Hammachisa*' are not only mere tags, but also offer a great opportunity for significant political, social, and cultural activities at the time of birth (Merga 2019). The Oromos were among the most marginalized nations in the historical past of Ethiopia; they used to articulate their future in the dominant structure and the oppressions they endured by their names in those years (Alima 2018). '*Hamachisa*' is thus an Oromo traditional and divine naming practice in the face of these historical scars as well as future fears and hopes.

8.2.6. '*Wadaji*' - a cultural song festival at which dating takes place

Among Oromos and Ethiopians as a whole, spring is a season of hope for many. During the spring season, it is common to hear people planning to build a house, get married, start studying, start a new life, and so on. For farming communities, the season is also a season of hope, and it is considered enjoyment season as farmers are relieved from exhaustive and laborious farming activities. According to Alemayehu (2019), adolescents of Tulema Oromos eagerly await the spring season. It is time for adolescents to express their love and praise through poems and

songs. '*Wedaji'* is a festival celebrated in the season of spring. One of my informants stated the '*Wedaji'* festival as follows.

> "When I was a child, there was a festival called '*Wedaji'*. During this festival, young people were dancing and chanting together every year during the spring season. It was a dating festival in which young men chose their female partners. It was planned and managed mainly by young men but, both sexes participated in the festival." (Tulu Wako, 27 years old, Male, 10th grade)

Every society develops varieties of systems to find a marriage partner for its members following its traditions and culture. Marriage is among the most valued and significant rituals in the Oromo culture. In Oromo society, parents should guide, counsel, and advise their children from infancy until they reach the age of marriage (Getachew & Tsehay 2019). The mother assumes responsibility for the daughter, and the father follows and directs his son. Popular to the Oromo society, commitment is a generally recognized form of pre-marriage contact between potential marriage partners' households, sustained with the significant intervention of parents, lineage, and elderly counsellors (Getachew & Tsehay 2019). Among the community in which I conducted this study, '*Wadaji'* was one way of mate selection. From the discussions, I had with the study informants, during the '*Wadaji'* celebration; male youngsters who have reached puberty will pick their mates and tell their parents so that their parents along with relatives will decide whether the proposed girl is qualified for marriage. The next step, if parents and relatives are convinced that the girl can be their daughter-in-law, would be to get the permission of the parents of the girl and to wait for their willingness[19]. Thus, in addition to its entertainments ideals, '*Wadaji'* is a method through which young people chose their mates.

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[19] The boy's parents and relatives will send three respected community elders to the girl's parents to communicate the boy's parents' request. The girl's parents and relatives will then confer with her, and other family members will

8.2.7. '*Folle*'

A descendant of Tulema Oromo has five generational age grading under the '*Gada*' system, and these are called '*Ittimako*' (Small boys), '*Dabelle*' (Boys), '*Folle*' (Young men), '*Kondala*' (Junior adults), '*Gada*' (Adult men) and '*Yuba*' (Old men). All grades have their roles in the '*Gada*' system. '*Folle*' are the age-grades that are qualified to be potential leaders. '*Folle*' will be legitimate successors of the '*Gada*' system, as they become adult men. To display their ranks to the public, the '*Folle*' grades pay a visit to the '*Gada*' ruling class in the grand rite. The *'Folle'* grades use song and dances to inform the public that they will be the eventual heirs of '*Gada*' rulers.

> "Those who entered the '*Folle*' stage publicly arrange a rite of passage. In the rite, relatives and villagers were used to assembling and participating. Chanting and dancing were taking place by attendees. It was incredible, and it was used by our community to interact with each other, besides a feast that was prepared to declare the official rite of passage." (Lelisa Alemu, 46 years old, Male, Non-literate)

Beginning from '*Folle*' grade to '*Gada*', a member of the Tulema Oromo in particular and Oromo society, in general, learns for twenty-four years about the Oromo economy, Oromo history, the art of war, politics, holidays and their celebrations, laws, and administration, and so on (Tulu 2020). When the individual in the '*Folle*' grade has completed the education mentioned above, he will get the knowledge that enables him to rule the community and to assume responsibility with his teammates for 8 years. Members of a '*Folle*' grade also have a range of civic obligations. These obligations include preventing the theft of livestock, preventing predators from assaulting the community, maintaining peace and security in the region, enforcing

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convey to the elders whether or not they approved the request after two to three weeks. If the girl's parents accept the proposal, both the boy's and the girl's parents will begin planning the wedding ceremony.

the law, and criticizing and correcting violators. '*Folles*' also express their gratitude and consideration for '*Aba Gada*'s leadership through music. When the '*Aba Gada*' does good things, they applaud him through songs, and when he fails to do well, they criticise him using a song as well.

8.3. The current cultural and psychological state of displaced farmers

The study informants felt that the government expropriated their land and gave it to someone who is not within the realm of their culture. According to the informants, the land is significant in the lives of farmers because it provides more than just a place to live. The informants stated that the government's land expropriation cut them off from their ancestors' memorials and burial grounds, causing them grief. The following subsections depict the current situation of displaced farmers in terms of their cultural and social conditions.

8.3.1. Cultural practices

This study reveals that the displaced community is in a state of cultural confusion, cultural estrangement, and anomie. Cultural and social chaos, unusual and unorthodox lifestyles and social practices, as well as a perceived social crisis, began to appear in the area. The deep-rooted norms and values become eroded. Farmers who have been dislocated face an additional challenge developing their language because they are still embarrassed because of their identity. Others' beliefs have also influenced their traditional beliefs.

According to this study, the causes of cessation of many cultural practices resulted from urban expansion, which has brought about religious conversions and changes in the way of life of displaced farmers. Since practically all of their cultural activities have associations with '*Waqefena*' (their religion) and agriculture, changes in both have resulted in cultural practices changing. Tulu stated his experience with this regard as follows.

"It appears to us as we live in an alien culture. Language, culture, and, in general, our way of life is threatened. The way the city has grown to our locality is not appealing to us. It is at the cost of our culture, livelihood, and our language. Our traditional activities were the results of agricultural activities. We lived an agrarian lifestyle, and when our land was taken away, many community members stopped farming and became idlers. Because of idleness, many people became alcoholics. My father died, for example, because of his alcoholic abuse. You see, when farmers were paid out with compensation money and became idle, they started drinking alcohol. Addiction, on its own, is now one of the wretched things for our residents ...We do not have a good atmosphere and a psychological makeup that places us on an even footing with urban dwellers. Even if we have a culture of welcoming others and living in solidarity with people from different social and cultural backgrounds, we are now witnessing the invisibility of our culture, language, and social networks including *'idir'*. If you look at the *'idirs'* that are now founded in emerging urban neighbourhoods, they are not in line with our culture, and even their language of communication is not in Afan Oromo." (Tulu Wako, 27 years old, Male, 10th grade)

According to Teshome (2014)'s research, the land was once treated like a mother in Oromo culture. The land is like a mother who never gets tired of nursing her children. But following urbanization, people have begun to value land as a mere commodity that generates money instead of presenting it as a mother. Those who have money will buy it, while those who do not have money will sell it. According to Teshome's research report, previous songs, land-related identities, and cultural traditions are now in jeopardy.

The other point that this study attempted to know was about the current status of the language of the displaced farmers. Displaced farmers have witnessed that they have been marginalized in terms of promoting their language even before displacement due to political unwillingness and prolonged prejudice against their language. The study informants who attended school before the coming into power of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) stated as they experienced shaming and labelling from their classmates because of their speaking Afan Oromo language. Before the current regime, Afan Oromo was not a medium of instruction in schools. Students used to learn in Amharic irrespective of their mother tongue. Considering past historical injustice, the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia under Article 29(2) stipulated that without intervention, all individuals have the right to freedom of speech. This right includes the freedom to seek, receive, and transmit information and ideas of any kind, regardless of borders, orally, in writing or print, in the form of art, or through any media of one's choice. Besides, Article 39 of the Constitution reaffirms that every nation, nationality, and person in Ethiopia is entitled to speak, write and develop its language; convey, develop and promote its culture; and conserve its heritage. Since then, the States in Ethiopia have recognized the importance of adopting educational mediums in children's mother tongue, and States like Oromia, Tigray, Somali, and Afar started teaching students through their mother tongue. Chaltu, who attended her education in ex-regimes, told me her experience about language as follows.

> "When we were students we used to talk in secret in Afan Oromo. What happened to our language and identity in the past was very damaging to our morale. If others find us talking in Afan Oromo, they are going to make fun of us with bad words. They used the derogatory terms that their parents used to label our ancestors. They used to make us very sad. Then, reluctantly, we started to practice speaking Amharic. When we attempted to

learn Amharic, they returned to mock our accent. The Amharic-speaking students embarrassed us in the school. Our children are now learning our language. When the government for the first time started teaching students at school in our language, I was overjoyed and said 'I wish I had died today. I am telling you the truth, seeing this and dying is a grace in itself. The previous tragedy was significant. Now thank God, our children have not been confronted with the same problem in their education." (Chaltu Kefeni, 48 years old, Female, 11th grade)

The study depicts that language is still a barrier to secure jobs at factories. Even though it is not the language with the largest number of mother-tongue speakers in Ethiopia, Amharic is influential in media, education, government, and trade (Abiodun & Asemahagn 2015). Even though each state has its working language, Amharic remains the de facto working language throughout the country, creating a barrier for non-Amharic speakers. One of the study informants also stated his experiences focusing on how the language barrier exacerbated joblessness in the study area as follows.

"Now most of our young people are unemployed. We all have expertise and experience in farming, as you know, but we do not have any other skills. We have been running out of money paid to us in the form of compensation now. We find it difficult to speak Amharic, and we faced difficulties in getting a job in factories as day labourer. Some of the factories' employers are not pleased when we talk to each other in the Afan Oromo language. Some also think we are going to gossip and get offended. Afan Oromo is not spoken in many of the city's factories. For the sake of pretence, the factories hire our children first and then expel them a year later. Some factories' owners see us as a threat, and they don't see us as a good opportunity because of the language barrier. I still believe

that many employers do not allow our community members to be employed in their companies except as guards. Factories' employers, in many of the cases, fire our youths and hire their people from elsewhere." (Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Male, Non-literate)

According to this study, displaced farmers are marginalized because of their identity and the language they speak. They face negative attitudes in the urban environment, which causes them to develop low self-confidence and self-esteem. Informants stated that they are still subjected to shaming, labelling, and challenges when seeking services and expressing themselves in their mother tongue. Afan Oromo is not widely spoken in newly settled areas. Seyo stated his feelings as follows.

"When we go to the city, we are not well served because of the language barrier. We cannot communicate our concerns and feelings because we do not know what they are saying. If you are a speaker from Afan Oromo and you are looking for services from the city, you rarely get those services. Many service providers are not speakers of Afan Oromo. While we are using transport, when we are seeking service from the bank, at the hospital, at telecom offices, and even at markets, it is hard to articulate ourselves and get the appropriate services. You need to speak Amharic to get the services I just told you. In particular, uneducated elderly men and women are in a crisis. Who cares about the poor?" (Seyo Ifa, 49 years old, Male, 3rd grade)

Many of the investors and city dwellers who occupied their landholdings spoke a language that the farmers did not understand, and the farmers felt even more alienated from their land. One of the youngsters expressed his feelings as follows.

"In a place where we were born and brought up, some urban dwellers deem us outsiders from distant places. Particularly they perceive us as someone from a remote area when they

see us speaking our language. Emotionally they belittled us not to use and communicate by using our language in public transport, in the market places or in any places where the public was gathering. It is painful to be belittled on your ancestral land and in places you grew up in." (Tulu Wako, 27 years old, male 10th grade)

This idea of my research informants is consistent with Efa (2016)'s claim that the ecology of villages undergoing urbanization may face a rivalry between different ethnic and other social groups for dominance, and an urban expansion may allow outsiders to penetrate such villages. When outsiders dominate the local population in terms of power, primarily economic and political, the locals will relinquish their environment. Then, the outsiders will become the heirs of the area socially, economically, and culturally.

According to the study, some parents advised their children not to enrol in schools that offered Afan Oromo education, assuming that Amharic is much more important than their mother tongue. Tulu described his feelings in this regard as follows.

"My mother tongue is Afan Oromo, but my grandparents and my father did not want me to go to school in Afan Oromo. The explanation I was told was that the language did not expand much in the city and was not accepted. They said it out of concern for me. They felt it would be better to learn in Amharic. However, lately, many parents have begun to send their children to schools providing education in Afan Oromo. Our mother tongue is not still rising well in the city, so the burden on the speakers is higher." (Tulu Wako, 27 years old, Male, 10th grade)

According to the study informants, Amharic language speakers outnumber Afan Oromo speakers in the areas where the city has expanded. Informants of the study said that their children are now spending most of their time within the urban environment, giving priority to Amharic and

leaving Afan Oromo. The study also depicts the decline in the community's indigenous belief system partly due to urban expansion. Lelisa stated his experience with this regard as follows.

> "As the city expanded, our culture, including our belief system, became engulfed. The expansion has significantly damaged our previous religious and cultural practices. Our meeting places and places of thanksgiving were also stripped away as a part of the expansion of the city. '*Waqefan*a' is weakened by the influence of other people's religions. With the expansion of the city, the new religions that have come to our area are leaving us in the lurch because their religious teaching is based on the premise that 'Waqefana' is pagan worship." (Lelisa Alemu, 46 years old, Male, Non-literate)

According to the informants, Christianity and Islam played a significant role in the decline of *'Waqefana.'* The informants stated that religious conversion is becoming more common because of influences from other religions.

Many Oromos, including those who were informants of this research, believe that they are experiencing marginalization in terms of culture, economy, social, and political matters. The informants believe that they become systematically hindered from developing their culture and ethnic identity. They felt urban expansion further exacerbated their circumstances. Robele expressed his views in this regard as follows, and his views were shared by other informants as well.

> "Plots of Land now occupied by factories and residential houses used to be inhabited by our lineage. Many of the places were named after our ancestors, but now they are modified and named after aliens. When we were young, we used to play with our friends, and no one stares at us like an intruder, even though neighbouring urban residents now brand our children as irksome. Because of the influences placed on them by urban people, our

children become uninvolved in our cultural practices while learning to socialize with our urban neighbours' children. Not only have we been evicted from our landholdings, but we have also been compelled to renounce all our ancient traditions and now live in mystery."

(Robele Tulu, 44 years old, Male, 4th grade)

According to a study carried out by Efa (2016) on the rural Oromo community around Addis Ababa, before their exodus, the displaced people had good association and cohesion, had the same psychological makeup, and were from the same cultural group. However, Efa's research shows that as the city spreads into the rural territory, challenges to the culture and identities of displaced people become apparent. Farmers began to feel rootless and threatened to abandon their rural identities as urbanization grew. My research likewise confirms that social disruption, which also causes a change in place, results in displaced people losing their collective identity and culture.

My data thus revealed that the local community and the newly established urban community have little in common. Because of the absence of a shared cultural denominator between displaced and urban dwellers, the domination of urban dwellers' language, religions, and other identifying symbols has flourished by subordinating and even replacing the identity markers of local populations. The finding of my research resembles what Jalata (2010) argues in his research report. According to Jalata, the regimes in the past restricted access to institutions and opportunities, such as health, jobs, mass media, schooling, and other public facilities, for Oromo urban citizens who are a minority in their cities and towns.

Under the 'Gada' system, the Tulema Oromos partake in their religious, educational, cultural, political, economic, and other social matters through their local parties known as 'Robele', 'Birmeji', 'Horeta', 'Melba', and 'Michile'(Alemayehu 2019). Each party will only lead for one

'*Gada'* period [One *'Gada'* period lasts eight years] and pass its authority to the next party until its turn again comes after 40 years. For instance, if it is '*Robele'*, which is currently leading, the next turn will be of '*Birmeji'* followed by '*Horeta'*, and then '*Melba'* and finally '*Michille'* will take control. However, according to this study, even though the political parties are playing still some role in social and cultural areas, their roles in other aspects such as political matters have declined partly because of the embodiment of the places under formal administration structure, like city government, that surpasses their '*Gada'* structure. Seyo stated his concern in this regard as follows.

> "You see, the kind of neighbourhood we have been acquainted with is not how it used to be. The recently built urban neighbourhood differs from our way of life, our language, and our social fabric. We had a traditional structure of our own to rule our area. We used to deal with many of our issues through '*Gada'*. Our decision-making power in our vicinity has almost vanished. Without our awareness, numerous changes affecting our lives are taking place every day by the city government." (Seyo Ifa, 49 years old, Male, 3rd grade)

This study indicates the creation of a formal governmental framework in the lower strata of society (kebele and city level) becomes one of the reasons for the deterioration of the customary system of self-government in the community. Most notably, the municipal administration has contributed negatively to the community's decision-making capacity and participation in matters affecting local community members. According to Jalata (2010), formal government structures have systematically prevented the Oromos from establishing independent governments, associations, culture, and languages. Jalata further claims that in their communities, towns and

homelands, the Oromos have been subordinated to the institutions and organizations of 'Habasha[20] colonial settlers.'

8.3.2. Spatial change and change of name of places

The physical characteristics that the study informants raised as their attachment markers to a place include symbolic and historical landmarks and trees like '*Oda*'. According to my informants, dislocations are jeopardizing the place attachment markers, and displaced persons are experiencing both actual and potential placelessness. According to my research, urban expansion resulted in the conversion of historically significant sites into dwellings and industries. The government confiscated public domains and cultural sites from the local people and used them for other purposes. My study informants indicated that places where people used to convene for holiday celebrations, cultural rituals, and even the adoption of community laws had been expropriated. One of the informants stated changes he noticed due to urban expansion in the following ways.

> "Now our locations appear to have changed. Our village used to have many '*Oda*' trees in before urban expansion to our areas. We used these trees as gathering places for *'idirs'*, public conventions, cultural festivals, and the like. All these trees have now been uprooted. Their places have been used for urban expansion. Our village had one remaining '*Oda*' tree, but it had recently been uprooted. No one cares about our public domains, historic and cultural sites. Our historic and cultural sites have been lost due to urbanization. As the city extends into our locality, we are forced to the edge of everything." (Kebede Tura, 69 years old, Male, 12th grade)

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[20] Dating back to the late 1800s, some Oromo scholars have seen Emperor Menelik and his immediate successors, supported by European forces, as 'colonizers'. The 'colonizers' dismantled and conquered the independent Oromo nation, according to these Oromo scholars.

According to Feleke (2004), displaced farmers lost virtually all of their communal property, except for roads and water, because of Addis Ababa's expansion. According to my research, the names of places used by the farming population changed as the city grew. According to my informants, the changed old names held a valued place in the local community because they represented the culture and identity of the displaced farming community. Seyo described his experience in the following manner.

> "... The city has expanded and taken up much of our land. Most of the names of the places we used before have been changed following urban expansion. Before the urban expansion, most of the places in our community were named after our ancestors. Now, these names are converted to new ones. There was even a time when the name of our city was changed from Bishoftu to Debre Zeit [Debre Zeit is the biblical name which is the name of Mount of Olives in Israel]. Many people who are outside of our community still call the city Debre Zeit." (Seyo Ifa, 49 years old, Male, 3rd grade)

Bekele Gerba, one of the prominent political opponents of the Ethiopian government as a keynote speaker at the Oromo Studies Association (OSA) held on August 2, 2015, addressed several issues related to Oromo and Ethiopian politics of which his concerns among them were about displacement, political, social and cultural issues. As follows, Bekele discussed the eviction of farmers and land grabs in Ethiopia with specific reference to Oromos.

> "The war for Oromo land, the economic foundation of our people, began with the regime's seizure of power and reached its climax after 2005, when villages were wiped out in an act tantamount to genocide. Near Finfine[21] [City], thousands of Oromo families have been displaced, and their lands have been distributed to members of the ruling elite in the name of the floral industry, development corridor, industrial zones, and real estate

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[21] Finfine is the Oromo name for Addis Ababa city

and condominium development. As a result, the beneficiaries are swimming in wealth and riches while the indigenous Oromos are draining into poverty. When no land was available, they [the ruling elite] designed a plan to encompass the surrounding areas under the shining name of the new master plan [new Addis Ababa Master Plan]. Expansion of Finfine [city] is not only about money, natural resources, or power, but also aimed at destroying Oromo homes, families, languages, and identities. For the Oromos, it is a war for the survival of their children, and investment expansion is continuing unabated even after several university students have been killed in a protest. The eviction of farmers and the grabbing of their land have continued across Oromia. We are losing our land, we are losing our language, we are losing our identity, we are losing our human dignity. We are a demographic majority that is reduced to a political, social and cultural minority. As people, national humiliation has fallen on us." (Bekele Gerba 2015)

Bekele's speech at the OSA 2015 conference addressed, among other things, the challenges that farmers in particular and Oromo society in general face in terms of identity, politics, social, cultural, and economic issues. Bekele emphasized that the country as a whole is losing land, communal identity, language, culture, and even human dignity. Bekele's claim is supported by many Oromo scholars, including Asefa Jaleta, a well-known university sociology professor. According to Jalata (2010), Ethiopia's rulers used repressive and discriminatory policies, and until Oromo nationalists banded together to oppose such systems, authorities were also not tolerant of people displaying Oromo culture and speaking the language even in Oromo cities and towns. What my study informants stated and claims made by Oromo elites, both academic and political, continue to demonstrate the Oromo's marginalization within Ethiopia's political, cultural, social, and economic structures.

8.3.3   Psychological state of displaced persons

The farmers were shocked at the time of the eviction because the government expropriated their land for urban purposes without consultation or proper notification. According to this study, the prevalence of individualism in urban settings caused stress, loneliness, low self-esteem, and isolation, particularly among the elderly. Farmers whom government displaced are concerned about losing their culture, traditional practices, and social identity due to urban sprawl. Most notably, the research reveals that many people have not been able to feed themselves and their families and survive a stressful life. These led them to a sense of worthlessness and hopelessness among destitute ones. According to the research informants, some of them have a proclivity to withdraw and separate themselves. Informants of the study said that those whose government expropriated their land became landless, felt resentment and alienation at the loss of their ancestral land and the label they faced from others. Chala stated the psychological problems related to displacement as follows.

> "People will harass you if you do not have land. In particular, they harass those who have sold their land or those whom the government expropriated. The displaced ones are embarrassed by the fact that they have sold land over which their ancestors were born and buried. Selling land or abandoning your ancestors' land is taboo. A person who possesses the land has great psychological supremacy. People respect him as well. However, if you do not have land, they make you feel inferior. Some people who do not possess land feel compelled to isolate themselves and escape when they encounter others. Some displaced farmers have fled the area even." (Chala Tulema, 35 years old, Male, Diploma holder)

Informants of my study also reported that some of the displaced farmers suffered from mental disorders. The informants believed that the mental condition was caused by the disruptions that

dislocated people experienced during the dislocation process. In his IRR model, Michel Cernea (2000) also states that psychological crisis may be associated with development-induced displacement. According to Cernea, displaced people may face psychological problems related to their joblessness, landlessness, social disruption, and low living standards. These psychological problems, according to Cernea, lead to stress, low self-esteem, and low self-confidence. Socio-ecological-based researches also discovered the prevalence of grief, sadness, and emotional harm brought on by land loss and a sense of 'placelessness' (Hashemnezhad, Heidari & Hoseini 2013). In his thesis, Efa (2016) describes farmers whose property has been partially expropriated as living in constant fear of unexpected actions of government. According to Efa's report, the farmers have no information on whether the government will evict them from their remaining land, which has led them to further tensions, worries, and anxieties.

8.4. Conclusions

Before their displacement, the displaced farmers had their own linguistic, religious, and political practices related to agricultural activities, according to the study. These religious, cultural, and political traditions have influenced the meaning of life, social stability, and the protection of human rights. According to Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009), the social lifestyles described above are a routine culture that the community lost somehow due to dislocation. The displaced farmers' cultural, social, political, and economic practices were inseparable from agriculture and land. Agricultural disruptions or the evictions of farmers from their land have disrupted the old routine structure.

Because of urban expansion, a formal city government system has been introduced in the displaced farming community. Due to the related legitimacy and heterogeneity shown in the locality, the former endogenous political structures of the displaced population have been frail

and even disappearing in certain aspects. The formal system is also not in a position to monitor the disruption and anomie developed following urban expansion.

The present cultural state of dislocated people in my study place may be defined as dissonant culture, which is the breakdown of routine culture as described by Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009). Congruent with the IRR model of Cernea, the displaced persons experienced physical, social, cultural, and political marginalization. Psychological stresses and anxieties related to economic, social, and cultural disruptions are also reported in my study.

CHAPTER NINE

COPING STRATEGIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1. Introduction

To learn from the displacement-affected population, I attempted to solicit suggestions from research informants on mechanisms of mitigating displacement-related issues. I also tried to forward recommendations on how to handle displacements following urban expansion. Thus, this chapter outlines the coping strategies adopted by the displaced farmers. The chapter further states the roles played by the government in mitigating problems faced by displaced persons. It considers whether the governments' actions were satisfying in the eyes of my study informants. Section 9.4 of the chapter deals with suggestions forwarded by displaced farmers on mechanisms of handling displacements resulting from urban expansion. The final section of the chapter states recommendation of the study.

9.2. Coping strategies developed by displaced persons

Coping includes intentional measures of one's own to master, lessen, or endure life-long issues. The coping measures that are often called coping strategies can be adaptive (productive) or maladaptive (ineffective). With rising life stress and other pressures from land expropriation and lack of care on the part of the government, as per this study, displaced farmers' coping strategies differ according to their age, level of awareness, and previous trade expertise. The coping mechanisms used were those that could be tolerable or not tolerable socially and culturally. Those who have relatively educated family members, those who have received higher compensation payments, and those who have prior entrepreneurial experience have positively handled and used urbanization as an incentive. Those who successfully diversified on-farm and off-farm activities fared well when it came to displacement difficulties. However, the research

informants stated that the number of displaced farmers who have been successful in this regard is negligible. The majority have been destitute and have not been able to cope positively.

According to the research informants, participating in small-scale trades, renting farmland, building and renting houses, farming, and herding are some of the positive coping mechanisms. On the other hand, decreased daily food consumption, begging, assistance from relatives, working as a day labourer, child labouring, consuming alcohol, smoking, migration, and participating in socially inappropriate behaviours are some of the negative coping mechanisms employed by displaced persons, according to the study informants. Bontu mentioned what she witnessed in her community as coping mechanisms as follows.

> "Displaced people tried different ways of dealing with their problems. Some of them built houses and rented them out. Some people began to raise cattle and poultry. There are also displaced people who work as guards and day labourers. Some come home drunk and intoxicated. Many beg to get drunk on the highway. The way people deal with the situations they faced differs from person to person." (Bontu Rago, 19 years old, Female, 10th grade)

Megra agreed with Bontu:

> "There are many members of our community who are not literate. Security guards and day labourers are the only jobs available to these people. Few people used their reimbursement money to buy a cart and start driving. Some people work as cart drivers. Some parents forced their children to work as cart drivers and to survive on their earnings. I had a comrade whose landholdings were expropriated by the government. He was paid 20,000.00 birr for one hectare of land. He became alcohol addicted, and in the meantime, he ran out of money he received. He also wanted to work as a day labourer,

but he was unable to do so due to a health condition. When he and his family were unable to support themselves, he began to beg. Eventually, he got very sick and died. Unfortunately, his aged mother, his wife, and his two little children are left without any help." (Megra Dechu, 30 years old, Male, Diploma holder)

Toltu, who was evicted from more than 2.75 hectares of land, further explained her living situations as well as others, saying,

"At this my retirement age, I'm forced to collect from field cattle dung and bear it on my back and take it to town to sell it. I still work as a day labourer. What should I do! I would have rented out my land and subsist on it if I had had any. Many others in our area are working as day labourers. Our life is getting miserable. My former neighbour was evicted from her landholdings by the government, finally became impoverished, and died due to a lack of money to pay for medication." (Toltu Jiru, 80 years old, Female, Non-literate)

The study shows the presence of a considerable number of people who are vulnerable to extreme poverty because of displacement and have received no attention from the government. The act of government is a violation of the country's constitution and Universal Declarations of Human Rights of which Ethiopia is a signatory member of the document. According to Article 25 of the Declaration, every person has the right to have everything he or she desires so that the individual and his or her family do not go hungry, do not fall sick, have a house and clothing, and are assisted if he or she needs help.

9.3. Roles of government

One of the roles of the government concerning expropriation is enacting legislation. As we have seen under the review of related literature, the government has enacted several laws. There are

several provisions dealing with the rehabilitation of dislocated persons in the laws that have been enacted. My study shows that the government's participation in the rehabilitation of displaced farmers was inadequate. According to my study, it seems that the government is trapped with what Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) called 'the compensation is enough fallacy'. The focus of the government is the use of land for urban expansion. It is no exaggeration to say that, according to this study, no effort has been made to address and compensate for the psychological, social, cultural, and economic disadvantages faced by displaced farmers. The compensation paid did little to ease the economic woes of the displaced ones.

Many government officials, opposition political leaders, and farmers themselves have witnessed the systematic exodus of Oromos from their land possession on numerous occasions. In an interview with Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT) in May 2014, Ermias Legesse, a prominent political official for about 12 years in the Ethiopian Peoples Republic Democratic Front-led government and once appointed as State Minister of Communication Affairs, testified about how the Oromos were systematically expelled from their lands and even from the capital city Addis Ababa. His interview with ESAT in Amharic is translated into English and presented below.

> "We [the government's higher officials] used to travel to Meles Zenawi's office every week during our weekly meetings in 1998 [2006 Gregorian calendar] when Meles was in charge of party work in Addis Ababa. We went to his office to chart the course for the year. Participants asked Meles how we should continue to lead, and Meles responded in a way that many people might not believe. 'Whether we like it or not, the nationality agenda is dead in Addis Abeba,' he said. He repeated it word for word. 'The nationality issue is a minority agenda in Addis Ababa.' If anyone is held accountable for these crimes [the systematic eviction of Oromo farmers], we are all responsible... The evictions

were intended to eliminate or extinguish Oromo farmers. This eliminated twenty-nine rural *Kebeles* [rural *Kebeles* surrounding Addis Ababa]. There are approximately 1000 families in each Kebeles. Each *Kebele* has about 5000 people, and if you multiply that by 30, you get 150,000 farmers whose whereabouts are unknown." (Ermias Legese on ESAT May, 2014)

Informants of my study stated that there were no procedures designed and introduced to mitigate the risks and complications resulting from displacement. The government's efforts to engage young people and other adults in small-scale income-generating schemes fell short. According to the informants, apparently non-displaced persons had unfair benefits in the name of displaced persons. Tulu stated his experience of the role of the government in generating income for displaced farmers as follows.

"The government has not supported us with the provision of job opportunities. The officials have deceived us many times saying 'form an association so that you will start your own business.' We formed a small and micro business association, but they [the officials] have yet to provide us with sheds or premises where we may start our operation. Officials often mark us as though we have no culture or habit of performing our income-generating activities. When we asked them to offer training on how to undertake a business, they were not receptive as well. The government officials have been tainted. They [government officials] organize and favour others under the guise of displaced people**.**" (Tulu Wako, 27 years old, Male, 10th grade)

According to the study, the conflicts between the government and the displaced farmers, and the community's scepticism of government policies, come from the government's incapacity to carry out its responsibilities. The study informants also indicated the role played by the government in

supervising factory owners to discharge their social accountabilities as part of their corporate duties. The informants felt that what government does in supervising factories is yet trivial. Kebede stated his feeling about companies' corporate social responsibilities as follows.

> "I believe that business companies have social duty for the local communities. They are supposed to contribute to the development of infrastructures in the communities including roads, clean water, electricity, health centres, and schools. Nevertheless, we noticed no one doing these things in our community. The factories in our areas have rarely solved the problem of unemployment for our community." (Kebede Tura, 69 years old, Male, 12th grade)

Although corporate social responsibility is not the primary subject of my research, it is vital to discuss it because my study informants highlighted it. Following responsible global capitalism, which aims to improve citizens' lives, the idea of corporate social responsibility began in the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Caroll 2008). Several social issues such as child and woman labour exploitation, slums, and civil strife dominated during the early phase of the manufacturing sectors of these two nations. As a result, the campaign for industrial welfare emerged with mixed aims to accomplish humanitarian and political practical understanding (Wren 2005: 269–70 as cited in Caroll 2008). At the initial phase of corporate social responsibility, the campaign promoted the development of health centres, lunchrooms, restrooms, recreation centres, profit sharing, and other practices for employees to minimize labour problems and improve productivity.

Since then, the concept of corporate social responsibility has increasingly evolved to a degree of seeking other aspects, such as workers' welfare, addressing local community issues, and looking after the environment. Now it is conceived as a set of management practices that ensure that a

company maximizes the positive impact on society of its operations by performing in a way that meets and even exceeds a company's legal, ethical, moral, commercial, and public expectations (Jamali & Mirshak 2007). We can deduce from the aforementioned facts that it is the government's role to ensure that firms adhere to their legal and ethical obligations[22].

9.4. Suggestions forwarded by displaced persons

Since this study aims at understanding the experience and perspectives of persons affected by urban expansion, I have tried to look at their suggestions on how to expand the city without compromising the lives of rural farming community members. Based on this, the informants shared their ideas with me. The following subtopics state summaries of their suggestions.

9.4.1. Pre-displacement survey and participatory project planning approach

According to this research, the government's interventions in the name of development and urban expansion measures have made displaced people's life difficult, and the government should revisit its actions. The study informants stated that they are happy and ready to pay any sacrifice for a development project as long as it involves displaced farmers and government officials are honest and transparent. The informants stressed the need for pre-displacement surveys and community consultation before expropriation. According to the study, no government agency has undertaken a pre-displacement survey thus far, and it is appropriate to conduct a pre-displacement assessment in the future and educate displaced people of the implications. According to the informants, the government should also inform how it intends to reduce or prevent the adverse effects of displacement. If the government conducts a survey study on the

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[22] Literature distinguishes four elements of corporate social responsibility of an organization: legal (compliance with laws enacted by the government), ethical (observance of actions that are prohibited by organizational associations, society, and other actors in the area), economic (the way an organization produces goods and distributes them within the social structure), and philanthropic (An organization's commitment to the surrounding community) (Sintayehu 2019). These elements indicate that the government's role in directing corporate social responsibility is significant since the government is an organ accountable for implementing activities on behalf of the people it governs. Thus the government could monitor the implementation of corporate social responsibility initiatives.

types of development that will benefit both urban and rural communities and communicates honestly with the people involved, the farmers are willing to work with the government to make what the government is planning a reality. The study informants believe they are more familiar with their locations and can help if they participate in determining the type of land that may be preferable for residential constructions, factories, and agriculture. According to the informants, would-be displaced persons should know when they will leave their landholdings and have enough time to prepare.

As per the study informants, the government should refrain from pursuing top-down development agendas. If possible, according to the informant, the government should begin designing and executing development issues affecting people's lives with the people themselves and pursue a bottom-up strategy. Dandena focused on the importance of consultation before displacement and stated his views below.

> "The government should consult us before making unilateral decisions on matters about dispossessions. It should advise us on any development work as long as it is for the people. Our most valuable asset in life is our land. The land is an inheritable property that our ancestors have inherited and that we are inheriting. We did not anticipate our land to be taken away from us so abruptly. If the land is needed, the first government should look for non-agricultural and non-productive land. We are witnessing the development of fertile agricultural land in the community for residential and industrial purposes. I feel that this should not be the way since farmers should use fertile lands for crop production. Displacement should also be based on consultation, starting from land identification to evacuation and resettlement." (Dandena Biru, 32 years old, Male, 7th grade)

The existing legal documents and policy directions also are in favour of what my study informants recommended. For instance, under Article 43(2) of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, nationals have the right to engage in national development, and in particular, to be consulted on programmes and initiatives concerning their communities. Proclamation number 1161/2019 of the federal expropriation of landholdings for a public purpose under Article 8 also emphasizes the importance of consultation.

9.4.2. Involving in investment and project partnership

According to study informants, there were numerous projects that the government outsourced to local investors but could have been done by some farmers from their community. The informants stressed that the farmers' main difficulties were a lack of capital and from whom to get guidance. They portrayed the government as not creating a favourable atmosphere for farmers to obtain loans from financial institutions, though it did for other investors. Before seeking outside investors, the study informants suggested that the government identify the types of projects that local community members can execute on their land, either individually or in groups. Informants also stressed that investors, and government, public companies, should involve farmers as shareholders in their projects if such projects move farmers off their land.

 One of my study informants stated her suggestions concerning project partnership and related issues in the following ways.

> "We should benefit as long as the city is open to development and transition. Thus, we displaced people should have the opportunity to benefit from developments. The government should revise its past trends of paying only pecuniary compensation for displaced persons. It should also be able to provide us with alternative livelihoods. We have to also able to be a partner in development initiatives in our area. We need to

organize a self-help group, and the government should provide us with some incentives. The government need to obtain our consent on development interventions affecting our lives and also address our concerns." (Chaltu Kefeni, 48 years old, Female, 11th grade)

The ideas forwarded by the research informants have legal backing as well. For example, Article 43(1) and 43(4) of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's Constitution state that the goals of development activities are to strengthen citizens' capacities for development; citizens also have the right to a better standard of living and development. Thus, the suggestions given by the informants are, in fact, constitutional obligations that state actors should implement.

9.4.3. Developing and implementing a proper valuation system for compensation

According to the study informants, the procedures and mechanisms used by the government in undertaking valuation for compensation are unclear and lack genuineness. The government is now valuing and compensating farmers for the crops and trees they have grown on the land and it is not for dispossessing their landholdings[23]. While calculating for loss, the authorities do not also consider land value, future appreciations of the land, location advantages, detachments from ancestral land, cultural degeneration, and the like. Currently, reimbursement prices are often determined based on yields farmers get from their land at a time of expropriation. The government does not consider possible market inflations and the possibility of how much farmers will improve their land productivity. According to this study, the government's compensation scheme is unfair and exploitative. Roba stated his feelings about compensation payments as follows.

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[23] As stated in the literature review, Article 40 (3) of the Ethiopian constitution grants the state and the Ethiopian people the joint ownership of land. However, this does not imply that individuals do not have a right to land. Individuals can have landholding rights (also known as 'usus' and 'fructus' rights). The private property contains 'usus' and 'fructus' rights, and dispossession of these rights results in expropriation. Upon expropriation, such rights vanish, and compensation for the loss of landholding rights is required.

"...In comparison to what we lose as a result of dislocation, the current compensation scheme is inequitable. The unfairness of the scheme harmed us and led many of our farmers to illegal land transactions. If the farmer does not receive fair compensation, he will seek illegal land transactions. Because of illegal land transactions, illegal construction and informal settlements will surface. As you see, what is happening now in our area is the proliferation of informal settlements. The government should work on making the requisite reforms on the compensation scheme to free farmers from illicit alternatives." (Roba Boru, 54 years old, Male, 3rd grade)

According to the study informants, when the government decides to expropriate land from a farmer, it should calculate the compensation payments considering the economic and psychological damages farmers face, the damage to the community culture and the environment, and the social damage and crisis caused by displacement. Ione (2014), like the study informants, has proposed that government has to take into account the economic, social, cultural, and opportunity value of all resources that displaced people are likely to lose.

9.4.4. Offering literacy education, saving mechanisms, and entrepreneur training

According to the informants, both the displaced farmers and other local community members are less educated and have not yet adapted to urban lifestyles. To be able to live a decent life in cities, it is necessary to learn and apply alternative methods of income generation. Accordingly, according to the participants, the government should provide literacy education and alternative income generation trainings to the surrounding communities.

They also suggested that the government and parents should monitor their students to halt school dropouts and improve their academic performance. Korjo recommended the following points.

"First of all, as the government officials intend to dispossess land, they must think about the living conditions of the people who will be evicted. The displaced person must be able to live without disruption. The government should support, in particular, youths to protect themselves from addiction and immoral acts. To make community members, including youths, productive, the government must first educate them on alternative income-generating methods. Young people, in particular, have to get job opportunities so that they will be productive. The community members, particularly the displaced ones, need to know how to save. The government must educate everyone so that they know the value of work. Children need to be able to attend school with their full potential. The government should provide the necessary support for the families so that children will turn their attention to education." (Korjo Hewas, 27 years old, Male, 5th grade)

Tamirat (2016) notes, similarly to what has been stated above, that his study informants suggested that the government train, consult, and educate farmers about the urban way of life. The study informants of Tamirat proposed training and orientation in his research because they felt that the displaced farmers are lower in socio-economic status than urban dwellers and lack knowledge of the urban way of life.

In their study, Mohammed, Kosa, and Juhar (2017) also propose that government should provide sufficient and timely training for farmers who are supposed to be displaced due to urban expansion, as farmers lack the expertise, awareness, and experience of saving habits and weak adaptive capacities. According to the study informants, when the government decides to expropriate land from a farmer, the government should calculate compensation payments based on the farmer's economic and psychological damages, the damages to community culture and the environment, and the social damage and crisis caused by displacement. Thus, before

expropriation, farmers require training on different topics such as income-generating mechanisms, use of machinery and advanced tools, the development of saving habits and the reduction of unnecessary costs, and competition for employment opportunities in non-agricultural sectors.

9.4.5. Demand for enjoying fruits of development projects by displaced persons

The study informants suggested that persons who have left their land for the sake of urban development should benefit from the fruits of the development. Chaltu stated her feelings as follows.

> "No one should be dispossessed of his land and subjected to misery. If we evacuate from our landholdings for development purposes, we must benefit from the development and lead a better life. No one should be a beggar, as our displaced people are now following displacement. The government must ensure our wellbeing while also acknowledging that relinquishing our treasured land and environment is a sacrifice in itself. The government has to show us the way to put us on the path to prosperity. If the government evicts us, it must stop grabbing our land and leaving us impoverished. I do not worry about myself; I am worried about the next generation. The government has not at least been able to help us feed our family members, and this needs to be corrected. Everyone should profit fairly. Discrimination has to stop, and we must enjoy the fruits of development." (Chaltu Kefeni, 48 years old, Female, 11th grade)

According to the informants, job opportunities created by development projects on displaced people's land should also include unemployed displaced people. The displaced farmers should also be entitled to have infrastructures available to urban dwellers. The disparities in housing and lifestyle between urban and rural children have had a psychological impact on their upbringing.

The children of displaced farmers have shown a predisposition to copy deviant behaviours from untamed urban children and pay less attention to their educations. At the same time, the inequality of urban and rural homes created significant psychological pressure on children. Thus, informants of the study suggested that those who had been displaced from their land should be provided with better housing by the occupants of their land or by the government. Just as the structural transformation model argues, displaced people have proposed that the government and concerned bodies focus on methods to mitigate the adverse effects of urbanization and help farmers through development trickledown (Teketel 2015). According to the informants of my study, displaced households should benefit from urbanization's physical, social, and economic impacts.

9.4.6. Taking punitive measures against land grabbers and squatter settlers

According to the informants, there are several plots of lands occupied by illegal brokers and land grabbers. Both brokers and land grabbers are unlawfully enriching themselves at the expense of poor farmers. According to the informants, no action has been taken, and no adjustments have been made to control and stop land speculators from their wrong acts. Instead, the speculators are seen doing their best to expel many from their possessions. Accordingly, the informants stated that the government should follow up with individuals and groups engaged in an illegal land transaction and take punitive measures against them. The informal settlement, ostensibly to address housing shortages, is on the rise in the area, which is also a crime hotspot. Participants thus recommended that the government should take measures to prevent informal settlements. The study informants also felt that some institutions are engaged in land grabbing, and the informants suggested the government halt such acts. Tulu stated his opinion regarding those institutions engaged in land grabbing as follows.

"...The other point I would like to make clear here is that some institutions are grabbing land and destroying our people's identities under the guise of religion,[24] and the government should be the one to focus on how to address the problem. If these kinds of acts are not addressed earlier, they will result in conflict. I finally would like to suggest that government officials should develop a sense of serving their people honestly and sincerely as their acts will both positively and negatively affect peoples' life." (Tulu Wako, 27 years old, Male, 10th grade)

According to a study conducted by Mulugeta, *'Waqefanna'* as a religion is based on land among many others, and the Oromos believe that land is among the sacred things that no one should touch, abuse, cultivate, or settle there, or cut trees from sacred sites without first learning about the place (Mulugeta 2017). The fact that people regard land as sacred, as well as the arbitrary expropriation of land, can lead to conflict and confusion among people. Teshome (2014) has also shown in his research that land grabbing has reached its climax in the town of Laga Xafo-Laga Dadhi and that the chains in the illicit land trade include those who have occupied top government offices. Informants in Teshome's research felt their landholdings were being regarded by those who held authority as abandoned property that the officials could use however they wanted. Research in the town of Shashemene depicts high levels of land-grabbing crime and proposes a similar approach to my study informants seeking the government's determination to stop the act by strictly implementing policies and regulations (Gemede, Abebe & Cirella 2020).

9.4.7. Promoting culture and preserving historical and cultural sites

My informants underlined the need to maintain their culture in the face of urbanization. Although culture is a vital aspect of every community, my informants stated that the city

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[24] Religious institutions such as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church are often criticized for land invasion. During the monarchy, the church owned and ruled over one-third of the land of Ethiopia. Many religious institutions are also accused of land grabbing under the pretext of religion and forcing external beliefs and culture onto the residents.

government had taken no steps to maintain the culture of displaced farmers. Many cultural and historical sites, and community cultural values, may be jeopardized if the city government and other stakeholders do not respond quickly, according to my informants. Informants, therefore, called on the city government to protect the culture and history of the community, preserve historical and cultural sites, and value cultural values. Interviewees also recommended that the government create opportunities for youth to organize and develop their culture. According to informants, the government should take caution when dealing with issues that may affect the language and culture of local community members.

While Afan Oromo is legally the working language of the city, service providers fail to use it frequently due to inattention from city officials. As a result, farmers have had difficulty obtaining city services and encountered harassment and abuse. In light of this, my informants recommended that the government pay attention to the advancement of the Afan Oromo language and take the necessary steps to promote it. Above all, they advised the government to eliminate discriminatory practices and linguistic-based abuses and focus on making the city a safer place for all. According to the informants, schools offering education in Afan Oromo should expand, and farmers should be conscious of the importance of educating their children to use their mother tongue. The informants also indicated that everyone should learn about the history, values, culture, customs, and languages of the area in which they reside; in doing so, it will be possible to bring people together and promote harmony and stability. Kebede, my informant, stated that learning a language is not something challenging, and everybody should strive to learn. He further commented saying:

> "Language is one of the tools for communication, and it is also common to enjoy one's own mother tongue and culture. I think everyone should be able to communicate in the

local community's language. People are pleased when their culture and language are recognized. No one should be harassed for speaking his or her native language. I knew and remembered the trauma and bullying related to my accent of the Amharic language during school age. When I was in grade two, I could not properly pronounce Amharic, and my friends used to belittle me until I completed grade twelve. Then I decided to learn Amharic and worked hard at it, and I now speak Amharic better than some Amhara ethnic group members do. It is not that tough to learn a language. It is dependent on the interest of individuals, and every individual should be motivated to learn local languages in which he lives instead of undermining the speakers." (Kebede Tura, 69 years old, Male, 12th grade)

The informants, therefore, proposed that the City administration, the urban community, and the farming community should work together to ensure that people in and around the city understand the local culture, customs, values, norms, and language.

Amicable to what my study informants suggested, Switzerland has built a multilingual and multicultural nation by recognizing the cultural and linguistic diversity of each canton (Morrison 2013). The Swiss recognized that each language is valuable to its users and that appreciation for each language would inspire loyalty to the country instead of alienating portions of the state. There had been even moments when pluralism became part of Swiss national identity, and learning another national language became a matter of pride (Lundberg 2019).

9.4.8. Setting up waste disposal and pollution mitigation system

One of the areas suggested for intervention by the city government is a waste disposal and pollution mitigation system. Following urban expansion, the area of displaced farmers is becoming highly polluted due to overcrowding and the lack of a waste disposal system. Air and

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sound pollution are also becoming problematic. The government, according to informants, should address the issues by establishing an environmental protection system. According to the study informants, the issues relating to the shortage of public toilets need to be addressed as well. One of the informants stated his view as follows.

> "We are not against development. We need to develop, and our city needs to develop as well. However, due to a lack of proper management of urban expansion, we are faced with environmental pollution. There is no waste disposal system. Pollutants of various kinds are strewn about, endangering both humans and animals. Several factories produce hazardous pollutants. None of the garbage collectors has ever reached us. I am afraid about what will happen soon if the factories continue to pollute our area. The government must then take urgent steps to halt pollution. The government must also be in a position to take the necessary control to ensure that the pollution does not spill over to us." (Yami Boset, 52 years old, Male, 8th grade)

Consistent with my research, Diriba (2016) says, displaced farmers live in a highly polluted environment, and he suggests that government entities reconsider their environmental protection efforts and adhere to the norms and rules of the country.

9.4.9. Serving all equally and sincerely

Service users often criticize officials and experts of the government agencies that offer services for their misbehaviours. The research participants thus proposed that service providers should serve diligently, realizing that it is their responsibility to offer equal service to all customers. According to the study informants, multiple client issues are not being handled in a timely way in service-providing government institutions. Clients usually spend a month or more, even on matters that can be settled in hours, and as a result, clients are wasting their time and resources.

The party concerned must then be able to ensure that everybody has access to reliable and satisfactory services. A complaints redress and investigation body should be formed to investigate a client's complaint. Reasonable answers to complaints should also be given, according to the informants. Chala expressed his feelings as follows about service rendered at government institutions.

> "When we go to government offices, they do not show much initiative to serve us. Nonetheless, if you are an official and know someone in their office, they will handle your matter soon away. They despise our farmers. I believe that individuals who discriminate against service seekers should face appropriate disciplinary action. Government officials and others need to know that they are expected to serve clients faithfully and we're there to get services from them." (Chala Tulema, 35 years old, Male, Diploma holder)

There is also research that shows what the informants described in this study concerning the behaviours of service providers. Research published some 13 years earlier has shown that the customer handling behaviour of the Bishoftu city administration about the land was low (Mohammed 2008). Mohammed claims that the city government employees lack both the dedication and the tools needed to carry out their daily jobs. According to Mohammed's research, there are no motivational incentives for staff, and administrators have even been chastised for bribing their clients. He also claims in his research that the management personnel lack responsiveness, honesty, and accountability, and suggested that workers should maintain these principles of service delivery.

9.4.10. Rehabilitation of people affected by displacement

Informants suggested that many citizens are displaced due to spontaneous government interference in urban expansion without proper planning and understanding of how to survive in urban areas. As a result, many are in abject poverty, some lost their lives, the children of the deceased are left helpless, and elderly people are forced to continue working. The informants believe that this is all a sacrifice for the expansion of the city. As a result, my informants argued that the government should rehabilitate families in poverty and hardship. A 63-year-old man who took part in this study described his feelings following expropriation, which I presented as follows.

> "Muu yaa mucaa koo! Maasaa namaafii gabaa keessatti gaafan baaqelaafii atara argu, baay'een dhara'ee ancufti afaan naguuta. Maalgodha garuu eenyumtuu sitti hinhiixatu!" It is literally to mean in Afan Oromo 'oh! My son, when I see green beans and peas on other people's fields and the market, I am going to get impatient and salivate to eat. Yet no one is giving you.'
>
> Before displacement, relatively I was self-sufficient. In the past, at least beans, peas, wheat, teff, and chickpeas have been grown in my backyard. Now, what I have is a limited teff field. Let alone other things, I cannot afford to eat pea and beans right now. What can I do, I do not have anything at hand to buy and eat. Now that I am old, I am wondering how I am going to get what I need to survive. I am not sure we can survive if the government keeps ignoring us. Government and other humanitarian organizations must reach out to those who are starving and dying of malnutrition and lack of medicines. As in the past, our people have not been able to support each other, and we have reached a point where we are unable to care for our community members. Our children should not

suffer from malnutrition, and the government should initiate rehabilitation. The practice of a discriminatory approach in which we become marginalized should not remain as it is." (Seneso Kumbi, 63 years old, Male, Non-literate)

Scholars considering difficulties and problems dislocated people may face suggest for the provision of food, drinking water, and sanitation, housing, medical care, sources of livelihoods, children's education facilities, human rights protection, and even some leisure and entertainment facilities (Hoshour & Jennifer 2007 as cited in Ione 2014). The Ethiopian Constitution also calls for policies aimed at providing all Ethiopians with access to public health and education, clean water, healthcare, food, and social welfare (Article 90(1) of the FDRE Constitution). Besides, Article 41(6) and (7) of the Constitution mandated the state to implement policies aimed at improving job security for the disabled and the vulnerable, and to take suitable programs and public work projects, as well as to take appropriate measures to enhance conditions for people to find jobs. To put it in a nutshell, the recommendations made by my study informants are consistent with scholars and the country's policy direction, and they deserve consideration.

9.4.11. Obtaining title deed of immovable property

In Ethiopia, ownership or possession of immovable property is certified by a title deed issued by the government. Under Article 1195 of the Ethiopian Civil Code, the title deed is a certificate issued by the administrative authority to the extent that the immovable in question is the property to which the certificate is issued. The title deed guarantees possession. For example, if a person wishes to sell, donate, or will his/her property, he/she must produce a title deed to undertake the registry of those agreements. If there is no title deed, there would be no alienation of those rights, since there is no evidence whether or not the individual is the rightful owner of the property.

Even though the surrounding rural communities are now administered by Bishoftu city, according to this study, no members of the rural communities have received a title deed certificate for their immovable property. The city dwellers have title deed certificates for their immovable properties including land and buildings. The study informants, thus, suggested that the rural community members under the city administration should get ownership and possession certificates over their immovable properties. Megra explained the importance of title deed for rural farming communities as follows.

> "You see, we do not have a title deed on our land possession and houses. We cannot get a loan from a bank or other institutions using our immovable properties as collateral. We cannot use our houses or land possessions as a guarantee. We cannot do anything with our house except living in it. If we want to mortgage or sell our house, we have to have a title deed. The title deed is proof of ownership and possessions. However, the city dwellers have a title deed and can sell or mortgage their property if necessary. A person who does not have proof of ownership cannot confidently claim ownership of his property. Therefore, I recommend that the government give us a certificate of possession and ownership of immovable property without wasting any more time." (Megra Dechu, 30 years old, Male, Diploma holder)

Even though Article 40(1) of the Ethiopian constitution specifies that an Ethiopian citizen has the right to own private property of which the right holder may use, sell, legate, or pass to others; those farmers under the city administration do not enjoy such privileges since they do not have title deeds. Thus, the suggestion forwarded by the study informants is an issue that needs urgent response since such violations of rights may result in public discontent.

9.5. Recommendations

In the light of the results of the study alluded to above, in addition to suggestions raised by the study informants under section 9.4 of this thesis, I propose the following recommendations to ensure sustainable urban development and to promote the physical, economic, psychological, and cultural well-being of rural communities surrounding the city.

1. **Areas the government should work on**

   - Since the unconstitutional actions by the government officials and experts were primarily the result of failure to conform to the current policies and laws that the country aspired to, they should be answerable for gross breach of the legislation. There should be a mechanism that makes both the individual and the institutions criminally and civilly accountable for their inability to comply with established policies and regulations concerning land expropriation for development projects. Parliaments, at all levels of the government, should establish autonomous prosecuting institutions that follow up only cases related to property expropriation and administrative malpractice so that wrongdoers cannot avoid being responsible for their conduct.

   - All Parliaments at all levels should repeal subsidiary laws that impede the social, political, cultural, economic, and psychological development of displaced people and introduce new subsidiary laws per the federal constitution, international treaties, and conventions.

   - Since the failure of the government to come up with sound land legislation that gives due consideration to the living conditions of prospective or displaced farmers is also one of the areas that impede genuine development, the government should enact

comprehensive laws that enhance the well-being of farmers, and urban dwellers as well.

- Decision-makers and others working in development projects must ensure that their activities do not contradict displaced people's social and cultural values. The government must proceed with utmost care to minimize the negative impact of displacement on displaced people's social and cultural situations. The government must also consider factors that may jeopardize the relationship between displaced people and those who benefit from urban projects, such as the government, investors, and city dwellers.

- The city government, the state and the federal governments must respect the rights of the citizens to develop economically, use and develop their language, culture, traditions, social relations, values, and exercise their constitutional and human rights.

- The State of Oromia should fully implement the country's language policy in which individuals have a right to communicate in their language in the State, be it at a government office, business institutions, or public places. Service providers at all levels should offer their services to Afan Oromo speakers without discrimination based on language, and the government should ensure the availability of such services.

- The Oromia State must do its utmost to protect the indigenous language, culture, religious beliefs, values and social networks in the cities. The government should enforce teaching the Afan Oromo language starting at the pre-school level to all pupils of the State so that plurality of language and culture will develop.

- Those who seek undue advantages by perpetuating violence and enforcing hidden political agendas, as well as those who work tirelessly to harm the development of local community members' culture, religion, and language, should be sanctioned since acts of such consequences may lead to bloodshed and the collapse of a nation. The government need to promote pluralism and national unity to create a multicultural society.

- Freedom from hunger is one of the fundamental human rights, and the government has to motivate and expand the spectrum of options for those displaced from their original habitat. Since Ethiopia's investment policies and strategies are primarily geared toward investors and fail to account for farmers' potential psychosocial, cultural, political, and economic well-being, significant legislative changes or amendments that give rural local communities priority rights and opportunities are required. The government should set specific policy guidelines for any development-induced displacement and eliminate bottlenecks in physical and economic access to food.

- Citizens should benefit equally from development projects, and there should be some financial return and other benefits to the local community.

- The Oromia State government should establish an impartial, authentic, and effective monitoring and reporting apparatus that tracks the post-displacement status of displaced persons and analyses how displaced persons are benefiting from the current economic system.

- There should also be a plan in place to compensate displaced people depending on their assent. To ensure that corrupted government officials and land dealers will not

deceive displaced people, social science specialists such as sociologists, attorneys, economists, and others should assist displaced people on the consequences of displacement, alternative livelihood, legal effects of expropriation, on valuations, and other matters. The specialists will help the displaced people by lessening the power imbalance between the governments and the displaced people so that no one will harm the farmers due to a lack of understanding and ineptitude to forecast what will happen after the dislocation.

- Both displaced farmers and urban residents should not socially, economically, and culturally estrange one another living in the same city, labelled as urban dwellers and displaced farmers. Thus, the government should act quickly to put the two groups together and strengthen their sense of mutual benefit and support. The government should work with displaced farmers and urban dwellers to build healthy relationships and establish an all-inclusive system. The city government should implement a comprehensive approach to economic, social, cultural and infrastructural development in and around the city.

2. **Areas for further research**

- Many studies in Ethiopia demonstrate that the government of Ethiopia is displacing farmers in defiance of the statutes in the name of development projects. Many researchers studying development-induced displacement in Ethiopia had called on the government to end its illegal evictions and uphold the rule of law. Government measures, however, have not changed. Knowing the causes of the illegal deeds of the government would be helpful in subsequent measures, so it will be a reasonable thing to do some research on it.

- The behaviour of people is evolving, and unusual social tensions are rampant in the outskirts. Although urban sprawl contributes to social tensions in the periphery, my study also hints at the presence of other unidentified social and political factors. As a result, it is imperative to study the factors that lead to social tensions and crises in rural areas following urbanization.

- Finally, there is little extra time than now for a detailed study at the national level on urbanization and prospects for farmers. This form of research is essential to serve as a policy input and to help us forecast the potential effects of urban sprawl and rural decline.

9.6. Conclusions

Displaced people have sought to adopt both maladaptive and productive coping mechanisms to address the economic, psychological, and social challenges in the face of urbanization. Begging, gambling, alcohol misuse, being employed as a day labourer, decreasing food, and the like became ill-adapted coping mechanisms mentioned by participants, and diversification of livelihoods, such as participating in petty dealing, renting houses, and engaging in both off-farm and on-farm practices. According to my study informants, a few turned the displacement into opportunity and coped positively, while many failed.

According to this study, the role played by the government was to secure land for urban use, and it paid menial compensation payments to displaced persons. In several cases, the government has violated human rights by rejecting the statutory rights of displaced people. The informants in the study also highlighted how displaced persons should deal with difficulties associated with urban expansion and relocation. The eleven proposals made by the study informants are legal in the country and consistent with previous research concerning development-induced displacement.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

10.1. Introduction

My doctoral thesis had the primary goal of investigating the perspectives of displaced farming community members surrounding Bishoftu city because of urban expansion. It primarily focuses on answering the research questions stated in the first chapter of the thesis, which are restated as follows:

- What opportunities accrue to farmers displaced due to urban expansion?

- What are the psychological, social, cultural, and economic challenges displaced farmers are facing because of displacement?

- What are the coping strategies adopted by displaced farmers?

- What are the suggestions of displaced farmers on how to mitigate the adverse effect of displacement?

I outlined coping strategies and recommendations in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I will discuss the contribution of my study to the literature on urbanization and displacement and the conclusions I reached regarding my research questions.

10.2. The contributions of this thesis in the study of urbanization and displacement

Considering that spatial disruption will affect the social, economic, cultural, and psychological stances of persons displaced, I used a qualitative approach and collected data using in-depth interviews and observation. I chose the method because I wanted to learn about new experiences that scholars and policymakers have yet to acknowledge. Through this study, the informants have been able to express what they have experienced due to urban expansion. What the research informants provided based on their thoughts, perceptions, and practices will inform scholars,

researchers, and other interested individuals about urbanization-related displacement. As individuals experiencing urbanization's challenges and opportunities, the study informants stated their feelings and provided suggestions on how to deal with displacement due to urbanization.

The feelings, opinions, and experiences of displaced people represented in this thesis create knowledge that helps to comprehend displacement and its consequences in Ethiopia and even beyond. The study provides empirical data to the body of knowledge about how social disarticulation and loss of social organization can occur because of poorly managed displacement caused by urbanization initiatives.

According to this study, relocation entails a change in the spatial surroundings of the community. The displaced farmers cherished their surroundings because they served as the foundation for their livelihoods, identity, social relationships, culture, and everything they needed to survive. My research demonstrates that displaced farmers had four of the six 'place' attachment types mentioned by Cross (2001), both before their displacement and currently: biographical, narrative, ideological, and spiritual (See chapter two, chapter seven and chapter eight). My study informants did not indicate both commodified and dependent relationship kinds of place attachment before or after their displacement. The research found that commodified and dependent place attachment may not exist among those who have a stronger emotional attachment to their communities and were likely born and raised there. Those who have commodified place attachments choose a location based on a list of desirable characteristics and lifestyle preferences, comparing actual locations to ideal locations; those who have dependent place attachments choose a place due to a lack of options, reliance on another person, or economic opportunity. None of these characteristics of commodified and dependent place attachments characterizes the local farmers displaced by urban expansion because these farmers

are indigenous to the area and their bonds to their locations are due to historical, familial, emotional, intangible, moral, ethical, and mythical bonds. That is why many displaced farmers fail to overcome the psychological challenges that follow displacement.

This thesis explains in chapter two that a sense of place that connects people with their environments has about seven stages, which are: the lack of a sense of place; the knowledge of being situated in a place; belonging to a place; attachment to a place; identification with the place's goals; involvement in a place; and sacrifice for a place. According to Shamai (1991), as one move from the first stage, i.e., lack of a sense of place, to the last stage of sense of a place, which is a sacrifice for a place, a sense of place will become stronger. The findings of this study indicate that displaced persons have a strong sense of place. The study demonstrates that farmers have strong place attachments because their commitment to place is due to emotional, moral, ethical, mythical, and historical factors rather than monetary gain. The study found that displaced people retain a strong sense of attachment and involvement in the affairs of their community, even if social control, collective identity, and social capital deteriorate, and that those people can be classified as cohesively rooted, as described by Cross.

However, due to the disruption of place attachment and threat to place identity, the biographical, narrative, ideological, and spiritual place attachments are being challenged. The relocation made the displaced persons vulnerable to psychological, social and cultural crises. According to my research, the disruption is harming people's place attachment and causing grief. The shift in place has also disrupted the people's way of life, including social and cultural aspects. Following displacement, many cultural activities, social groups, and networking are dwindling or perhaps disappearing, as revealed by my research. The study adds to what Devine-Wright's disruption framework model and Downing and Garcia-Downing's (2009) psycho-social and cultural

interruptions theory articulate about displacement (See chapter two, chapter seven and chapter eight of the thesis).

Using Wright's Devine-disruption framework, my research suggested an additional phase that is so transient that I called it an interim phase i.e. a phase between disruption and perception. An example given by one of my informants, Lelisa, comparing displacement to the feelings of sitting on a stone helps to distinguish between the interim and perception phases. When someone is tired and wants to rest on a stone, he feels comfortable for a short time before becoming aware of the stone's roughness and discomfort. Interim phase is a brief period in which the evicted farmers receive their compensation payments, before the compensation is consumed. In the interim, the displaced farmers are hopeful that the government's promises will be fulfilled. They also believe that the money they are receiving is sufficient to sustain their lives. They then enter the perception phase, followed by the final phase, when they learn that what they thought did not materialize. Again, my research introduced a fresh concept to the response phase: the evicted person may abandon his or her residence or even commit a serious offence.

Thus, the negative impacts described in Devine-Wright's disruption framework model and Downing and Garcia-Downing's psycho-socio-cultural interruptions theory following displacement are becoming more perceptible in my study. As stated in chapter two of this thesis, Downing and Garcia-Downing identified six psycho-socio-cultural risks, and my study confirmed the presence of these risks. Farmers' routine culture was threatened and devalued; routine activities were purged, socially built relationships were broken, productive activities were disrupted, socialization was hampered, and common resources vanished. The study reinforces the notion that routine cultures cannot be restored once they have been disrupted.

New behaviours are arising, such as criminality, loss of social capital and networking, and social chaos.

The social disorganization theory, which was originally developed to explain delinquency and crime in advanced nations' concentric and transition zones of cities, has the potential to explain the chaos that may occur in peri-urban areas and among displaced farmers as a result of urbanization. As part of the theory of social disorganization, the thesis suggests that the emergence of class stratification among egalitarian community members, heterogeneous social groups, strains between locals and the government, and the failure of previously held social control mechanisms can contribute to criminality and delinquency, even in pre-urban areas.

The study also adds to the literature that conflict can emerge as a latent effect of displacement. The presence of conflict between displaced people and their family members, displaced people and their neighbours, displaced people and city dwellers, and even displaced people and government officials, are primarily due to land expropriations. Conflicts arise due to disruptions in the lives of displaced people, cultural differences between urban settlers and the displaced community, unjust/underpayment of compensation payments, and failure to use compensation payments wisely following the expropriation of land (see chapter six, chapter seven and chapter eight).

This study demonstrates how unhealthy political attitudes can be detrimental to urban development. The corrupt structure, the lack of commitment to existing laws, and the lack of diligent public service impede the constructive relationship between the government and the displaced communities (see chapter six). The study also adds to the body of knowledge in displacement studies that an urbanization-induced displacement is a powerful tool for mobilizing supporters for political elites. The thesis divides political elites into two groups: 'the unidentified'

and 'the identified,' those seem to favour urban and rural people, respectively. This study shows how potentially unfavourable social leanings between urban and rural communities can generate undesirable consequences related to urbanization. According to the thesis, unless the elites' invisible ill motives are curtailed, they will have devastating consequences for both the living conditions of displaced farmers and Ethiopians' harmonious relationship.

The study also demonstrates how people construct their social identities and how those identities are sustained in the face of external impositions. Although the government has restructured the community under urban administration, the displaced farmers still regard themselves as rural. Thus, my study depicts that people's self-categorization as rural or urban is a function of the location in which they reside, socialize, the infrastructural development in their area, their livelihood, and their pre-existing perceptions of the rural-urban dichotomy.

The study adds knowledge to place attachment theories by showing that changing the names of places can have the potential to generate a sense of emptiness and estrangement in a place where people used to reside, and the culture and social orientations of newcomers will increasingly influence the local community members (see chapters seven and eight of the thesis). The study also contributes to the body of knowledge on informal settlements by demonstrating how the failure of a government to regulate urbanization projects may open windows of opportunity for illegal land deals. According to the findings of this study, illegal land sales can occur when the government fails to pay adequate compensation while expropriating land.

The thesis also explored a less researched issue, namely how the religion of others threatens local people who have been displaced by urbanization. Farmers consider land sacred, and the fact that urbanization pushes farmers away from their land threatens their religion, allowing other religions to flourish. According to this study, other religions, primarily Christian and, to a lesser

extent, Islam, that came from outside the local community had two effects on the community. First, these religions competed with indigenous religion by expanding into their territories. These religions worked hard to convert people's indigenous religion to Christianity or Islam. Second, in search of land, Islam and Christianity spread to the areas, resulting in displacement.

This study found that urbanization can improve the lives of girls and women by bringing services and opportunities closer to them, even when a community is facing challenges following eviction. Agricultural activities have declined as a result of displacement, which may open up opportunities for women to become involved in public affairs, attaining economic gains, education, and participation, and this has created new opportunities for women and girls who previously did not have the same prospects as their male counterparts. This study demonstrates that as livelihoods shift from agriculture to other casual jobs, family members may renegotiate their roles, potentially leading to a shift in traditionally conceived gender roles in which women are responsible for domestic shore; and men are the sole breadwinner. The inability of men to meet the economic needs of their households contributes to the involvement of women in paid work. The few opportunities for women amid the chaos caused by displacement are what I refer to as a glimmer of light in the fog. Many issues of displaced persons remain unaddressed, be it for men or women, but the struggles women are making to cope with the challenges households are facing, as well as the relative availability of infrastructure such as schools, create a glimmer of light in the fog.

Furthermore, the research adds to the literature on the perspectives of displaced persons regarding how to deal with displacement-related issues. The ninth chapter of this thesis deals with the recommendations of the research informants so that one can understand the needs and concerns of the displaced persons.

10.3. Major Conclusions

As stated in this thesis, while urbanization is a long-standing phenomenon throughout the world, the potential for expansion in developing countries such as Ethiopia remains high. Urbanization in these developing countries is spreading into the hinterland. The rural land is the cornerstones of farming rural communities. According to the study's findings, farming is a genealogically acquired communal and unique group experience, as well as a life-long socialization process that develops strong culturally distinct ties indicative of social structures, place identity, and place attachment. The expansion of cities into rural areas is more likely to disrupt farming activities in part or entirely. Besides being displaced, some benefits and difficulties come with being located adjacent to a city. Urban expansion may lead to opportunities such as access to infrastructure, access to services, market links, and job creation. Its challenges to displaced people may also include displacement from their land possessions, erosion and loss of old social connections and ideals, loss of traditional livelihoods, weakening or loss of routine culture, weak social control and the emergence of violence and environmental pollution.

The cost of displacement is higher than its gain for the displaced farming population. The land is the base of everything for rural communities. The land has a significant impact on people's history, way of life, how they strengthen social interactions, create their language, and build the values that define them both as individuals and a community. The hinterland is also a potential resource for urban residents and the government, as the government plans to use these lands for residential, industrial, and commercial development. The thoughtless measures of government will put both the rural and urban sides under strain. If there is good government planning and both rural and urban people can complement each other in meeting their needs, all interested parties will manage to succeed and harness the available resources for the benefit of all without

jeopardizing each other. Scholars also argue that urbanization will result in the contraction of the agricultural sector and the expansion of industrialization resulting in a reallocation and possibly retraining of the workforce[25] (Hnatkovska & Lahiri 2012). The scholars also argue the belief that as a city grows, it brings universal development. Development is a process by which a person, a community, or a nation can achieve economic, social, cultural, psychological, and spiritual growth. Humans are at the centre of all development projects, whose principal purpose is their well-being. Urban expansion and development are supposed to be regulated by planning, policies, and legislation. Some of the displacements caused by development projects are deliberate in all respects, and their effects are foreseeable and mostly without significant disruption. This study, however, shows that farmers are evicted at random by the government with no planning and no attempt to mitigate the risk of dislocation, and as a result, displaced farmers find themselves in crisis.

Though I cannot provide statistical support for my claims, elements of exploitation are evident in this study[26] (see chapter six and chapter seven of the thesis). My research demonstrates that there is a lack of equilibrium in terms of getting mutual benefits between urban and rural areas during the urbanization process. Indeed, cities grow parasitically by exploiting and holding back their surrounding rural regions and leading to social, economic, and environmental problems in the areas (Carter 1995; Girma 2017). Efa and Gutema (2017) state that material deprivation and pauperization characterize urbanization, and they further observed that few economic groups are exploiting the masses, placing them more impoverished and creating more income. Rural

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[25] The argument is based on the belief that urbanization will shift agricultural labour to the modern urban industrial sector, where wages will be higher than in subsistence farming. Following this shift, the economy gradually turns away from low-productivity, labour-intensive activities and toward higher-productivity, skill-intensive ones (UN-Habitat 2016).

[26] Carter (1995) states that exploitative relationships exist between a developing nation's core (urban centre) and periphery (rural), just as they do between industrialized and undeveloped states.

farming communities that live in surrounding cities are still leading a rural way of life without being socially and economically integrated and getting benefits from cities as well (Teketel 2015).

According to my research, displaced farmers may also suffer from lifetime emotional scars and trauma due to the following key factors. Primarily, they have been connected to their land for a long time, and their land is the primary source of revenue and livelihood (see chapter seven of the thesis). Secondly, farmers can only use their years of experience and expertise if they have land to work with (see chapters six and seven of the thesis). As government expropriates the land of farmers, indirectly government will make farmers deskill and unfit for other livelihood types. Thirdly, the farmers' cultural and religious traditions, social networks, language, and identities are all related to and built around the land (see chapter eight of the thesis). Finally, and perhaps most crucially, the land is the only precious resource farmers have inherited from their forebears and will pass down from generation to generation. Reducing land to a monetary value arises from a lack of understanding of the function of land in the lives of displaced people. My research shows that displaced people and their community members have encountered several social, cultural, psychological, and economic difficulties due to the displacement.

Though my study indicates gradual infrastructure growth, the occasional participation of women in the public sector, including schooling and jobs, and the improvement of the lives of a few displaced farmers as a result of urbanization, it also shows many negative consequences. Before displacement, the community was not concerned about what to survive on. They were not living far from each other as well. They had close social links. *'Idir, 'Debo', 'Jigi'*, Coffee Ceremony, '*Mahiber'*, and related organizations have played a part in bringing the community together. Farmers guided and counselled each other, shared information, socialized their children,

supported those in need, settled conflicts, and relied on each other during times of crisis through the organizations mentioned[27] (see chapter seven and chapter eight of the thesis about the state of farmers before their displacement). Right now, however, these organizations are becoming weak, and many are missing. Some valuable cultural practices that had a positive impact on the lives of displaced farmers have been lost partly due to urbanization.

The members of the community often had their own administrative, theological, and dispute resolution institutions. These institutions are becoming more and more drained. The weakening of these institutions has led to an increase in immoral and deviant activities in the area. The demise of the traditional system and indigenous conflict settlement, the decline in the role of seniors in shaping the behaviour of children and youth, the weakening of 'Atete' in the defence of women, and the weakening and even demise of traditional criminal investigation and control mechanism have contributed to social anomalies.

Family bonds of displaced people have been shattered. Their neighbourly relations have declined over time and have occasionally escalated to conflict. Relationships among urban dwellers and displaced farmers appear strained. Kids leave school and face abuse. The collapse and even extinction of informal social regulation systems and the ineffectiveness of formal regulations in the area paved the way for increasing criminality, widespread land speculation, illegal settlement, and inadequate environmental sanitation.

My study confirms that social disorganization results from the weakening or dissolution of these social institutions and the incapacity of the local community to actualize the shared aspirations of its people and govern the behaviour of its members. As both intra-generational and intergenerational networks break down, the exchange of material goods, counselling,

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[27] Even if social capital theorists like Putnam (1993) believe that social capital eventually leads to strong civic awareness, this may not always be the case. In the aftermath of displacement, for example, trust among community members, willingness to help one another, and community norms deteriorate, and social capital is depleted.

childrearing information, and the expectation of shared informal support, control, and supervision among neighbourhoods will be compromised (see chapters seven and eight). My study supports that delinquency and crime will increase in a community following social disorganization.

Some of the displaced farmers became ill, left their homes, lost access to food, could not receive medical treatment, and as a result, died. The identities of the community are despised, people are humiliated because of the language they use, individuals feel different in the place they were born and raised, and they feel lonely. Because the government fails to deliver on its promises, displaced people lack confidence and trust in it.

Even though the Ethiopian constitution and the human rights treaties ratified by the country declare that people have the right to engage in development or any other matter that concerns their lives, the proclamation of expropriation of land has denied those rights. The authorities even set aside the expropriation proclamation and continued with land expropriation without enforcing several of the procedures outlined in the legislation (see chapter three and chapter six of the thesis). Under the pretence of public benefit, the government evicted farmers, violating the human rights of the framers in the process.

As we have seen in chapter three, there are statutes such as the constitution forcing authorities to pay compensation to displaced farmers. The question now is whether the farmers received fair compensation for all the iniquities they suffered and utilized the compensation payments effectively. The answer to the question is no, for several reasons detailed in chapter six, chapter seven and chapter eight of this thesis. The compensation payment they received is not commensurate with the loss they suffered. In addition to the unfairness of the payout, farmers lack knowledge and skills of using the compensation money they have received. Many farmers

are not literate and have little connection to other places far from their localities. Almost none of them are accustomed to having once many thousand '*Birr*' in cash; many have never shared business ideas with others, and they do not know about modes of life other than farming.

As a result of the relocation, when farmers unexpectedly collect payments without their prior knowledge of how they are going to manage the money, without training them how to make a livelihood, and without knowing what the future holds for them, it makes them feel wealthy and alter their lifestyle. According to this study, many displaced people spent the compensation payments with little to no positive impact on their life. Some individuals were sharing the money they received with family and friends. Some of them purchased unnecessary house equipment and furniture. Others drank frequently, gambled, and participated in several addictions. Eventually, displaced farmers were empty-handed and encountered various forms of abuse, diseases, and troubles. Teshome (2014) calls these kinds of money 'bitter money' because his study reveals that the lives of many become devastated following dislocation and compensation payments.

My study shows that the government does not consider other social, political, cultural, and psychological harms except economic loss, and the compensation payments provided by the government without accounting for non-economic loss are insufficient (see chapter six, chapter seven and chapter eight of the thesis). Intentionally or unintentionally, the government does more harm than good to farmers. In many cases, the government ignores its own rules and policies. The failure of the government to pay attention to the culture, language, psychology, social stability, and related issues of displaced farmers has contributed to the loss of substantial social and cultural capital. Besides, it is also becoming a source of political instability and conflict.

If the government fails to address the concerns of displaced people as soon as possible, the escalation of disputes will be unavoidable, even at exorbitant costs. The failure of the government to respond effectively to the needs of displaced farmers will exacerbate the stress. As displaced farmers are being evicted as part of urbanization projects, my research indicates that social and cultural differences will also exacerbate friction and conflict between displaced farmers and urbanites, displaced farmers and investors, and even between the government and displaced farmers. Even if the government does everything it can to compensate, the fact that displaced farmers compare their condition to pre-displacement may make them dissatisfied with what the government does. Neither the city nor the country's urbanization schemes participate displaced farmers or offer them comprehensive guidance, and the present flat expansion of Bishoftu is an intricate process in which the majority of surrounding rural farmers suffer while a few profit. These necessitate the participation of farmers in any element of government intervention linked to the life of farmers.

According to this research, there are displaced farmers who are still in a state of disarray. Just a small number of individuals were able to cope productively. According to my study, displaced farmers may employ coping mechanisms that are sometimes harmful and display socially unacceptable behaviour (see chapter nine).

One can understand from my research that if the government involves evicted people at every level of its plan and interventions, the displaced people will be able to come up with better proposals than what the government is doing in terms of expropriation of land and rehabilitation of evicted people (see chapter nine of the thesis). I have found the suggestions made by the study informants on how to handle issues related to displaced people and urban expansion toward the

rural outskirts informative. If properly applied by the concerned body, the suggestions of the study informants can alleviate the challenges displaced people are facing.

10.4. Conclusions

This study endeavours to uncover the lived experiences of displaced farmers due to urbanization. The study employing the socio-ecological approach and social capital theory has generated ample information about the living situations of these farmers. The study proposes that displaced people go through four phases following their displacement (namely, disruption, interim, perception, and response). It also implies that the social disorganization theory, which was originally used to describe delinquency and criminality in cities such as Chicago, can be extended to explain the chaos and disorganization that occurs in peri-urban areas due to urbanization.

The thesis has shown that the invisible hands of elites can play a detrimental role in the lives of farming communities. The study proposes that there are two classes of elites: the 'unidentified ones' and the 'identified ones', with neither group contributing significantly to the improvement of the displaced. The study demonstrates how displacement and urbanization can break indigenous religions that regard land as sacred. Urbanization diminishes the sacredness of land by converting its use from sacred to non-sacred and exposing local communities to non-indigenous religions.

Following urbanization, farmers lost routine cultures, felt psychological troubles and economic strains, and existing social ties were weakened, mainly because of displacement from their land. The study indicates displaced farmers were also marginalized on social, spatial, political, cultural, and economic levels. A glimmer of light shines through the fog of urbanization for a

few individuals, including women and girls, who may gain access to infrastructure such as schools, water and employment opportunities.

To put it in a nutshell, I believe that urbanization is unavoidable; one must remember that urbanization is expanding into rural communities, dismantling their social, cultural, economic, and political systems, further putting them in psychological distress. Therefore, it is time to act now, incorporating the concerns of all stakeholders, notably farmers, into a comprehensive plan that will benefit everybody.

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12. ANNEXES

1. Ethical clearance (Ethical clearance from College of Human Sciences, UNISA)

Ethical clearance certificate from UNISA College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Review Committee.

2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the CHS Research Ethics Committee.

3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.

4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.

5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.
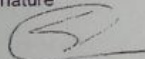
6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data require additional ethics clearance.

7. No fieldwork activities may continue after the expiry date (28 February 2024). Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.
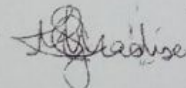
Note: The reference number 2019-CHS- 0243 should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Signature

CREC Chairperson
Dr. Suryakanthie Chetty
Chetts@unisa.ac.za

0124296267

Executive Dean: CHS
Prof. AP Phillips
Phillap@unisa.ac.za

0124296825

URERC 25.04.17 - Decision template (V2) - Approve

2. **Institutional support letters**

    1. **Support letters from Addis Ababa UNISA's centre**

UNISA | university of south africa

14 MARCH, 2019

UNISA-ET/KA/ST/29/14-03-2019

BISHOFTU CITY ADMINISTRATION

BISHOFTU

Dear Madam/Sir,

The University of South Africa (UNISA) extends warm greetings. By this letter, we want to certify that Mr. Amare Bayissa Hundessa (student number 55761410) is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at UNISA. Currently, he is going out for data collection on his doctoral thesis under the title "*The lived experiences of displaced rural farmers due to urbanization in Bishoftu city of Ethiopia*".

This is therefore to kindly request your cooperation in assisting the student in any way that you can. Attached, please find the ethical clearance certificate that he has secured from the Department of Sociology. We thank you in advance for all the assistance that you will provide to the student.

Sincerely,

Dr. Tsige GebreMeskel Aberra

Deputy Director – Academic and ICT Support

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Mobile: +251 912 19 1483
www.unisa.ac.za

March 14, 2019

UNISA-ET/KA/ST/29/ 14-03-2019

To Whom It May Concern

Dear Sir/Madam:

Mr Amare Bayissa Hundessa (St. No. 55761410) is a student in Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology program at University of South Africa (UNISA). He is registered for the thesis phase of his doctoral study in 2019.

I appreciate any assistance given to the student in pursuing his studies.

Sincerely,

Meseret Melese Tefera
Deputy Director

2. **Support Letter from Bishoftu City Administration**

Mooutumuman Naannoo Oromyaatti
W/ra Kantiibaa Bulchiinsa Magaalaa Bishooftuu
The Oromia Regional Government
of Bishooftu Mayor Office

በኦሮሚያ ክልላዊ መንግሥት
የቢሾፍቱ ከተማ አስተደደር ከንቲባ ጽ/ቤት

Lakk __12936/3629__

Guyyaa __05/07/2011__
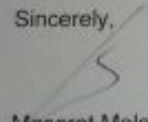
Waajjiara Bulchiinsa Ganda Dirree Jiituu Bul.Mag.Bishooftuu ttiif.

Waajjiara Bulchiinsa Ganda Qurquraa fi Daambii Bul.Mag.Bishooftuu ttiif.

Waajjiara Bulchiinsa Ganda Qaajimaa fi dhibbayyuu Bul.Mag.Bishooftuu ttiif

Bishooftuu .

Dhimmi:- Deeggarsaa Resaarachii akka gootaniif isiin beeksiisuu Ilaala.

Akkuma mata duree armaan olii irratti ibsuuf yaalametti **Obbo Amaaree Baayisaa** kan jedhaman resaarachii akka magaalaa keenyaa hojjetaniif f Xalayaa Yunvaarstii South Afrikaa irraa xalayaa Lakk.**UNISA-ET/KA/ST/29/14-03-2019** Gaafa Guyyaa **14/7/2011** barreeffamaneen Wajjira keenya beeksisanu jiru.

Kanaafuu Barnoota Doktarumaatiifi Qonnaan Bultoota babal'insa Magaalatiin Buqaa'anirrattii mata duree **"The Lived Experiences of displaced rural farmers due to Urbanization in Bishooftuu City of Ethiopia"** gara ganda keessaanii dhufaniif yeroo isaanii odeeffannoo Qorannoo kan barbaadaatiin gamma keessanii deegarsaa barbaachisa akka gootaaniif beeksifna. Hubannoo akka tooluu Xalayaa Fulaa sadi (3) wal qabsiifnee isiin erginee jira.

Nagaa wajjiin!

G/G.

➢ **W/ra Kantiiba Bulchiinsa Magalaa Bishooftuutiif.**

Bishooftu

Mariid Asfaaw Abbaay
መርድ አስፋወ አባይ
I/Gaafatamaa W/ra Kaantiibaa
የከንቲባ ጽ/ቤት ጋፈ

✉ Lak.Saanduqaa → 03
📠 Faaksii:→ 011 433-67-67

☎ Lak. Bilibilaa:→ 011 - 433-80-20
011 - 433-82-35

Rakko Bulchiinsa Garii hikuuf ha- tumsinu!

281

3. Support Letter from Kurkura & and Dembi Kebele, and Dire Jitu Kebele

Lakk. Ca|01D|113|11

Guyyaa 12|07|2011

Gaggeessitoota mandaara fi Qaama dhimmi ilallaatu hundaaf.

DHimmi:Qorannoo ganda keenya kessaatti taasifamuu deeggaarsi akka godhaamu gaafachuu ta,a.

Akkuma armaan olitti ibsamuuf yalametti.obbo Amaaraa Bayy'isaa kan jedhaaan qorannoo Barnootaf Qonnaa bultoota Babaal,inaa Magaalaatif lafa isaani irraa Buqqaa,ani irraatti waan hojjeetaanif gama keessanin deggaarsa barbaachisu akka gootanif kabaajan isiin beeksisaaa. Hubbaana akka toluu xaalaya fulaa sadii qabu kanaan wal qabsisnee isiinif ergine jiraa.

Nagaa wajiin.

Bulchiinsa Magaalaa Bishooftuutti	በቢሸፍቱ ከተማ አስተዳደር
Waajjira Bulchiinsa Ganda Dirree jiituu	የድሬ ጂቱ ቀበሌ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት

Lakk/ቁTC __900 37/2011__

Guyyaa/ቀን __12/7/2011__

Gaeggeesitoota gooxii 1- 42 fi Ganda keenya keessattii qaama dhimi isaan ilaallatu hundaaf

Dhimmi:- Qorannoo ganda keenya keessatti taassifamuuf Deeggarsi akka godhamu gaafachuu ta'a

Akkuma mata duree irraatti ibsuuf yaalamettii **Xalayaa Lakk 12936/3625** gaafa **guyyaa 05/07/2011** waajjira kantiibaa irraa nuu barraayeen **Oboo Amaaraa Baay'isaa** kan jedhaman qorannoo Barnoota Doktoraatiif Qonnaan bultoota babal'insa magaalaatiif buqqa'an irrattii Mata dure **"The Lived Experiences of displaced rural farmers due to Urbanization in Bishoftu City of Ethiopia "** jedhu irraatti waan qorataniif Odeeffannoo quubsaa keennuun deeggarsa isaan barbaadan hunda akka gootaniif kabajaan isin beeksisaa Hubannoof akka tolu Xalayaa fuula (3) wal qbsiifnee isinii erginee jirra.

Nagaa Wajjin

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3. Informed consent

1. Informed consent form (sample)

Title: The Lived Experiences of Displaced Rural Farmers due to Urbanization in Bishoftu City of Ethiopia.

Dear Prospective study informant,

My name is Hundessa, Amare Bayissa and I am doing research with Professor Derik Gelderblom, a research supervisor in the Department of Sociology, towards Doctoral degree in Sociology at the University of South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled "the Lived Experiences of Displaced Rural Farmers due to Urbanization in Bishoftu City of Ethiopia".

This study is expected to collect important information that could give insights about lived experiences of displaced farmers due to urban expansion. It is hoped to furnish information that can serve as a base for research, policy and practice in the area of displacement related to urban expansion. The reason why we chose you as an interview informant is that you are part of a community that experienced development induced displacement, and we would like to learn from you.

Your personal particulars, including your contact details were requested from Kebele administration offices and those who know you. The total number of informants is not more than 25. We will gather information by interviewing all informants individually. Interviews will be in-depth, and will last for not more than 1 hour and 30 minutes. A tape recorder will be used for record keeping, but only if you consent to it. Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. If you are not able to read and write, we or a person whom you wish will read this consent form and you will give us oral consent. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

The information shared by participants regarding the issue under consideration, will inform future interventions by concerned bodies.

The researcher will ensure that there are no negative consequences for you as a participant in this research project. Privacy and confidentiality will be ensured and maintained by using pseudonyms instead of participant's real name. Your name will not be recorded anywhere and no one will be able to connect you to the answers you give. Your answers will be given a code number or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

Your answers may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the transcribers, external coder, and members of the Research Ethics Review Committee. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records.

Your anonymous data may be used for other purposes, such as a research report, journal articles and/ or conference proceedings. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual informants may not be identifiable.

The researcher will store hard copies of your answers for a period of five years in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet inside the researcher's office for future research or academic purposes. Electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable.

Informants will receive no payment or any form of incentive.

The researcher has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of UNISA. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact Hundessa, Amare Bayissa on +251911991973 or email me at a_bayissa@yahoo.co.ukShould you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study, please contact the researcher +251911991973 or email at a_bayissa@yahoo.co.uk

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Professor Derik Gelderblom, the research supervisor and his email address is Gelded@unisa.ac.za alternatively, contact the research ethics chairperson at ethics@unisa.edu.au.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study. Hundessa, Amare Bayissa (Researcher).

4. Consent to participate in this study (sample)

I, _____ (informant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation. I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet. I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable).

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified. I agree to the recording of the In-depth interview. I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname…………………………………………

Participant Signature…………………………………………..Date…………………

Researcher's Name & Surname: Hundessa, AmareBayissa

Researcher's signature…………………………………………..Date …………………

5. Interview guide questions

    1. **Interview guide questions (English Version)**

1. I would like to learn about your background. May you help me on that?

   Probe for biographic information and family composition

2. How can you express your pre-displacement experiences and your status?

   Probe for family members, friends and neighbours interaction, holiday ceremonies, school life, emotional/psychological wellbeing, housing condition, and economic status

3. Let us talk about meaning and feelings attached to the issues of displacement from your perspective.

   Probe for issues like the way participants feel urban way of life and urban dwellers; meanings study participants attached for home, job and land

4. What are your views and perceptions about displacement and its processes?

   Probe for: process of displacement including consultations prior displacement; proper valuation of compensation; adequate orientation and training on how to diversify livelihood, career choice, and related issues; individuals/groups that are getting undue advantages from the process

5. What are the changes and trends you have experienced as a result of displacement?

   Probe for: cultural practices ceased to exist or newly emerging ones; change in social role and status at family and community level; change in household food consumption; change in social networks and communication; social and economic changes, opportunities, hopes as well as challenges emerged.

6. What are the problems encountered due to displacement at individual, family, and community level?

   Probe for: individual and family level crisis; problems related with lack of skill/knowledge for job opportunity, lack of knowledge in finance utilization, frustration due to discrimination or hate by urban dwellers; newly emerging social problems such as theft, conflict, juvenile delinquency, school truancy, abandoning family members including old, persons with disability and infants

7. How do you identify yourself as you are and in relation to others now and prior displacement? How urban dwellers identify you/your community?

8. Tell me about the benefit packages provided to you and the outcomes and economic effects on your lives.

   Probe for Positive as well as adverse effects

9. How can you express your current economic status as compared to pre-displacement? Are your economic expectations compatible with the reality you have encountered in post displacement?

   Probe for issues like: actual and expected economic opportunities; family's sources of livelihood; strategies used in meeting the economic need

10. How can you describe your social life in general before and after displacement?

    Probe for probe for person's interaction with others, social networks and social values the relationships with urban dwellers

11. Let us discuss about the intervention of organizations' that are supposed to help you and their significance in helping you deal with the issues you are facing.

    Probe for: existence of self-help group; community based organization and government based organization

12. Tell me about the role and significance of government in dealing with the issues related to displacement.

    Probe for issues like the role of government in involving community member on mechanisms of minimising risks emanated from displacement, efforts made by the government in supporting displaced farmers.

13. Would you tell me grievance mechanisms associated with displacement issues?

    Probe for issues like: mechanisms of enforcing one's own rights, trends of suing government

14. What are the coping strategies you are using to deal with the problem of displacement?

Probe for livelihood diversification, change of purchasing and expenditure pattern, use of social network, emergence of culturally unacceptable behaviours like begging; look also for effectiveness of the adopted strategies

15. What do you/your community think would be the preferred and safest way of handling displacement due to urban expansion?

   Probe for: mechanisms of minimising potential risks associated with displacement.

16. Anything you want to say with regard to your/your community life after displacement.

2. Translated interview guide questions (in Afan Oromo)

Qajeelfamagaafannoo fi gaafilleehordofii

1. Waa'eekee odeefannoo waliigalaa baruun barbaada Nattimuu dandeessa?

   Gaaffii hordofii: odeefannoo seenaa jireenyafii waltiqabaa maatii

2. Mee akkamiin waa'ee kee osoo hinbuqa'inin duraaf haala amma irrajirtu naaf ibsuu dandeessaa?

   Gaaffii hordofii: missensa maatii, hiriyoota, walitti dhufeenya holla, kabaja Ayyaana waggaa, jireenya mana barumsaa, miira, haala mana jireenya fi diinagdee

3. Mee amma immoo akkaataa ati buqaa'insa hubattu fi hiko okenituf waliin haamar'anu.

   Gaaffii hordofii: Akkamiin jireenya magaalaa ilaaltu; akkamiin jiraattota magaalaa ilaaltu? Hikkaa mana, lafaafi hojjiidhaf kennan

4. Ilaalchi ati buqa'insa fi adeemsa buqai'insa irrati qabdu maali?

   Gaaffii Hordofi: Adeemsa buqa'insaa kan akka buqa'insa dura mariisisuu, beenyaa gahaa kennuu, akkataa carraa addaa addaa haala jiruu fi jireenya itti foyyeffatan ilaalchisee ibsa fi leenjii ga`aa kennuu, filannoo itti bulmaataa/jireenyaa fi kkf ilaalchisee; waa'ee nama/garee bu'aa hinmalle buqa'insa irraa hargatan yoojiratan

5. Sababa buqa'insatiin jijirama akkamitu simudate?

   Gaaffii hordofii: aadaa bade, aadaa haaraa dhalate, jijjiirama qooda fudhannaa gahee Hawasa keessa fi bakka hawaasa fi maatii keessatti qabamu, jijjiirama nyaata mana keessaa, jijjiirama walitti dhufeenya hawaasaa, jijjiirama hawaasummaafii diinagdee keessattu, carraa, abdii fi rakkoolee.

6. Rakkoon buqa'iinsan walqabatee sadarkaa namadhunfaa, sadarkaa maatiifi hawasaati jiran natti himi.

   Gaaffii hordofii: rakkina sadarkaa dhunfaa fi maatii; rakkina hir'ina muuxannoo /dandeettiin carraa hojii dhabuu, ittifayyadama maallaqaa irratti hanqina beekumsa qabaachuu, soda sababa qoqqobbiin/jibbiinsa jiraattota magaalaa irraadhufu; rakko

hanna, walittibu`iinsa, yakka ijoolleen raawwatamu, eeyyamaan ala daa`imman mana barumsaatii hafuu, matii gatanii godanuu kessattuu warren umuriin bubbulan, akkasumas warren hir`ina qaamaa qabaniif daa`ima

7. Mee ati akkamin enyumaa kee buqa'insa duraafi amma ibsita? Namaoota kaan faana akkamiin of hilaalta? Warri jiraattota magaalaa siyifi hawaasa kee akkamiin ibsu?

8. Mee fayidaalen siyifi godhame bu'anisaa fi bu'an diinagdee jireenya keerratti maal akka fakkaatu natti himi.

   Gaaffii hordofii: bu'afi miidhaa jiran

9. Mee akkamiin sadarkaa dinagdee keetii kan ammaa fi kan duraanii madaalita? Jireeny kee akkuma ati egdetti itti fufemoo garaagartee qaba?

   Gaaffii hordofii: diinagdee argamuufi yaadameefi kan argame; madda galii jireenya maatii; mala maatiin dinagdee isa barbaachisu ittin guuttate

10. Akkamiin jireenya kee hawaasummaa buqa'insafi buqa'insa booda jiru ibsatta?

    Gaaffii hordofii: walti dhufeenya namaan wajjin qaban; walitti hidhiinsa hawaasummaa, waltti dhufeedhya ummata magaalaa wajjini fi kkf

11. Mee waa'ee dhaabbilee buqa'insan walqabatee sigargaarudhaf yaadamaniif bu'a agargaarsa isanii irrati haamar'anu.

    Gaaffii hordofii: waldaalee walgargaarsaa; dhaabbilee hawaasaa, dhaabbilee mootummaa, kkf

12. Akkataan mootummaa warren buqqatota akkasumas dhimmota biro Hawasa qubataa itti qabu fi bu'a qabumaasa naaf himi.

    Gaaffii hordoffii: rakkoo buqaatotaa salphisuuf gaa'ee mootumma; carraaqii mootumaan buqaatota gargaaruf taasise

13. Buqqa`iinsaan/qubsummaan walqabatee hawaasni komee isaanii akkamitti akka ibsatan naaf himtaa?

    Gaaffii hordofii: mala ittiin mirga ofii kabachifatan; adaa mootummaa himachu

14. Rakkoowwan sababa buqqa'iinsaan/qubsumaatiin dhufe dandamachuuf ati/hawaasni kee tooftaalee/tarsiimoon gargaaramtan maalfa'i?

Gaaffii hordofii: jiruuf jireenya babal'ifachuu ilaalchisee, haala bittaafi gurgurtaa akkasumas baasii ilaalchisee, faayidaa hawaas-quunnamtii ilaalchisee, aadaalee fudhatama hinqabne kan akkakadhachuu, fi k.k.f; tooftaaleendamdamannaakunbu'qabeesata'usaani

15. Haala isa kamtu buqqatota sababa babal`ina magaalatiin dhufe kununsuuf/qabuuf filatamaa fi qajeelaa sitti/hawaasa keetiif fakkataa?

Gaaffii hordofii: Mala ittin rakkin buqa'insaa hir'isuu danda'amu

16. Jireenya kee/hawaasa kee buqa'insa booda ilaalchisee wanti jettu yoo jiraate naaf himi.

6. Observation checklist

I used observation as a data collection tool, and the following are the items I employed as a checklist.

1. Availability and access of infrastructure for displaced and surrounding rural people
   Mainly I will look for:

   a. School

   b. Health service

   c. Road

   d. Potable water

   e. Financial services

   f. Market

   g. Public toilets

   h. Public spaces

2. Housing conditions of displaced farmers

3. Current family structure of displaced persons

4. Dominant types of livelihood activities among displaced farmers

   a. Agricultural activities

      i. Crop production (types)

      ii. Animal husbandry (types)

   b. Non-farming and off-farming activities

      i. Daily labour

      ii. Guard

      iii. Petty trade

  iv. Domestic servant

  v. Factory employee

  vi. Government employee

  vii. Any other activity

5. Presence of cultural site/s among displaced farmers and the way farmers and urban dweller perceive such site/s

6. Presence of areas that have historical and cultural significances among displaced rural community.

7. Commonly used/shared social institutions or cultural places among urban dwellers and displaced farmers

8. Visible differences among displaced farmers and urban dwellers in terms of:

  a. Social behaviours

  b. Cultural practices, and

  c. Psychological inclinations

9. Presence of traditional rural community based associations. Such associations may be:

  a. Iddir

  b. Ekkub

  c. Jigi/Dabo

  d. Mahiber

  e. Senbete

  f. Other previously existing/newly emerging social networks

10. Pre-existing/newly emerging social network among rural community and/or urban dwellers

11. Dominant cultural practices among urban dwellers in the area (Religious, language, art, and related issues)

12. Dominant cultural practices among surrounding rural farming community including displaced ones

13. Any visible aspects of the displaced farmers/urban dwellers that add up information to my study

6. Partial lists of Ethiopian laws related to land as from 1907

No.	Type of law	Year of enactment	Title and purpose	Remark
1	Decree	1905	Decree to determine the role of southerners' local leaders rights and role	
2	Decree	1907/08	Charter on land of Addis Ababa city; a charter to determine Addis Ababa's land transaction, ownership, expropriation and related issues	(Source: Daniel 2015)
3	Decree	1928	Edict on expropriation of private property	(Source: Daniel 2015)
4	Constitution	1931	Ethiopian constitution of 1931 established in the reign of His majesty Haile Sillasie I	The first officially written constitution of today's Ethiopia
5	Decree	1941	Land tax decree	The first land tax decree of Ethiopia (Source: Daniel 2015)
6	Proclamation	1942	Land tax proclamation number 8/1942	The first land tax

				proclamation of Ethiopia
7	Proclamation	1944	Land tax proclamation number 70/1944	Proclamation that repealed the first land tax proclamation
8	Constitution	1955	The revised constitution of Haile Sillasie	
9	Proclamation	1960	Civil code of Ethiopia	Code governing private matters including land property
10	Proclamation	1966	Land tax proclamation, proclamation No 230/1966	
11	Proclamation	1975	Proclamation No 31/ 1975, a proclamation to provide for public ownership of rural lands	
12	Proclamation	1975	Proclamation No. 47/1975, proclamation to provide for government ownership of urban land and urban extra houses	
13	Constitution	1987	PDRE constitution	
	Proclamation	1993	Proclamation No 80/1993, a proclamation to provide for the lease	The first lease proclamation of

			holding of urban lands	Ethiopia
14	Constitution	1995	Proclamation No 1/1995, a proclamation to provide the coming into effect of the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	
15	Proclamation	1997	Proclamation No. 89/1997, rural land administration and land use proclamation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	
16	Proclamation	2002	Proclamation No 272/2002, a proclamation for re-Enactment of the urban lease holding	
17	Proclamation	2005	Proclamation No 455/2005, a proclamation to provide for the expropriation of land holdings for public purposes and payment of compensation	
18	Proclamation	2005	Proclamation No 456/2005, rural land administration proclamation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	
19	Proclamation	2007	The Oromia regional state Megelete Oromia No. 130/2007, a proclamation to amend the proclamations No. 56/2002, 70/2003 and103/2005 of Oromia rural	It is rural land use and administration of Oromia State

			land use and administration	
20	Regulation	2007	Regulations No. 135/2007 Council of Ministers on the payment of compensation for property situated on landholdings expropriated for public purposes	
21	Proclamation	2008	Proclamation No. 574/2008, a proclamation to provide for urban plans	
22	Proclamation	2011	Proclamation No 721/2011, a proclamation to provide for lease holding of urban lands	
23	Proclamation	2019	Proclamation No 1161/2019, expropriation of land holdings for public purpose, payments of compensation and resettlement of displaced people	
24	Regulation	2020	Council of Ministers Regulation No. 472/2020, expropriation and valuation, compensation and resettlement	