



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Assessing the Rural Resettlement Programme in
Ethiopia in meeting the Livelihood of the people:
A Case Study of Metema yohanes Resettlement Scheme,
in the Amhara National Regional State**

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Ethiopia)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:

**Local and Regional Development
(LRD)**

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The Hague, The Netherlands

November, 2010

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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Dedicated:

To my father; who has been caring and loving, you are the king of my heart.

Acknowledgement

Several people have contributed for the completion of my study and this research paper. I am very glad to thank them all.

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation and deep sincerity to Dr. Erhard Berner, my supervisor for his unreserved support, guidance and motivation without which this paper could not come to have its present form. I would also extend my gratitude to Dr. Georgina Gomez, my second reader who spent a considerable amount of her time in giving me invaluable comments to shape this paper. I am indebted to both of you.

My thanks also go to Temesgen Yoseph, who was supportive to make my stay in metema too smooth. I am glad to have a friend like you.

I would also thank the staffs of metema woreda agriculture and rural development who welcomes me to offer what they have in connection to the topic issue. Besides, I would like to gratitude the farmers in village six, seven, and eight who shared me their precious time for an interview.

Last but not least, my gratitude also extends to my family who have been always with me through phone calls which was encouraging to cope the culture shock and homesickness I felt amidst of the study period.

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List of Acronyms

ACSI- Amhara Credit and Saving Institution
ADPPB- Amhara Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau
EPRDF- Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
NGOs- Non-Governmental Organizations
NCFSE- New Coalition for Food Security in Ethiopia
SNNPR- Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region

Glossary of local terms

Araki- is liquor which is prepared locally.

Birr-is the Ethiopian currency.

Caro- is a kind of cart that is pulled by a donkey to carry on different items.

Debo or wobera- is a reciprocal labor exchange mechanism by farmers to perform tasks jointly during peak farming period.

Dergue- signifies the provisional military administrative council, which ousted Emperor Haile-Selassie in 1974.

Kebele- is the lowest unit in the administrative hierarchy.

Maheber- is a religious based gathering formed by a group of people to honor a selected saint by organizing feast in a member's house every month on a rotation basis.

Senbete- is a religious based gathering whereby members prepare food and drink to be consumed around the church after a mass in every two weeks time on a rotation basis.

Woreda- is an administrative unit below a zone and above a kebele which includes several kebeles in it.

Abstract

A good number of literatures on resettlement depicts that state sponsored resettlement in Ethiopia has been implemented since the imperial regime. It is also confirmed that the rationale behind the initiative of the topic issue is more or less similar. Put it the other way; recurrent famine, drought, food insecurity and population pressure are some of the factors that drives the programme to be put in place.

In connection to this, this study attempts to look at the effect of resettlement in the livelihoods of the resettlers who are moved to metema woreda in 2003, with special reference to village six, seven and eight resettlement site. In this regard, the livelihood framework has been taken as a lens in the analysis of the study. The result of the study reveals that quite a number of resettlers who are relocated to the area are changing their livelihoods positively despite the fact that there are also groups who are not in a position to do so. Hence, in the light of the findings it has been attempted to forward some possible solutions that could have a role in strengthening the livelihoods of the resettlers both now and in the future.

Keywords

Resettlement, livelihoods, livelihood assets, Metema *woreda*, Ethiopia

Chapter 1

Introducing the issues of Resettlement

This chapter is composed of six sections: background of the study, statement of the research problem, justification and relevance of the study, the purposes of the research, the research methodology, and the scope and limitation of the study. The first section introduces the resettlers and the hosts in the resettlement site. Section two reviews the magnitude and prevalence of the problem. The third Section introduces the relevance of the study while Section four reviews the main goals of the study. The fifth Section discusses data sources and methods. Finally, it introduces the study area coverage and the limitation of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Ethiopia is a federal country divided into 11 regions. Each region is subdivided into zones and zones into *woredas*, which are roughly equivalent to a U.S. or U.K. county. *Woredas*, in turn, are divided into Peasant Associations (PA) or *Kebeles*, an administrative unit consisting of a number of villages (Dercon et al. 2005:2).

The Amhara National Regional State is located in the northwestern part of Ethiopia. The regional state has 11 administrative zones and more than 100 districts. Metema *woreda* is one of the districts in the regional state which is found in North Gondar Administrative Zone. It is one of the border towns between Ethiopia and Sudan and is located about 900 kilometres northwest of Addis Ababa and 180 kilometres west of Gondar town.

Following the recurrent drought and famine and land degradation in the Ethiopian highlands, the government has carried out a resettlement programme as a means of tackling the challenges that smallholder farmers face. Metema *woreda* is one of the destination sites where the smallholder farmers from different corners of the region are settled and the *woreda* is known with its potential to produce crops such as, sesame, sorghum and cotton.

This programme is implemented at the regional level to draw on the underlying social capital inherent in shared language, customs, and ethnicity (NCFSE 2003). Village six, seven and eight *kebele* is one of the resettlement sites in Metema where the study has been conducted.

The local residents in village six, seven and eight that are hosting the resettlers are people who are originally from Waghama, Gayint and other parts of the Amhara regional state, all relocated during the *Derg's* resettlement programme in 1980s. They are mostly agriculturalists but they also own large number of cattle. Given the fertile nature of the soil and relatively untouched natural resources, they are considered self-sufficient throughout the year in terms of food production and therefore they never received food aid (Abraham 2004: 559-60). Thus, about 346 households, who were mostly smallholder farmers, are settled in village six, seven and eight in the year 2003.

The study therefore assesses whether the people who are relocated from other corners of the Amhara regional state to metema resettlement scheme, particularly to village six, seven, and eight resettlement site are changing their livelihoods or not.

Above all the study focuses on the resettlement programme which was implemented in 2003. Hence, it explores the situations of the settlers before and after the resettlement programme in comparative terms.

It therefore sets out to answer the main question of the study: to what extent does the resettlement programme in metema yohanes scheme (at village six, seven, and eight *kebele*) enable the people in meeting their livelihoods?

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Resettlement has been taking place to further a wide range of political, economic and social objectives (Pankhurst 1992). ISSAS summarizes the major objectives of resettlement as follows:

‘to release population pressure on farming lands in densely populated parts of the country, to create more favorable man-land ratios in sparsely populated frontier areas in order to create the minimal population base needed for their economic development ,and to stimulate agricultural development and to create prosperous agricultural communities as a means to attain economic self reliance(food self sufficiency and agricultural export) in the face of rapid population increase in the nation as a whole’(ISSAS as cited in Tesfaye 1992:6).

Mesfin (1986:21) argued that in a subsistence production system that is constituted by peasant farming and highly dependent on the quality of the physical environment and the natural phenomena like that of Ethiopia, famine is almost an inevitable. This country faces both chronic and transitory food insecurity problem due to various reasons and some among which are; land degradation, drought, landlessness and high population pressure(NCFSE 2003:1). Some of the highlands of the Amhara regional state in Ethiopia are characterized by severe land degradation and variable climatic conditions which have caused serious problems to a greater number of the population in the form of recurrent famine and droughts in the region. As a result, food insecurity and poverty is not uncommon in this setting.

‘Resettlement schemes have mushroomed all over the world along with the increase in state intervention in ‘development’ as stated by Pankhurst (1992:11)’. Cases which come to mind that could be termed either successful, or partly so, as has been discussed by de Wet (2004:50) include: the Egyptian side of the Aswan Dam resettlement; aspects of the Kainji Dam resettlement in Nigeria; the Rican Arenal Hydroelectric project in Costa Rica; the Urra 1 project in Colombia; and, of course, resettlement arising out of the Shuikou and Xiaolangdi Dams in China.

The programme under study involves the permanent relocation of people from food insecure areas of the highlands to the lowlands of the region.

The first organized and centrally co-ordinated initiative to carry out resettlement programme in Ethiopia dates back to the early 1960s when American sociologists and ethnologists recommended the relocation of peasants from

northern areas, suffering from high population pressure, soil erosion and deforestation to the South and South-western regions where there are under-utilized and fertile lands (Kassa 2004:225).

The researched resettlement scheme envisaged relocating 440,000 households, involving approximately 2.2 million people, within three years (between 2003 and 2005) from drought-prone and chronically food insecure areas to potentially more productive, fertile and less populated parts of the country (NCFSE 2003). As in other regional states in the country such as Oromia, SNNPR and Tigray, the lowland of metema yohanes scheme is one of the destination areas in Amhara regional state in which the target groups of the programme are moved as a consequence of the aforementioned pushing factors.

CSA (2007) pointed out that the Amhara National Regional State, with a total population of over 17 million people, is one of the populous regions in Ethiopia accounting for 15% of the population and one fourth of the area of the country. Since the policy of the government is intra-regional in its nature, the resettlement operation was a responsibility of the regional government (Wolde-Sellassie 2004). Thus, to improve the livelihood status of more vulnerable groups the Amhara regional government took up resettlement programme in 2003 as a strategy on smallholder farming communities.

The programme is considered by the government as a major component of the country's overall food security strategy, and is justified on the basis that those who resettled are moving into sustainable livelihood since they acquire more productive land (NCFSE 2003).

1.3 Justification and Relevance of the study

Agricultural development through new land settlement is socially the most complex of all development interventions, both to design and to implement (Cernea 1985). The resettlement programme in Ethiopia is taken as providing a means of livelihood promotion for chronic food insecurity. Essentially, this programme is a way of facing the root causes of potential famine and part of a strategy of combating excessive land degradation.

It is the largest program carried out in the region by the government and was described in the national media as part of the solution to the country's multiple problems. Tadros (1979:121) explains that, large scale planning of new settlements is a relatively recent phenomenon in developing countries. Nevertheless, rural households in developing countries are observed to devote a lot of attention to personalized networks, setting up complex, but informal, systems of rights and obligations designed to improve future livelihood security (Berry cited in Ellis, 2000:9). Likewise, most Ethiopian agricultural households have an informal social capital that strengthens the solidarity among them in good and bad times.

According to DFID (1999), social capital can also be actively, though often unintentionally, destroyed through heavy-handed interventions that impose new social relations without taking into account the strengths of the old. In line with this, the resettlement programme in metema could involve the creation of new patterns of social interactions and relationships which would affect the livelihood outcomes. In addition, it could be argued that other livelihood resources would have their own impact in realizing the livelihood outcomes.

‘A livelihood comprises the capabilities ,assets and activities required for a means of living(Chambers and Conway 1991:6)’.And, sustainable livelihood approach focuses on the importance of the five capital assets to livelihoods; namely natural, social, physical, human and financial capital.

Moreover, it could be argued that sustainable livelihood would be realized when the vulnerable groups are utilizing the aforementioned resources accordingly. However, a change in any one of these endowments may result in a difference in the livelihood outcomes of the settlers either positively or negatively. Pankhurst (2004) explains that often the assumption is resettlers will require some starter packets in the beginning and afterwards it is presumed that the problems will go away. However, the impact after subsequent years is rarely investigated.

Therefore, the study undertaken is interested to analyze whether the net impact of all livelihood assets are taken into account in the functioning of the programme to address the livelihoods of the people. Hence, the finding of the study could have its own contribution in adding knowledge to the government’s effort towards meeting the livelihoods of the people and adding information on the topic issue.

1.4 Research objectives and Research questions

1.4.1 Research objectives

The following objectives are the researcher’s aim in mind:

- To fill information gaps on the medium-term effects of resettlement.
- To identify the contribution of resettlement in changing the livelihoods of the people.

1.4.2 Research Questions

The main research question the study attempts to answer is: To what extent does the resettlement programme in metema yohanes scheme, specifically at village six, seven and eight *kebele* enable the people in meeting their livelihood?

Sub-questions:

- What are the livelihood priorities of the people and are they addressed in the programme?
- Could the people continue their previous activities or did they need new livelihood strategies?
- Was the resettlement voluntary based?

1.5 The Research Methodology

The data collection was conducted using field surveys which involve interviews and direct observation. According to Laws(2003:286), ‘interviews are

most useful when the researcher needs to know about people's experiences or views in some depth, to rely on information from a fairly small number of respondents, the issue is sensitive, and people may not be able to speak freely in groups'. Thus, primary data was collected using in-depth interview from selected household heads in the resettlement area whereby qualitative data has been generated that answers the research questions in line with the set objectives. Likewise, discussion on the topic issue has been held with key informants in the *kebele* and administrative officials at zone, *woreda* and *kebele* levels. The respondents from the different tiers system of government officials were selected on the basis of their perceived understanding of the issues under study and of being closely involved with the activities in the area.

In doing so, interview questions are prepared in such a way that enables the respondents to easily communicate with their local language, Amharic, this is actually the maternal language of the researcher as well.

To make the in-depth interview semi-structured questions are designed in a way that relates issues of livelihood status of the people in their origin and at the resettlement area. These issues have been addressed in light of the assets that are owned by the household heads such as natural, physical, human, financial and social capital. This in turn led to analyze the topic issue in terms of before and after the resettlement period.

The data collection took a four-week period but prior to engaging into an interview with settler respondents, observation of the area and discussion with the *woreda* officials had been held for the first three days. The study area is selected purposively since it has been informed that other resettlement sites are inaccessible during the rainy season (the field work period) by a key informant whom I met through a friend. As a matter of fact, it was not easy to reach the selected site which was perceived as relatively accessible due to transportation problem.

State sponsored, organized resettlement programmes can be successful if they are executed in a very careful and gradual manner by taking into account a wide range of socio-economic, cultural, institutional and political issues (Pankhurst as cited in Abraham, 2004:563).

Dessalegn (2003:61) suggests that it is worth considering the following scenario for new settlements:

Phase 1, the first 2 to 3 years: a period of adjustment.

Phase2, the next 3 to 5 years: a period of consolidation. This is the transition stage that will indicate what chances of success the project has.

Phase3, the next 5 to 8 years: sustainable progress'

In light of the above fifteen sample household heads, who resettled to the area in 2003, have been identified from the selected *kebele* for an in-depth interview based on a simple random sampling technique to assess whether there is a change in the livelihood outcomes. The selection of the households was carried out from the list of names in close proximity with village six, seven and eight agricultural extension agent.

The criteria for choosing the interviewee household heads was based on the year of coming to the area and the household categories as better-off (with

some surplus), middle (self sufficient) and poor (food deficit) which has been classified from the local community point of view.

The respondents at household level were selected from each of the three villages under a *kebele* namely village six, seven and eight resettlement site. They have been interviewed on issues related with the rationale behind their settlement, access to land and water, access to education and health, access to physical assets, access to financial capital, and access to social capital in the resettlement area so as to answer the research questions.

Besides, three government officials at zone, *woreda* and *kebele* levels and two key informants in the area are also included in the interview.

Thus, issues such as, the rationale behind the programme, the recruitment criteria of the settlers, the kind of support provided to the settlers and the likes are raised amidst of interviewing the government officials at the different tiers system.

Similarly, observation of the area is also part of the data collection tool in that it has been used to examine the ongoing farming and non farming activities in the area and to triangulate the information which was forwarded by the respondents.

On top of these secondary sources from the literature of others work on the topic issues such as books and journals and office archives were consulted to substantiate the result.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study is conducted in a specific resettlement site called village six, seven and eight *kebele* in metema *woreda* for the main reason that several people who are relocated to the area in 2003 are living. However, due to time constraints during the field work in-depth interview was carried out with fifteen resettlers. It is admitted the fact that generalization could not be made on the resettlement programme in general due to the small size of the sample. However, it is valid as far as the scope of the study is concerned. In fact, the conclusion is drawn based on the findings obtained with these interviewees.

Likewise, since the study is conducted during farming season it was not easy to arrange an appointment for an in-depth interview with farmers as household heads. As a result, it was a must to wait for the respondents' leisure time, that they celebrate either on Sunday or in one of the honoured week days which is associated with the name of saints, so as to conduct the interview. Apart from this inaccessibility of written document on the situation of the settlers before resettlement lets the study to rely on the respondents' biased memory. In addition, some of the interviewees were challenging the relevance of the study by stressing that, despite an interview had taken place several times with different people nothing had changed in their life afterwards. In such instances it has been expected to convince them accordingly.

1.7 Organization of the paper

The first chapter aims to introduce the issues of resettlement including background and problem under the study area, the relevance of the study, research objectives, the research methodology and the scope and limitation of the study. Chapter two that follows deals with the conceptual explanation on resettlement and livelihoods to develop an analytical perspective on the topic issue.

Chapter three introduces the resettlement programme at a glance including an overview of resettlement history in the country, a brief review of the resettlement programme, and description to the study area. Chapter four presents characteristics of sample households which consider the profile of the settlers and their demographic features in relation with livelihood outcomes. The research findings are discussed in chapter five. Finally, chapter six presents concluding remarks of the study.

Chapter 2

Conceptual framework

This chapter deals with the definition of resettlement, livelihoods and issues related with both concepts. So that, an analytical framework will be drawn out of it.

2.1 Resettlement

Historically, the term resettlement has been used mainly to convey the idea of people returning to an area they had, or were supposed to have lived in previously. It has increasingly been undertaken to further a wide range of political, economic and social objectives. In some cases it has been used primarily for repressive purposes, such as the early deportation of convicts to Australia or dissidents to Siberia, the removal of south African blacks from towns; or resettlement may have repressive consequences, for instance in slum clearances and evictions of urban unemployed (Pankhurst 1992:11).

Dessalegn (2003:1) explains that, resettlement, land settlement, colonization, or transmigration all refers to the phenomenon of population redistribution, either planned or “spontaneous”. No clear distinction between the terms is found in the literature, thus sometimes the terms are used interchangeably, even within the same article (Zhibin 2003). Shi Guoqing (as cited in Zhibin 2003:3) defined resettlement as: ‘a movement of population from one place to another, in other words, from places of origin to other locations’. Similarly, in the Ethiopian context, this term seems to be the more appropriate as it suggests relocating people in areas other than their own (Dessalegn 2003).

Two main features characterize resettlement: ‘A movement of population; and an element of planning and control (Chambers cited in Pankhurst 1992:10)’. It refers to a variety of migration and settlement types and can be broadly categorized in to two: spontaneous, which leaves full scope for individual initiatives; and involuntary or forced, which refers to a planned and controlled transfer of people from one area to another (Wolde-Selassie 2002:40). Similarly, as to Tadros (1979:121), there are two types of land settlement, conceptualized as spontaneous and paternalistic. The former, he argues, includes individual initiatives in resettlement, while the second is characterized by planned and controlled relocation. This definition is more or less similar with the above definition but the difference in terminology. In addition, Scudder (1991:153) explains that, the distinction between spontaneous and sponsored settlers has nothing to do with the reasons or motivation for leaving the original residence for a new settlement area.

Wolde-selassie (cited in Cernea and McDowell, 2000:412) discusses that, resettlement operations involving the planned and controlled transfer of people from one area to another are undertaken throughout the developing world in response to a range of causal agents, including population pressure, natural catastrophes, man-made disasters, poverty, unemployment, agricultural and industrial development, and, sometimes, political reasons.

The African continent, in turn, is the scene of massive population resettlement processes of all types. Profoundly dramatic and painful are the involuntary displacements of people. However, Africa's most important forced displacements are not those caused by development programs, but those triggered by social and political causes such as wars and civil wars, or by ethnic, racial and/or religious persecutions, or by natural causes such as droughts and famines (Cook 1994:14).

According to the definition given by the United Nations (as quoted in Taddos 1979:121), human settlement refers to "the development of viable communities on new or unused land through the introduction of people." On the other hand, Sorensen(1996:1) noted the following, 'Voluntarily or forced by external circumstances individuals, groups or whole communities have left their home areas in order to settle down temporarily or permanently in a new area, which may differ more or less in terms of climate, natural resources, social and cultural organization and practices from their usual environment'.

Scudder (1991:154) claimed that settlement/resettlement is classified into four categories. He discusses that, 'In classifying settlements it is necessary to distinguish both the type of settler and the nature of the involvement of the sponsoring agency or agencies. Four types are distinguished for the purpose of analysis, although several may in fact be represented in a single settlement:

- Spontaneous settlement with very little government or other assistance
- Spontaneous settlement facilitated by government and other agencies.
- Voluntary settlement sponsored by government or other agencies.
- Compulsory resettlement sponsored primarily by government agencies'.

The Ethiopian experience shows that spontaneous settlements/resettlements have been taking place in the last few centuries and state-sponsored resettlement programs have been implemented by successive governments since the 1960s (RRC cited in Kassa 2004:225).

Resettlement has probably been rarely worked well in the history of development (Mathur 1995). He also claims that, in both developed and developing countries, "the people have often been evicted from their lands without proper compensation, often without due process."

de Wet (2004:51-2) argues that, there are two broad approaches as to why things so often go wrong in resettlement. These are the 'inadequate inputs' approach and the 'inherent complexities' approach. In his first approach de Wet points out that resettlement goes wrong mainly because of lack of incorporating proper inputs into the program. These are the absence of: national legal resettlement frameworks and policies, planning, consultation, political consent, funding, pre-resettlement surveys, careful implementation and monitoring of the programme. While in his inherent complexities approach he argues that it is because of the complex nature of involuntary resettlement where a range of problems rise which are more complex to deal with the aforementioned inputs.

The study which is carried out focuses on the resettlement operations in Ethiopia during 2003, which belongs to a paternalistic type of resettlement

because it was state motivated and driven as a consequence of different reasons such as, famine and drought prevention, and food insecurity.

Ethiopia has been practicing resettlement since the Imperial Period. The resettlement programmes have been implemented mainly in response to land degradation, recurrent drought and famine. The resettlement schemes are predominantly destined to the lowlands where population densities are low and unutilized land is supposedly to be found (Kassa 2004). This is why the Amhara National Regional State in Ethiopia has selected the lowlands of metema *woreda* as one of the destination sites to the resettlement.

2.2 Livelihood

The concept of a livelihood is widely used in contemporary writings on poverty and rural development, but its meaning can often appear elusive, either due to vagueness or to different definitions being encountered in different sources (Ellis 2000:7). A common definition is the one which is provided by Chambers and Conway (1991:6) wherein a livelihood ‘comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living’.

Followers of the Chambers and Conway line of thinking about livelihoods (e.g. Scoones, 1998) have tended to identify five main categories of capital as contributing to assets in the livelihood definition, and these are natural, physical, human, financial, and social capital (Ellis 2000:8).

In brief, natural capital refers to the natural resource base (land, water, trees) that yields products utilized by human population for their survival. Physical capital refers to assets brought into existence by economic production processes, for example, tools, machines, and land improvements like terraces or irrigation canals. Human capital refers to the education level and health status of individuals and populations. Financial capital refers to stocks of cash that can be accessed in order to purchase either production or consumption goods, and access to credit might be included in this category. Social capital refers to the social networks and associations in which people participate, and from which they can derive support that contributes to livelihoods (ibid).

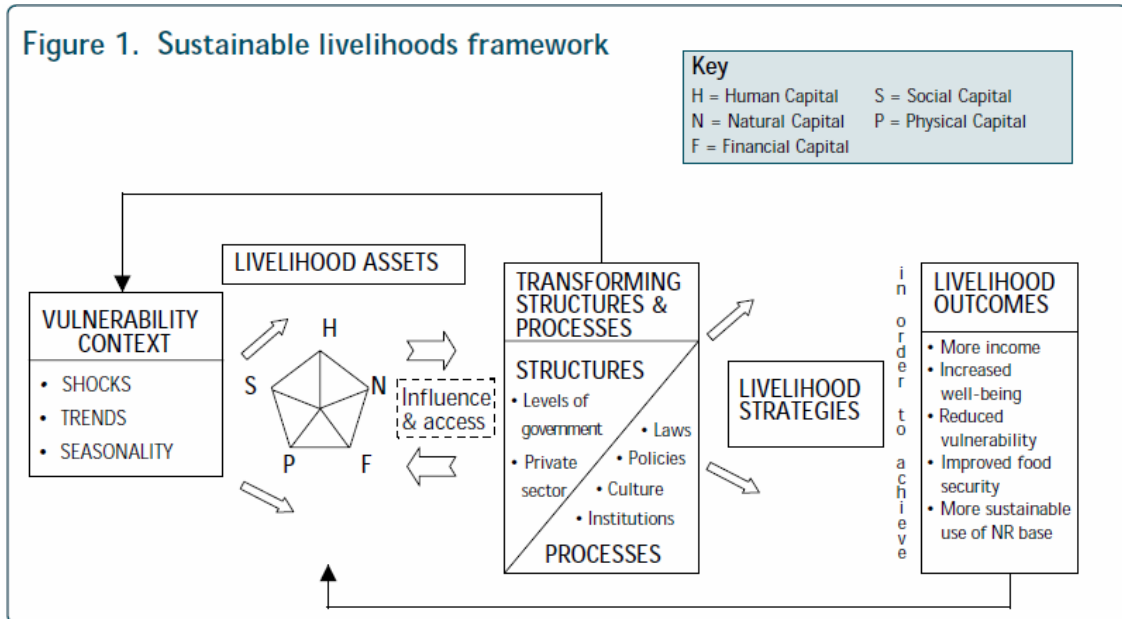
Chambers and Conway (1991:6) point out that:

‘A Livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from shocks and stresses and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and into the future, while not undermining the natural resource base’.

(Moser and Dani, 2008: 51) claimed that probably the best known analytical framework to incorporate many of the common concepts of assets, capabilities, and entitlements is the sustainable livelihoods approach. The approach is founded on a belief that people require a range of assets to achieve positive livelihood outcomes, with no single category of assets on its own sufficient to yield all the many and varied livelihood outcomes that people seek (DFID cited in ibid).

Therefore, the study is analyzed in the light of the livelihood framework in a way that seeks to understand, to what extent the resettlement programme affects the livelihood of the settlers?

Basically the sustainable livelihood framework which is depicted in the diagram below (figure 1) discusses about the interrelationship among the following main components; vulnerability context, livelihood assets, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and the livelihood outcomes.



Source: DFID (1999)

The vulnerability context frames the external environment in which people exist; whereby people's livelihoods and the wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends as well as by shocks and seasonality over which they have limited or no control (DFID, 1999). Similarly, as has been stated in Moser (1998:3), vulnerability: 'refers to insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households and communities in the face of a changing environment, and implicit in this, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes'. Different types of shock or stress, in turn, may result in different responses, including avoidance, repartitioning, resistance or tolerance mechanisms (Payne and Lipton as cited in Scoones, 1998:6). For example, natural shocks like drought and famine in the case of Ethiopia forces people to abandon their home areas to a new settlement.

The livelihood framework also identifies five core asset categories or types of capital upon which livelihoods are built. According to DFID (1999) the approach is founded on a belief that people require a range of assets (such as human, natural, physical, social and financial capital) to achieve positive livelihood outcomes; no single category of assets on its own is sufficient to yield all the many and varied livelihood outcomes that people seek. This is why the focus of the study has used these components as a lens in assessing the resettlement programme.

Transforming Structures and Processes within the livelihoods framework are the institutions, organizations, policies and legislation that shape livelihoods. Their importance cannot be overemphasized since they operate at all levels, from the household to the international arena, and in all spheres, from the private to public. They effectively determine:

- access (to various types of capital, to livelihood strategies and to decision-making bodies and sources of influence);
- the terms of exchange between different types of capital; and
- returns (economic and otherwise) to any given livelihood strategy (ibid). Hence, the activities that are carried out through the existing institutions and organizations in the area in engendering the livelihood outcomes are also assessed.

Likewise, as has been stated in DFID (1999), livelihood strategies – denote the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals (including productive activities, investment strategies, reproductive choices, etc.). Moreover, they respond to changing pressures and opportunities and they adapt accordingly (Ellis 2000: 40). For example, it can be described at an individual, household and village level, as well as at regional or even national levels (Scoones 1998:9).

The interrelationship of the above four components is resulted in the livelihood outcomes. As DFID (1999) pointed out, livelihood outcomes are the achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies. Once again, the important idea associated with this component of the framework is that we, as outsiders, investigate, observe and listen, rather than jumping to quick conclusions or making hasty judgments about the exact nature of the outcomes that people pursue.

Therefore, the livelihood framework suggests a suitable analytical framework in analyzing the study conducted.

Table-1
Vulnerability of Livelihood Assets, Resettlement and Livelihood Outcomes

Vulnerability	Outcome of shocks	Solution	Livelihood Outcomes
Natural capital	high level of drought, food insecurity and less access to fertile land.	R E S E T T L E M E N T	Less level of drought Food security and Improved access to fertile land.
Human capital	Less access to education and less access to health services.		Improved access to schools and Improved access to health services
Physical capital	Less access to production tools, less access to irrigation canals and less access to transport.		Improvement in the production tools, improved access to irrigation canals and better access to transport.
Financial capital	Less access to cash and less access to savings and loans		Increased income and Improved access to financial services
Social capital	Less level of social network		Improvement in social network

Source: figure 1, and Summarized by own.

Scornes (1998:8) suggests a checklist of key questions to be asked for taking forward an asset-based analysis of rural livelihoods. These are;

- Sequencing- what is the starting point for establishing a successful livelihood strategy? Is one type of asset more relevant than others for subsequently gaining access to others?
- Substitution- can one type of capital be substituted for others? Or are different capitals needed in combination to pursue a particular strategy?
- Clustering- does access to one type of asset confer access to others? Or is there a clustering of particular combinations of capitals associated with particular livelihood strategies?
- Access- what are the factors resulting in different groups having different access to particular assets?
- Trade-offs – In pursuing a particular activity portfolio, what are the asset trades-offs that are involved? In addition, what do these trade-offs imply for the future sustainability of the livelihood strategy adopted?
- Trends- How are different assets being depleted and accumulated, and by whom? What are the trends in terms of access? What new livelihood assets are being created through time?

The above points are taken into account in assessing the programme, which is implemented in metema *woreda*, whether it is improved or not. In connection to this, the following elements are used as indicators to analyze the situation during the fieldwork;

- Human capital: information access to their livelihood, local innovation, knowledge about the properties in the settlement area and education level.
- Social capital: kinship relations, local associations (*mabber* or *senbete*), degree of trust which facilitates co-operation (*debo* or *webera*).
- Natural capital: access to land, productivity of the land, access to water.
- Physical capital: access to fertilizer, to market, to production tools, to health service.
- Financial capital: access to financial services, levels of savings and loans, number of livestock and access to cash in order to purchase production or consumption goods.

In the same manner as indicators to livelihood outcomes, the following are taken into consideration; degree of security from natural shocks like drought, security level of their assets, and access to basic services including education and health. Furthermore, levels of income and food security are also taken in to account.

Chapter 3

The Resettlement Programme at a Glance

This section briefly reviews the resettlement history in Ethiopia, the overall content of the resettlement programme at country level and the implementation processes at the regional and *woreda* level including a bird's eye-view of the study area.

3.1 An Overview of Resettlement History in Ethiopia

Resettlement in Ethiopia has taken place at different times for many generations. It was caused by various reasons and some among which are drought-induced famines, demographic pressures on land in the traditional settlements, ethnic and tribal feuds, and political developments (Kassahun 2000).

According to Cliffe (2004:191), the two most important historical instances of resettlement in Ethiopia are; the continuous southward resettlement of Amhara, and to a lesser extent of Tigrayans, and the northward expansion of the Oromo between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Kassahun (2000) pointed out that, albeit of some variations in the causes that incited the movement of these major ethnic groups of people in the country, the main reason behind the movement is more or less similar.

In Ethiopia resettlement, in the restricted sense of state-organised migration, is of recent origin (Pankhurst 1992:13). This country has a resettlement experience going back to the 1960s under the imperial regime when, through a combination of spontaneous and planned settlement programmes, a relatively small number of northern peasants were settled in western Ethiopia and the rift valley areas (Dessalegn, 2003). Stahl (1990:1) explains that 'population growth in the twentieth century, enhanced by the partial control of epidemics and by the relatively peaceful period of Haile-Selassie's reign after the second world war, has given a new dimension to the pressure on land.'

Resettlement became an issue of government concern with the establishment in 1966 of the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration. In the third five year development plan, published in 1968, settlement schemes were seen as necessary to relieve population pressure in the northern highlands, and to raise production by exploiting underdeveloped lands in the south (Pankhurst 1992:15).

Wood (1985) explains that at the time of the revolution there were a few settlement schemes that were carried out by some government departments and non-governmental organizations in supporting people who had been prone to drought. Nevertheless, these had invariably been small-scale in size, ad hoc in nature, and were mainly designed for different beneficiaries, and aiming at alleviating specific and limited objectives (RRC, Pankhurst, and Tegegne as cited in Kassahun 2003:3). Considerable spontaneous migration occurred in response to 'push factors' in the north and 'pull factors' in the south. The former included land degradation and population pressure, a system of land tenure which led to fragmentation of holdings, evictions resulting from

the establishment of large mechanized estates, and periodic and increasing incidence of famine. While the latter included availability of land and opportunities of wage-labour and trade (Pankhurst 1992:14).

Prior to the revolution in 1974, self-initiated resettlement undertaken by individuals and small groups occurred more frequently than those sponsored by governments and other actors. At this point in time, there had been about twenty settlement sites comprising some 6500 households which represent less than 0.2 percent of all rural households in the country (Wood 1985:92). However, the effort applied on resettlement during this time was not successful. Some assessments noted specifically that the difficulties stemmed from inadequate planning of programmes, inappropriate settler selection, inadequate budgetary support, and inexperienced staff (IEG cited in Dessalegn, 2003:15).

Planned resettlement gained currency and gathered momentum only after the commencement of the revolutionary process in 1974. Thus, the new government strongly believed that resettlement would provide an all encompassing solution to the hard-pressed peasantry, and particularly to the population living in the drought prone areas (Dessalegn 2003). Pankhurst (1992) explains that after the revolution the pace of resettlement has changed dramatically. Within a decade some 46,000 households, consisting of about 187,000 people, were resettled on eighty-eight sites in eleven regions.

Three factors clarify this increase; firstly the land reform of 1975 which made public land available for resettlement purposes. Secondly, the successive occurrence of famine at short intervals is suggesting for long term solutions in the form of embarking on resettlement in areas with marked agricultural potential. Finally, the proliferation of institutions and agencies that were made responsible for implementing resettlement programmes (Kassahun 2000:111, Pankhurst 1992:17).

According to Dessalegn (2003:16), the main difference between the resettlement programme carried out during the imperial regime and the military regime was not much over principles but rather over the scale of operations and the pace of movement. Despite the increase in numbers since the revolution the results during the 1970s were mediocre and did little to relieve highland population pressure (Pankhurst 1992:17).

Kassahun (2003:3-4) explains that, following the ousting of the military regime, with the exception of a few isolated attempts to relocate people, it seemed that resettlement was indefinitely suspended for a while. However, the current government in power EPRDF has become increasingly enthusiastic and in favour of launching planned resettlement schemes. Consequently, it has been commenced in the major regions like Amhara, Tigray and Oromia. According to official statements, the resettlement programme is considered as a major and essential component of endeavours aimed at addressing the serious problem of food insecurity in Ethiopia. Kassahun (2004:301) pointed out that these assumptions are based on the exhaustion of resources in the origin of the settlers, the capacity of the receiving areas to absorb the settlers, and the compatibility of agricultural techniques and skills the settlers have to adapt the productive activities in the new settlement.

Nevertheless, there have been some issues that put the subject to be contestable. Pankhurst and Piguet (as cited in Dessalegn, 2008:137) argue that, “is

large scale resettlement a viable option and will it lead to food security? Is there sufficient unused arable land with adequate moisture availability to support such a massive relocation of peasants? Do we have adequate resettlement expertise and infrastructure to manage such a program? Could the resources earmarked for the program be better utilized to address food insecurity without resettlement?" The debate on the aforementioned points between the government, academics and international donors was begun right from the launch of the program and still continues.

Hence, in assessing the resettlement programme in the country, an attempt is made to focus on the most recent one which is carried out by EPRDF, the government in power. Therefore, what follows in the next section gives a highlight about the general overview of the programme and its implementation process.

3.2 A Brief Review on the Resettlement Programme and its Implementation in Metema

Given the country's heavy dependence on agriculture, rural land settlement in Ethiopia has become an increasingly important tool for both policy makers and planners for overcoming a whole range of problems associated with the socio-economic life of a good number of the population. The exponents of this policy consider it as an ultimate means of addressing such problems as food insecurity, rural unemployment, land fragmentation and marginalization (Gidron et al. 2002).

In line with this argument the federal government of the country put resettlement programme in place with an ideal of enabling chronically food insecure households attain food security through improved access to land through 'voluntary' resettlement.

A document by NCFSE (2003:5-6) suggests that, food insecurity has several causes to happen in Ethiopia. For instance, in most food insecure parts of the country there is a continuous decrease in a household farm size, land degradation and recurrent drought. As a result abundant labour is inefficiently used due to lack or shortage of land. Conversely, in other localities within the same region the available land is inefficiently used due to lack of labour.

And the initiation of the voluntary intra-regional resettlement (access to land) rests on four major pillars:

1. The programme above all should rest on the voluntary option of the potential settlers.
 - Settlers will decide to resettle voluntarily
 - Settlers can return to their original homeland if unhappy about the new setting and shall be eligible to receive some sorts of assistance that they were receiving before they left
 - Settlers have land use right for their holdings in their original homeland for three years
 - Each household will make the decision on movement to new setting with or without all family members at the beginning

2. The availability of underutilized land

Regional governments have to identify and make sure the availability of enough land before they initiate planned resettlement programme.

3. Consultation with the host communities

The regional governments have to hold consultations and discussions with the host communities on the necessity of the program. Agreement of the host community for the resettlement of more people in their areas should be the key.

4. Proper preparation

The minimum infrastructure set in the plan should be in place before moving people (ibid).

Moreover, the programme has also included the following points as key principles and approaches to realize the intended outcome.

Table-2
Summary of Key Principles to the Intra-regional Resettlement programme

Key principles	The rationale behind the principles
Voluntarism	No quotas or compulsion to relocate people.
Partnership	To carry out the coordination and implementation of the programme in collaboration with different actors such as Government, donors, NGOs, private sector, the host community, and the individual household settlers .
Self-help	To reinforce local initiative and change the attitude of dependency.
Transparency	Adherence to rules, full and active information on the part of partners.
Iterative approach	Incorporating new operational ideas based on the experiences gained during the first year of implementation.
Environmental concerns	Due attention will be given to environmental concerns during the implementation of the programme.
Development process	To assist the food insecure households improve their livelihood apart from food security.
Income and employment creation	It focuses mainly on agricultural activities and off-farm activities.
Community management	The community will take a lead role in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the resettlement programme.
Intra-regional	To resettle people from the same area with kin relations in the same locality
Minimum infrastructure	To establish services which are at least similar to the original area.

Source :(NCFSE, 2003) summarized by own

Though the basic assumptions behind the settlement programme at present remain similar to those made during previous periods, it differs from the preceding ones in the aforementioned respects. Tadros (1979) explains that

proper planning reduces the elements of failure. However, to plan and to implement what are planned are two different things.

Therefore, based on the key principles as a guideline, the Amhara regional government has initiated an organized and 'voluntary' resettlement scheme for the most chronically food insecure people from all zones of the region namely, North Gondar, South Gondar, East Gojam, Waghmra, North Wollo, South Wollo and Oromiya to Metema, Quara, Tach Armacheho and Tegede *woredas* of North Gondar administrative zone.

The process of resettlement required the regional government to take several steps starting from recruiting resettlers up to making efforts to move them to the destination sites. There have been different reasons as to why some households are being relocated and others are not. Some of the main regional criteria in recruiting the resettlers were: the poorest of the poor households from drought prone areas and that are dependent on food aid, the younger population, those who are voluntary to be relocated, and households that are included in safety net program. As has been explained by an official from the office of food security, the safety net program is aimed at providing food and other transfers to the chronically food insecure through a scheme that involves employment in public works in the community. Regarding this, the *kebele* officials are responsible in identifying the chronically food deficit families.

By taking the criteria mentioned above in to account meetings were held with farmers on issues related with scarcity of cultivable land, insufficiency of food aid, drought proliferation in the area and the likes to persuade them about the resettlement programme.

Besides, to make sure whether the area has a similar picture with what has been drawn by government officials during the advocacy of the programme, some representatives of the resettlers were sent to the receiving area. Following the opinion of the representatives the relocation of the people put in place.

The issues that are pointed out above could substantiate the planned and controlled nature of the resettlement programme while undertaken by the government and this could clarify what has been discussed by Chambers (as cited in Pankhurst, 1992) in the previous chapter, about the features of resettlement.

Mengistu (2005:19) defined a resettlement scheme as, 'a planned project or programme involving the transfer of people most probably through selection and control from one region to another.' In addition, he argued that when (re) settlement schemes are considered, governments in developing countries, in general, and in Africa in particular, make decisions as to when, where and how reestablishment should take place.

In light of the above, a report on the resettlement programme by ADPPB (2009) shows that there were about 14,717 households who are relocated to the resettlement schemes found in North Gondar Zone in the year 2003. Out of which 6,927 households are moved to Metema *woreda*, 6260 households to Quara *woreda*, 489 households to Tegede *woreda*, and 1041 households to West Armacheho *woreda*. The settler households who moved to Metema *woreda* are disseminated to the fourteen resettlement sites in the *woreda*. And, Village six, seven and eight *kebele* is one from among these resettlement sites.

Likewise, according to a document in village six, seven and eight the number of settlers in the *kebele*, who belong to the group that are coming to the area in 2003, is about 346 households. Out of which 45 of them are female headed households while the remaining 301 are male headed households. And, the total number of households in the *kebele* is about 625 that are including the hosts.

Also, it has been explained by officials in metema *woreda* that the mobilization committee, which is formed from different sectors in the *woreda*, has been working on awareness creation about the resettlement programme for the host population before relocating the people. After consensus has been reached with the hosts, the relocation of the settlers put in place.

It has been also indicated that during the arrival of the newly settled people to the area two hectares of arable land, household utensils, seed, agricultural tools like sickle, plough and hoe, grass and wood to construct a house including about 500 m² of homestead land, oxen or money with fellow partners, and food aid for one year were some of the starter packets provided per household by the government. The house was constructed by the resettlers after they arrived to the area in collaboration with the hosts' labour. In fact, the provision of oxen was in such a way that one pair of oxen is shared between four households among which two of them own the pair of oxen and the remaining two were received about 120 *birr* each instead of an ox. Actually this money is also paid back for the owners of the oxen in the group whom they plough the farming land in return.

The next section introduces some information about metema *woreda* where the research area belongs to.

3.3 A Brief Description of the Study Area

Metema *woreda* is located in the Northwest part of Ethiopia and western part of Amhara regional state, about 900km northwest of the capital Addis Ababa and about 180km west of Gondar town. Metema is found north of Quara and Alefa, west of Chilga, south of Tach Arma-choho *woredas* and east of Sudan border. It is one of the 18 *woredas* in north Gondar zone which is sub-divided into 18 peasant associations and two town *kebeles*.

According to the *woreda* agricultural and office plan for 2006/2007, 31691 households and 96,550 people are living in the *woreda* and its total area is about 440 thousand hectares. The original residents of the area are Gumuz. Until recently, they practiced slash and burn and hunting wild animals. They produce sorghum as the staple crop which continues to be the major food crop in the area. Since the settlement programmes of the last and current governments, the relative proportion of natives became small in number. They are concentrated in few areas and live close to each other (Daniel 2008:29).

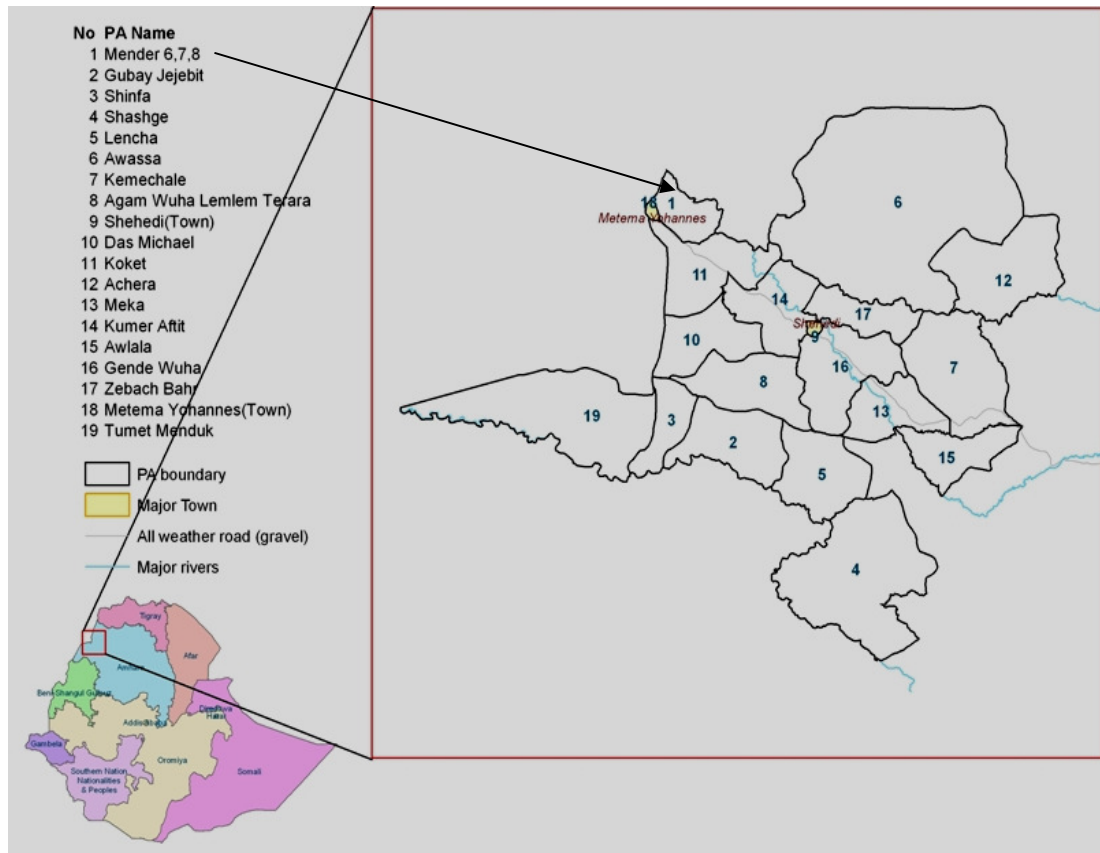
According to IPMS (2005:7), the altitude of Metema ranges from as low as 550 to 1608 meter above sea level while the minimum annual temperature ranges between 22°C and 28°C. Daily temperature becomes very high during the months of March to May, where it may get to as high as 43°C. The mean annual temperature is 31°C. Nearly all of the land in the *woreda* is in the lowlands except some mountain tops which fall outside. Metema is one of the

woredas in the country where the climate is harsh and government allows a 30% hardship allowance. Likewise, the mean annual rain fall for the area ranges from about 850 to around 1100mm to 90% of the *woreda*. Metema has a unimodal rainfall. The rainy months extend from June until the end of September. However, most of the rainfall is received during the months of July and August.

Sorghum, Sesame and Cotton cover around 90% of the cultivated area. The area under sorghum is substantial (14,822 ha). The yield of sorghum is between 18 and 20 qt/ha, while that of sesame is between 4 and 6 qt/ha. Seed cotton from the locally grown varieties could yield about 8 qt/ha. Livestock production is an integral part of the production system. The cattle population in the *woreda* is quite high. Production of cattle (milk, meat), goat (meat) and poultry is a common practice. Cattle are exported to the Sudan while goats are mainly used for the local market. Experts of agriculture office in this *woreda* believe that livestock feed is not a limiting resource in the *woreda*. However, the farmers in the *woreda* do not make hay and dry season feed availability remains a problem. This is especially so because farmers burn grasses for eliminating ticks and to stimulate fresh grass growth during the rainy season (ibid).

Commercial farmers use tractors for ploughing. Oxen are used to plough fields for all crops and to thresh sorghum, while donkeys are used for transporting agricultural produce and water for the smallholder farmers. Despite the large population of livestock, especially cattle and goats, productivity is low as in many other parts of Ethiopia (ibid).

**Map 1
Metema woreda**



Source: IPMS (2005)

Chapter 4

Characteristics of Sample households

This section discusses on the profile of the sample respondents and their demographic features in connection to its effect on livelihood outcomes.

4.1 A Brief Profile of the Interviewee Household heads

The following briefly explains the background profile of household head respondents that would suggest a clue to understand the research findings. For the sake of anonymity an imaginary name is used in place of their real names. Besides, the sample households are categorized under the wealth status to which they belong that is, based on the respondent's perception about themselves in their village standard and on the fieldwork observation. In the study area resettlers define a household as better-off if it is able to produce certain amount of crop with some surplus and own a considerable number of livestock, if it produces for self sufficiency and have some livestock it is termed as middle, and if it has food deficit it is classified as poor. Hence, what follows next is based on this categorization.

4.1.1 The Poor Households

Azalech- is a woman of 45 and divorced with her husband due to a disagreement occurred on the issue to be relocated. She came to the resettlement site with four of her children. She is not happy on the productivity level of the land allocated to her as compared to her fellow counterparts. As a result she is renting in land to increase the level of crop production to feed her children. She was criticizing the things that were advocated before resettlement for it was out of joint to what is there in the ground. Moreover, she is not participating in either of local associations such as *mabeber* or *senbete* in her village to reduce her expenses. She was not willing to say anything about her annual income.

Fasika – is a woman of 43 years old, widowed and taking care of her three children. Like the other respondents she is originally from sekota *woreda*. She is disappointed on the size of land given to her which is only one hectare instead of two hectares. When she explains about it, she said that “For sure this is happening on me because I am a woman and have no voice to be heard”. Thus, to increase her income she is selling in items like tea, bread and *araki* in the vicinity by renting in a house. Her annual income is not more than 1500 *birr*.

Bayush- is a woman of 35, widowed and living with her two children. She is disappointed in the land allocation process wherein she received only one hectare of land and also less productive as she affirmed. In addition, she asserted that, “When I was claiming about the remaining one hectare of land nobody was willing to hear my voice”. Thus, to feed her family members she is working in the nearby mill as a labourer. Likewise, she was complaining about what has been said during the advocacy before resettlement and what is obtained in reality after resettlement.

Yalew- is 53 and came to the area with his wife and two children. He has two hectares of land which is better in terms of productivity and larger than to what he had before in his origin. He grows sorghum for consumption and participating in one of the local associations called *senbete*. His annual income is about 2500 *birr*.

Tsehay- is a woman of 42 who is widowed and living with two of her daughters. Although she didn't have land in her place of origin, following the resettlement she has got only one hectare of land to farming. She is unhappy on the size of land given to her as compared to the male counterparts. She earns an income of about 1200 *birr* annually.

4.1.2 The Middle households

Sisay- is a 35 years old farmer came to the area with his wife in 2003 and got a son a year later his arrival to the new village. In his place of origin, *sekota woreda*, he had one hectare of land which was not that productive. But, now he has two hectares of land which is suitable for the production of crops such as sesame, cotton and sorghum as he confirmed. Now, he also owns few livestock such as goats, cows and sheep and his average annual income is about 10,000 *birr*.

Firew – is 41 and lived in the area since 2003 with his wife and six children. He owned one and half hectares of land in *sekota woreda* despite the area was prone to recurrent drought and less productive. However, currently he owns two hectares of land to grow sesame, cotton and sorghum. Also, he is renting in additional land from the host population to increase his income. In his origin he was working as a labourer to feed his family. But, now he is sending all of his children to school including three of his children who dropped out from school in their origin due to poverty. His annual income is about 8000 *birr* in addition to few livestock he has. When he explains the difference in the livelihood status before and after resettlement, he contrasted it with the difference between day and night.

Teshale- is 24 who married his wife three years after his arrival to the area. Currently, he has two hectares of land though he hadn't own land before the resettlement since he was living with his parents. Despite he was received 120 *birr* instead of an ox as a starter packet in his first arrival, now he has few livestock and an annual income of about 7500 *birr*.

Dagne- is 53 and left his place of origin due to famine. He has a total of seven family members including him. He is happy for the land he owns now in terms of its productivity than the one he had before resettlement. However, he is complaining about the land size to feed his family. Hence, he is rented in additional land from the hosts. As far as the type of crops are concerned he produces sesame and cotton for sale while sorghum for consumption. He is happy for being resettled for the reason he said that, "Now at least I am in a position to manage the livelihood status of my family and have an average annual income of 8000 *birr*."

Birku- is a man of 35 years of age who moved to the resettlement area in 2003 accompanied by his wife and four children. He had about half-hectares of land in his origin though he blames the productivity of the land. In the new village he received two hectares of land and produces some crops like sesame,

cotton and sorghum. Moreover, he is renting in land for farming. He earns an average annual income of 9500 *birr*. Further he owns few livestock.

Kindu- is 44 years of age and married man living with his four children. He sends all the children to school. He left his place of origin due to famine like the other fellows. He received two hectares of land in his arrival to the area and confirmed that the productivity level of the land he owns is better than to the one he had before. However, he is also complaining about the size of land like the other settlers. His average annual income is about 8000 *birr*.

Dereje- is a man of 31 years of age living with his wife and two children. He had one hectare of land in the previous place and received two hectares of land in the new village. He grows sesame, cotton and sorghum. Though he was received 120 *birr* in place of an ox during his arrival, currently he managed to have few livestock including oxen. His average annual income is about 7000 *birr*.

Gebru-is a 39 years old married man, who has been relocated to the area in 2003, living with six of his family members. He is doing his farm activity on the two hectares of land, which he received in his arrival as a settler, in addition to the land he rented in. He is happy for being relocated to the area as far as the productivity of the land in the new village is concerned. But, he is also complaining about the size of land like the other fellows. He earns about 7500 *birr* annually in addition to few livestock he owns.

4.1. 3 The Relatively better-off households

Habtamu- is 45 years of age married man living with his six children. Like the aforementioned fellow settlers he grows cotton, sesame and sorghum in his two hectares of land and on the additional land which he rented in. This guy is relatively rich in the standard of the villagers and received an award for being a model farmer to the resettlers. His annual income is about 25,000 *birr*. He has a plan to buy a house in the nearby small town called kokit.

Ayele- is a 29 years man, who is getting married four years after his arrival to the settlement, and has two kids. He is relatively better-off in the standard of the locality with an annual income of 24,000 *birr*. He grows sesame and cotton mainly in his two hectares of land and the additional land he is renting in. According to him the resettlement area is a better place to fulfil the livelihoods as compared to his place of origin sekota, which was prone to drought and famine.

4.2 Demographic Features of Sample households

This section of the paper briefly highlights the demographic characteristics of the sample households in the study area. The issues treated here would be those that have their own contribution in assessing livelihood outcome as a result of the resettlement.

4.2.1 Origin of the Respondents

As has been illustrated above, the resettler respondents are originally from sekota *woreda*, which is a place found in north wollo administrative zone in Am-

hara regional state. It has been discussed in Moser (1998) that, vulnerability is related with an insecurity of individuals, households and communities in the dynamic environment for various reasons. In connection to this, the resettlers were vulnerable as a consequence of shocks that occurred in their origin in the form of recurrent drought and famine that caused food insecurity. Consequently, they resettled to metema resettlement scheme particularly in village six, seven and eight *kebele*. They are relocated to the area in 2003 following the resettlement programme implemented by EPRDF.

Further, it has been confirmed by one of the key informants that, effort was made to resettle people from the same area with kin relationship to the same locality. This is why all the respondents are from the same *woreda* called sekota. For example Firew, who is one of the respondents in the resettlement site, is resettled to the area accompanied by his uncle and sister. This would in turn help the settlers to maintain the social fabric created before resettlement such as *mabeber* and *senbete* that has its own role in strengthening the social network.

4.2.2 Sex and Marital status of Respondents

According to Scoones (1998) in analysing an asset based rural livelihoods, finding out the factors that resulted in differences to have access to particular assets by different groups of people is helpful.

In light of the above, it has been depicted that from among fifteen interviewee resettlers four of them are females while the remaining eleven are males. It has been pointed out that gender of the household heads is associated with better possibility of getting access to livelihoods. This is to say, it has been suggested that female headed households are poorer and more food insecure as compared to male headed households in the area. Presumably this is so, since women headed households are more vulnerable than male headed households as a result of lack of labour and support within the household and outside of the household. This in turn resulted in female headed households to meet their livelihoods to the least extent as compared to male headed households.

In connection to this, to be transparent was one of the key principles stated in the resettlement programme; however, the female headed respondents confirmed that they are not treated equally with male counterparts in the area for instance, in the land allocation. Thus, it can be argued that gendered differences could be related with the variation in livelihood outcomes as a result of differences in access to productive assets. This is in line with an argument forwarded by Chambers and Carswell (as cited in Filmon, 2009:216) that, “social barriers gives rise to multiple vulnerabilities and can affect widows, in the ‘livelihood system’”.

With regard to age composition of the household heads, they are between the range of 24 and 53 years. This indicates that, those who resettled to the area are partially from the young groups as it was set in the programme as one of the recruitment criteria. In addition, as far as marital status is concerned all male respondents are married while three of the female respondents are widowed and one is divorced. It has been argued by Fasika, who is one of the widow informants in the area, that “given the fact that men are dominating in

agricultural and other livelihood activities in the area such as to plough a land, a household without a male labour force is also having a risk that could result in a challenge to attain an improved livelihood status.” Thus, it can be suggested that marital status could have its own impact in changing the livelihood status of a household.

Furthermore, it has been depicted that in principle all the settlers are treated similarly with regard to the support given as a starter packets such as farm land, household utensils and materials to construct a house like wood and grass. However, the principle is violated by local officials through manipulating the rights of female headed households to obtain equal size of land as the male counterparts during the process of land allocation. Presumably, this could justify how the transforming structures and processes defined by DFID (1999) within the livelihood framework affect access to a given capital at household level which in turn shapes the livelihood outcomes.

Besides, the issue of inequality in different aspects that could be present before resettlement is not taken into account. For example, the respondent households have different family size though it is not taken into consideration during the process of land allocation. As one of the informants suggested, “having a large family size may have its own benefit in sharing different tasks as far as you have resources but feeding them all is another trouble.” This would entail us that having a relatively larger family size could have its own impact in achieving viable livelihood outcomes unless productive assets are available proportionately.

Chapter 5

Results and Discussion

In this chapter, the results of the study are presented and discussed to address the objectives of the research. The results are based on the data obtained from the in-depth interview with the informants. The chapter is divided into two sections namely, the livelihood assets of resettlers and whose decision was the relocation.

5.1 Livelihood Assets of Resettlers

The central reason behind this study is that exploring the livelihood status of the resettlers in light of the key livelihood assets. Therefore, based on the analytical framework the five categories of assets were examined during the field work to assess the outcome of the resettlement programme in the study area. These are natural capital (land and water), human capital (education and health services), financial capital (access to credit and cash), physical capital (livestock, transport, and irrigation canals), and social capital (local social institutions). Thus, it is discussed as follows.

5.1.1 Natural capital

In subsistence agriculture like that of the study area land is the main natural capital. This is substantiated by the fact that nearly all of the respondents consider land as the main asset. Also, the study revealed that the resettlers are living in an area where the size of land owned and cultivated is larger than to what they had before resettlement. Put it the other way, most of the settlers had access to very small land which was also less fertile for crop production before resettlement; however, in their new village they have about two hectares of land which is owned and an additional land rented in for cultivation. As one of the key informants argued, “The growing population and degradation of land as a result of intensive farming led a greater number of households in our origin to have inadequate landholdings which in turn adversely affects the agricultural productivity to change the food security status. But, now there is a better access to fertile land and the area is not drought prone as it was in our origin and as a result we are benefited to improve the food security status.” This could entail us that food security that has been discussed in (Geest and Dietz, 2004:129) as: ‘a sub-set with in the pursuit of livelihood security’, is one of the major livelihood priority of the settlers. Besides, it attests the study that rural people who live in areas with a better natural resources and climatic condition have a more reliable set of entitlements to livelihoods than those who live in risky environments with poor soils (ibid).

On the other hand, it could be argued that the resettlement of people to the area reduces population pressure on the limited resources in the drought prone areas. Presumably this assumption would be realized if resources exist to be allocated for those who are remaining in their origin after the implementation of the programme. But, in the case of the study group they left their land

to some of the relatives who are remaining in their place of origin. Therefore, it can be suggested that the reduction in the size of the population would be advantageous only to the resettlers' relatives irrespective of other members of the population in the area.

Moreover, it has been observed that the landholding by different categories of people in the resettlement area is not proportional. For example, the inhabitants in the area have ten hectares and above size of land per household, whereas the new settlers are received two hectares of land per household to the maximum. As a result, the newly coming settlers are forced to rent in additional land from the host population. Hence, it can be claimed that renting in land is a common strategy in the area to have additional farming land for crop production. Alternatively, it can be argued that settlers are not able to obtain access to proportional land size though they have surplus agricultural labour force.

By the same token it can be suggested that renting out land is a common strategy among the hosts and elderly people in the area who lack labour force. As a result, households with larger land size are in a better position to satisfy their livelihoods as compared to those having smaller land size. This could entail us that lack or shortage of land is one of the crucial factors behind improving the food security status of many of the households before resettlement. McCann (as cited in Cliffe, 2004:197) affirms that in the highland areas lack of productive resources such as land and oxen are among the factors that exacerbate vulnerability to famine. The study also revealed that almost all households are engaged in farming as their main occupation and land is the crucial natural resource in the area. In general, it could be argued that not only access to land but also the size of land holding is found to be an indispensable factor in determining the livelihood status of the resettlers.

According to Moser (1998:10) dissatisfaction with the access to and quality of water was universal in all developing country contexts. Likewise, in the study area there are about three borehole water facilities despite only one of them, which is found around village seven, is functional during the study period. Consequently, majority of the population depend on Guang River, which is the largest river in the area crossing the village throughout the year, as the main source of drinking water and to their livestock's too. This in turn resulted in poor health condition to the villagers' due to waterborne diseases, as most of the informants argued. Nonetheless, it has been asserted that the availability of water in the new village is better than to what was before relocation though the aforementioned limitation needs due attention.

5.1.2 Human capital

With regard to the educational status of the respondents, it has been revealed that only one of them has completed primary education while the rest of the respondents did not get the chance to attend even for primary school. The reason behind this is that lack of educational access in their place of origin and if any, it was far away from the neighbourhood. This could be one of the reasons as to why households in the study area are dependent on crop farming as the dominant livelihood activity.

According to Moser (1998:9) human capital development is highly related to the economic and social infrastructure provision. The availability of social services such as education mean that people gained skills and knowledge; while economic infrastructure such as water and transport, together with health care - ensure that they used their skills and knowledge productively.

In this regard, in village six, seven, and eight *kebele* there are two primary schools. Cognizant of this fact, it has been confirmed by most of the informants that they were not in a position to send their children to school due to poverty and inaccessibility of school in the neighbourhood before resettlement; but, now they are sending them to school. On the other hand, those who are having deficit could not make it. For instance, one of the widow informants argued that, “Since I am not in a position to fulfil the educational expenses of my child, I am not sending him to school.” This could entail us that availability of school in vicinity is not a sufficient condition to send children to school.

Likewise, in terms of infrastructure there is one health center in the *kebele* but the problem is unavailability of basic health services. For instance, when a household member gets ill and needs treatment access to medication and skilled medical assistance is very challenging. Thus, if the worst comes the only choice they have is to go to metema hospital which is almost 40 kilometres away from the village. This is again exacerbated by lack of transport to get to the hospital. Due to this fact many of the respondents preferred to state no access to health centres in the area. To substantiate this one of the key informants remembered that, “In our arrival to the area in 2003 there was a serious health crises associated mainly with malaria which not only claimed the lives of some of the resettlers but also led others to return to their origin in fear of the catastrophe and the challenge of adapting the new environment. Thus, following this crises the health service was fair for a while but again it declined to its present condition.” This would in turn affect the capability of the people to carry out activities in a productive way during seasons of peak labour requirements and the non-agricultural seasons too.

Hence, most of the respondents prefer their original place in terms of the availability of better health service though it was far away from the village where they were living. This could suggest us that, what has been set as one of the key principles of the programme in NCFSE (2003) that is, the establishment of services that are more or less similar with their place of origin are partially put in place. In this regard, it can be argued that there would be a better human capital in the village for the future as far as access to education is concerned. In contrast, labour productivity could be a challenge due to less access to health facilities and that would be a big loss in human capital for the future to sustain their livelihoods.

5.1.3 Financial capital

In the study area the dominant financial institution that provides credit service to farmers is ACSI, which is under the regional government. In addition, there are local money lenders who provide loan and they are mainly from the host population. It is obvious that availability of access to credit could have its own contribution in solving the financial constraint of farmers.

Whilst ACSI follows group lending strategy; therefore, farmers are expected to form a group of five to seven people with a promise of sharing each other's risk to get the loan. According to one of the key informants, though ACSI does not require collateral from the farmers, the poorest people like the female headed households are excluded by the relatively better-off individuals during group formation to minimize risk. This could be an indication to how inaccessibility of one of the productive assets in turn affects the other.

It has been claimed that access to credit service in the resettlement area is better than to what was before resettlement. For example, on average an individual in the group can get a loan of about 3000 *birr*. The reason behind this is that, there is a better probability of repaying the loan in the new village due to cash crop production in the area. However, in the past few years before resettlement all of the sample households did not have access to credit service since they were dependent on food aid. As discussed by Filmon (2009:147) widows prefer to have access to credit that increase cash income or to grow crops of their interest. However, it has been noticed that female headed households in the study area are not daring and wishing to engage to credit in fear of risk taking apart from the exclusion mentioned earlier. This could have its own impact in their present livelihood status which is lower than the male counterparts.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the credit service is provided to farmers when farming season is approaching particularly in April and May, which is the time for high demand in agricultural inputs. Despite the credit offered is seasonal and limited in its amount, it benefits the settlers as far as the farming activity is concerned. But, presumably it could also be argued that its seasonality deters them from engaging into other livelihood diversification strategies such as livestock production, which is a common practice in the area. Besides, the credit service by ACSI fails to consider borrowing in an individual basis even for those who are relatively better-off. As a result, none of the informants are able to take loan in an individual basis though they are wishing to do so. In fact, there is a possibility to take loan individually from local money lenders, the interest rate is by far large which made it very challenging; however.

With regards to cash income nearly all the respondents confirmed that there is a significant difference in the level of their annual income after resettlement; albeit there is a disparity in the amount of income earned by each of the households. This is mainly related to the type of crop they produce. In other words, the resettlers used to produce some crops which were not enough for consumption either; as a result, they were not able to sell crop and earn annual cash income. However, in the new village almost all of the informants are in a position to have their own annual income. The main reason behind this is that the availability of cash crop production such as, sesame and cotton and also sorghum mainly for consumption.

As has been mentioned earlier there is a gap in the annual cash income amongst the resettlers. It should also be noted that from among the respondents only two of them are better-off, eight of them are middle and five of them are poor. This could illustrate that, the resettlement programme suffices the livelihood status of most of the sample respondents though some of them are failed to do so.

In the light of what is experienced by the settlers it would be argued that, factors that resulted in differences among them in the livelihood status could be associated with the size of land owned for farming and the capability of the settlers to involve in activities other than farming. In other words, most of the farmers who belong to the so called middle and one from the better-off did work as a labourer in their leisure time in the private farms that are found in the surrounding. This helped them to earn additional income. However, none of the households who belong to the category of the poor engaged in such an activity. Likewise, all of the members in the group that are categorized as middle and better-off received two hectares of land at the beginning of their settlement; in contrast only one of the farmers from the poor groups received two hectares of land. Thus, it would be suggested that these are some the factors which resulted in inequality in their livelihood status. In this regard, Chambers and Conway (1991:5) argued that, equity in assets and access are preconditions (means) for gaining adequate and decent livelihoods.

5.1.4 Physical capital

Given the fact that agriculture is the main activity in the resettlement area using draught animals, oxen have a greater importance of productive utility in the farming. This is to say, households that lack access to oxen face difficulties in farming their land. In line with this argument Messay(2008) claimed that oxen ownership plays a significant role in improving the food security status of the resettlers.

As can be seen in table-3 below, most of the respondents have access to oxen. It has been shown that amongst of which two households from the so called middle and one household from the better-off had received an ox each during their arrival to the resettlement site as a starter packet. Whereas, the remaining twelve households were received 120 *birr* instead of an ox which was actually repaid as rental for an ox labour to plough the farm. In relation to this, from the poor household groups no one was received an ox. Thus, it can be claimed that to have an ox at the beginning of their arrival could have its own impact to maintain oxen ownership in the area.

In contrast, it could also be argued that having an ox in the beginning is not a sufficient condition to be belonged to the group of middle or better-off as well. This could suggest us to search for other factors that resulted in the difference to occur. It has been confirmed by some of the respondents, who are able to own oxen starting from the scratch, that working as a labourer in a leisure time at large private farms in the neighbourhood has contributed to the increase in their income and as a result to buy oxen.

Also, despite the fact that there are a number of livestock in the area, there is no veterinary centre to help the livestock at all. Likewise, nearly all of the respondents confirmed that the presence of Guang River, which flows throughout the year in the village, created better access to irrigation scheme in the resettlement area as compared to their previous setting. This helped some households to earn additional income by producing fruits and vegetables for the market. However, to be benefited from the irrigation scheme one needs to have either the motor pump to pull the water, which is costly for almost all of them as an individual, or pay money to groups who bought the motor pump on credit.

With regards to access to market, the resettlers are supposed to travel on foot to the nearest small town called kokit, which is about 10-15 kilometres away from their village. Meanwhile, to sell their produces in the market those who have *caro* can load on it otherwise they are expected to pay some 20-30 *birr* per quintal to the owners of the *caro*. Alternatively, sometimes they are selling their products through a cooperative in their village, but since the cooperative does not give the money in time they prefer to travel about one and half hours on foot to the market. Furthermore, all weather roads are available despite access to public transport is not put in place so far. Nevertheless, as most of the respondents asserted access to the market and availability of road in the new village is relatively better than to the one it had before resettlement.

The study also confirmed that the settlers did not acquire additional knowledge in relation to using new production tools which is to say, they are working their farm activity as they were doing before resettlement. Presumably, this could be related with the size of the landholding, which is not more than two hectares to apply another technique. Dessalegn (2003:44) argues that, such kind of practice is an oversimplification of the goal of resettlement into a transfer of farmers to a new surrounding which does not involve agricultural skills, habits and environmental knowledge.

Table-3
Livestock ownership of sample households

Wealth status of households	Number of oxen owned		Number of goats and other livestock owned	
	Before resettlement	After resettlement	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Poor	0	0	0	0-2
Middle	0	2-4	0	8-10
Better-off	0	6-8	0	14-20

Source: own field work

5.1.5 Social capital

The extent to which a community itself can be considered an asset that reduces vulnerability or increases opportunities depends on its “stock” of social capital (Moser, 1998: 13). In line with this argument, the study attempts to go through the existing local relation mechanisms in the area. Wolde-Sellassie (2002:50) explains local social institutions as: ‘structures that have been serving rural communities for longer periods passing from one generation to the other and through which local peoples’ indigenous knowledge is manifested.’

In connection to this, it has been observed that the prominent local institutions in the study area which do have a significant role in maintaining the social fabric among the people are church groups such as *senbete* and *mabeber* and labour exchange mechanisms like *debo* or *wobera*.

Membership to either of the church groups is open to everyone as far as the person is in a position to provide some food and drink for the group of members accordingly. Apart from the spiritual festivity and extending the social net work, being a member of a *senbete* could also help the member to borrow some amount of money, which is collected from the members as a monthly fee, from the *senbete*. While being a member of *mabeber* has a spiritual goal in addition to social network formation. Therefore, households who are participating in these groups have social networks to call upon each other for help when they are in need of while the remaining is unable to call for help.

From among the sample respondents all of the households are participating in both church group local associations except the poor households. It has been suggested that, the reason behind the isolation of the poor households is their inability to afford the costs for the social events. This could also supports the statement that access to one capital would have its own impact in other capitals which in turn enable us to answer one of Scoones (1998) asset base analysis question of substitution that tries to see the linkage between different types of capital.

In addition to this, *debo* or *wobera* is a labour exchange strategy by which nearly all of the respondent households are participating and it was also a common phenomenon in their origin. In this labour exchange mechanism a farmer is harvesting the crop with the contribution of friends, neighbours or relatives’ labour in group so that in return this farmer will do the same when called upon.

Nevertheless, as has been argued by one of the key informants, to work in *debo* or *wobera* has become a loosen activity as time advances. The reason behind this is that the expensiveness of labour in the study area led farmers to work as a labourer in large private farms there around in their leisure time. In relation with (ibid) livelihood analytical questions, this could be considered as an asset trade-off activity in a way that the social capital is traded for a financial capital.

Furthermore, to drink coffee with neighbours by serving coffee in one of the households in a reciprocal way is a very common practice in the study area as an information sharing strategy and trust building mechanism among them. It was confirmed by all of the households that, this is one of the social network maintaining mechanisms between neighbours not only in their new village but also back in their origin.

Thus, presumably it can be pointed out that the abovementioned social fabrics are maintained in the area due to similarity in cultural background between the resettlers and the hosts. Moreover, this is substantiated by what has been forwarded by some household respondents that is, they are living around their close relatives and that helped them to build mutual trust, to share some costs in time of desperate need and to feel at home by avoiding homesickness to their place of origin.

In general, the main advantage of the local institutions is manifested in mediating and channelling access to livelihood resources and providing strong social security (Wolde-selassie 2002:217).

5.2 Whose Decision was Resettlement?

It has been confirmed by one of the government officials, who has been working in the programme from the inception, that “the government had put the issue of partnership with different stakeholders especially with NGOs and donors in its programme. However, this was not made into play and the reason was that the disagreement arisen between them on the initial condition of the resettlement sites. This is to say, the government has decided to implement the programme on the so called minimum infrastructure standards basis that is, by establishing at least similar infrastructure with their original area and afterwards to relocate people. While the argument forwarded by NGOs and donor agencies was to implement the relocation gradually after putting in place a better service in the different resettlement sites. But, since the government was ambitious to relocate about 2.2 million people within three years all over the country their proposal was neglected and it has been implemented only by the government budget without other organizations involvement. ”

Thus, possibly it could be argued that the reason behind the gap in the infrastructure such as water, human and animal health services, and other packages that could be an input to an off-farm activity in the area as was set in the programme is a result of a hasty decision by the government. This is in line with de Wet(2004) ‘in adequate inputs’ approach which discusses that one of the reasons as to why things in resettlement goes wrong is due to lack of incorporating proper inputs into the program.

Having said this, the study also revealed that the settlers were ‘voluntary’ to be relocated in principle which is to say; they are settled to the area with their own consent following the advocacy of the programme in their origin. However, as most of the households asserted they were not clear enough about the conditions they would face; thus, they are disappointed about unfulfilled promises. In line with this one of the informants said that, “during the advocacy of the programme we have been told so many things and some among which were: if you go to the resettlement area you will be offered a considerable amount of money, fertile land, an ox per household and then within a short period of time you can buy a house in town and the likes. Thus, I was easily convinced by these words; subsequently I get divorced with my husband because of a disagreement on the topic issue. Actually, he tried to convince me to stay there but all was my fault and now I am living with regret.” Cliffe (2004) attests this fact in that, in the 1980s resettlement pro-

gramme of the country farmers were also told about the ideal life which they would encounter instead of the actual situation. Thus, it would be argued that why does lesson from the past experience is not taken in to account seriously?

Likewise, in some cases dissatisfaction with the conditions they face for example, the difficulty in adapting the new environment for its high temperature and prevalence of malaria in addition to the aforementioned unrealized expectation led some of their fellows to leave the area and get back to their origin. Here, it would be argued that setting mobility right and land security at their origin for three years in the programme helped them to return home using their agency of voluntarism principle. On the other hand, it could also be argued that the principle of voluntarism had been violated by government officials during the advocacy session by providing unreliable information to the resettlers.

As has been indicated in the second chapter, Scudder (1991) categorized different types of resettlement on the basis of the type of settler and the nature of the involvement of the sponsoring agency. On the basis of this categorization it would be argued that the study case partially could belong to government organized or sponsored voluntary resettlement. This is so since the government intervened in the selection of project sites and settlers based on its criteria and plan of action as is highlighted in its programme. On the other hand, it could also be argued that, it has an element of compulsory resettlement sponsored primarily by government. Pankhurst (2004) attests this in that, in times of desperate condition such as famine people express a 'willingness' to resettle, however this is not necessarily a genuine consent rather prompted by lack of alternative.

Chapter 6

Concluding remarks

The resettlement issue and its outcome in the livelihoods of the settlers have been discussed by taking the resettlement programme that was carried out in 2003 as the point of discussion in general.

Resettlers from sekota *woreda* were among the few that are selected to be relocated to North Gondar administrative zone in Amhara regional state following the major sufferings in the form of drought and famine. Thus, on the basis of the goals that has been set by the government at national level ultimately related with the issue of food security ,they resettled by the regional government to metema *woreda* particularly to village six, seven and eight *kebele* resettlement site.

In light of the above the study revealed that smallholder agriculture, which is dependent on rain like that of other parts of Ethiopia, is dominant in the resettlement site. Also, land is one of the key resources though the resettlers did not acquire enough size of land that can absorb the household labour as a whole. This is substantiated by the fact that an issue related with land size has forced the resettlers to rent in additional land from the host population to secure the food sufficiency of their family members. This demonstrates that the size of land in the area is a very crucial factor as far as the issue of livelihood security is concerned. It has been also noted that female headed households are not changing their livelihood positively as compared to the male counterparts presumably this could be associated with unfair allocation of land between them in the area.

It has been also suggested that in the study area the host and the resettlers are living peacefully. There appears to be the difference in the size of land holding between the host and the resettlers is one of the reasons behind the existing stable socio economic relation in the area apart from the shared common values and norms amongst them. On the other hand, as time advances the second generation resettlers would also be in need of land as is common in other parts of the highland areas of the country. Presumably this could become another affair in the future to be a source of conflict in the area that would put the programme in question. It is thus important to realize that to balance the number of people to be relocated in line with the available resources in the receiving area mitigates the impact on the host population livelihoods and to maintain peaceful scene as well.

Having said this it has been noticed that, oxen ownership also plays a key role in improving the livelihoods of the settlers as an important draught power in the area for farming activity. Consequently, a difference in owning it has brought a gap in the livelihood outcomes between them and therefore it would be worth considering a livelihood strategy to fill the gap in particular to the poor households. Further, it has been observed that some of the basic infrastructure such as health and water are in desperate condition that would have a significant effect in improving the livelihood outcomes of the people.

Moreover, resettlers had different forms of local associations in their place of origin such as *mabeber* and *senbete* that strengthens the social tie amongst them in good and bad times. This social fabric is still present in the area and possibly is a result of similarity in cultural background between the resettlers and the host population. Thus, it could be suggested that to maintain the social network of the peoples in the area and to reduce the probability of conflict that could be occurred, the nature of the resettlement being intra-regional, as has been also depicted in NCFSE (2003) as a key principle has played its own contribution.

Besides, it has been revealed that the productive assets are interwoven to each other in engendering the livelihood outcomes. This is to say, the presence of one of the livelihood assets alone does not suffice the intended livelihood outcomes to the fullest. Similarly, it has been observed that providing unreliable information about the programme before resettlement has led the settlers to develop unrealistic expectation in their arrival and this puts a grey- line on the voluntary based nature of the programme.

In summary, the intra-regional nature of the programme that strengthened the attachment between the settlers and hosts, the availability of access to schools which created an opportunity for children to go to school, the nature of the land in the resettlement area that enables them to produce both consumption and cash crops, the provision of some starter packets that helped them to own some assets which they didn't have before, the availability of access to market to sell their produce though it is some distances away from the village, access to credit service despite it is limited and seasonal, and access to irrigation scheme could be considered as some of the factors that contributed their own role to the improvement of the livelihood outcomes of most of the households as far as the resettlement programme is concerned.

In contrast, the following could be considered as pitfalls of the programme: neglecting the principle of partnership in the implementation of the programme which would have been an input to maximize the pool of resources, the unreliable information given about the programme before resettlement that put the principle of voluntarism in doubt, access to poor health services, little access to drinking water, unfair treatment of female headed households in the land allocation process, lack of access to transport, and giving due attention to farming activity only.

It has been discussed earlier by Chambers and Conway (1991) that, a livelihood can be sustainable if there is a strategy to cope with shocks and strengthen capabilities and assets both at present and in the long run. In the light of this, the study claims that with some kind of additional inputs it would be possible to make a difference in the livelihood outcomes at large.

Therefore, giving the attention that deserves to the issue raised by female headed households in the area can be taken as a strategy to improve their livelihood outcomes in the short run. In connection to this follow-up to the tasks that are carried out at grass-root level institutions would be crucial. Besides, it is often the case that development interventions are planned in a top-down manner irrespective of an input from local stakeholders on the ground. However, as Mesfin (1986) pointed out giving chance for peasants, who are potential victims of famine, to think and plan for them and to share in the responsi-

bility for the future would have its own benefit to ensure the achievement of the programme.

Further, it can be suggested that an effort which involves various actors in local development such as the government, NGOs and the private sector to improve the gaps in the basic infrastructure and to encourage the farmers to engage in additional activities other than farming for example, to set up small scale enterprises that process local products would make a difference in supplementing the livelihoods of the settlers in the long run.

As has been described in the introduction it can be admitted the fact that the findings of the study are based on the available sample size during the field work. Thus, it would not be easy to make generalization about the resettlement programme at large. Albeit of this gap in it, the study is valid on its own scope.

Therefore, It would be worth mentioning the fact that further research on those group of people who returned to their place of origin in comparison to others who remain in the resettlement area would also give a good picture on the effect of the resettlement programme as far as looking the change in their livelihood outcomes is the point of analysis. In addition, the study conducted could also give some input for further research looking and who would like to take part in filling the gap in the specific resettlement site as well.

In general, even if variation has been observed in the livelihood outcomes among households, it is evident that most of the households under the study have changing their livelihoods positively as compared to what they had before resettlement. In other words, the researched resettlement programme has brought its own contributions in changing the livelihoods to most of the resettled farmers. However, it did not sufficiently benefit to the female headed target groups in particular.

To sum up, provided that several factors are considered in primacy for example, putting basic infrastructure in place, ensuring the availability of adequate land that can absorb people to be relocated in addition to considering lessons from past experiences, intra-regional resettlement could be an alternative in alleviating the problems that are related with food insecurity and drought induced famine.

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Annex-1

Survey of Metema Settlers

I. Interview questions with settlers

Name:

Present household location:

A. Back ground of household respondent

1. Age:
2. Sex:
3. Origin (previous location):
4. Year of coming to metema:
5. What is the most important reason for being resettled to the area?
6. What is the total number of household members?

Section B. Access to assets

B1. Access to land and water

1. What is the main asset in your household?
2. Did you have access to land? If so, how do you rate the total cultivable land size before and after resettlement?
3. What are the major crops you grow at present and in your origin and their primary use?
4. How do you rate the level of your produce since you came to resettle?
5. How do you rate your ability to cope with food shortage since residing here?
6. How far do you travel to get water before and after resettlement? Estimate in hours.....

B2. Access to education and health

1. Is there school in your village and how about in your origin? If so, how far do you go to get school before and after resettlement? Estimate in hours.....

2. Did any member of the household have access to any kind of training or informal education?

3. How many of school aged children in your house go to school?

4. Is there a health center in your village? If so, how far do you go to get the health center, estimate in hours.....

5. How do you rate the health service provided in your village before and after resettlement?

B3. Access to physical assets

1. What are the main production tools you are using at present and back then?

2. What are the starter packets given to you by the government?

3. How do you rate access to fertilizer and improved seeds before and after resettlement?

4. Do you use any irrigation scheme? If so, how do you describe it before and after resettlement?

5. Is there access to market? If so, how far do you go to get to the market?

6. What are the major crops you sell at the market, if any?

7. What is the means of transport you are using in order to reach to the market?

B4. Access to financial capital

1. What is/was the main activity as a source of income in your household? estimated income from this activity before and after resettlement...../month
2. How do you rate access to credit and saving before and after resettlement?

B5. Access to social capital

1. Do you feel at home in your present place? If so, what are the main reasons behind it and if not why not?
2. Did any of your kin's come to resettle in your surrounding?
3. How do you rate the local associations (for example, mahber or senbete) in your village before and after resettlement?

Annex-2

II. Interview questions with government officials

1. What is the rationale behind the resettlement programme?
2. What are the recruitment criteria of the settlers?
3. How many people were engaged into the resettlement programme?
4. What kind of support is provided to the settlers?
5. How was the resettlement land sourced, and what happened to the original population, if any?
6. What happened to the old land?
7. How did the programme address the existing inequality among people before resettlement?
8. What local resources are available in the resettlement area?
9. What resources does the area lack?
10. Could the people continue their previous activities or did they need new livelihood strategies?
11. How do you see the overall integration of the resettlers with hosts in terms of participation at all levels?