

Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)
Emergencies Unit for Ethiopia (EUE)

RESETTLEMENT AS A RESPONSE TO FOOD INSECURITY

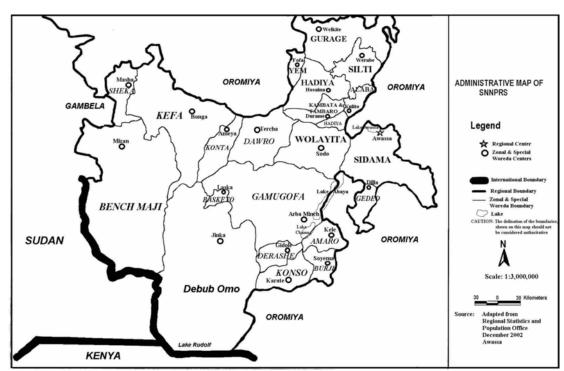
The case of Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR)

Assessment Mission: 12 May -02 June 2003

By Dr. Wolde-Selassie Abbute, UN-OCHA-Emergencies Unit for Ethiopia

1 Introduction and background

The objective of the assessment was to examine the current status of the planned resettlement program in Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR). It is reported that the regional government planned to resettle a total of 100,000 heads of households within three years (2003–2005), out of which 20,000 will be resettled this year. The resettlers come predominantly from eastern zones and special woredas of the region where population pressure is greatest and food insecurity is most chronic, e.g. Sidama, Gedeo, Wolaita, Kambata & Tambaro, and Hadiyya Zones as well as Konso and Derashe Special Woredas (see map below). These selected resettlers will be mainly hosted in the zones and special woredas in the western parts of the region, considered as possessing ample space with productive land such as Sheka, Kefa, Bench-Maji, and Dawuro Zones as well as Basketo and Konta Special Woredas (see map below).



Food insecurity is a major problem in Ethiopia. The frequency and scope of drought is ever increasing and in particular, this year's experience is noted very scaring. Due to the

enormity of the problem, the government decided to take an urgent action before the situation gets out of control. So, resettlement is identified as one of the key and quickest ways to achieve food security in a short- and medium-terms. The short-term resettlement plan is to resettle 440,000¹ heads of households (ca. 2.2 million people) in four regional states in three years (2003 – 2005). The government considered resettlement as the cheapest and viable solution to the problems of food insecurity on the basis of (a) availability of land in receiving areas, (b) labour force of the resettlers, and (c) easing pressure of space for those remaining behind, especially after three years. The operational approach is noted to be intra-regional, voluntary, self-help, and iterative without imposition from above and no quota system at all.



Solgan - Resettlement program is a key multi-sectoral development intervention to mitigate food insecurity, Humbo/Wolaita (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

Nevertheless, implementing state-sponsored resettlement schemes inherently complex. **Experiences** Ethiopia, elsewhere in Africa, and the world over show the fact that things often go so wrong in resettlement operations unless managed with meticulous care. Hasty execution of the resettlement might have humanitarian and ecological consequences and hence, the program needs thorough preparation achieve food security intended.

SNNPR is a multi-ethnic regional state where inter-ethnic relations among the diverse ethnic groups are principally entrenched in a mutual respect. Although enset (*Ensete ventricosum*) and coffee grows in most of the sending and receiving areas, the resettlers and hosts differ significantly in their socio-cultural organizations and livelihood strategies. The sending and receiving areas substantially differ agro-ecologically as well. Most available spaces meant for resettlement in the receiving areas are located at remote and marginal lowland areas infested with malaria and trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness). The key issues that were investigated during the field assessment were (1) the current status of planned resettlement in SNNPR; (2) selection process of resettlers; (3) perceptions of resettlers and hosts in the sending and receiving areas respectively; (4) preparations in the receiving areas such as feasibility studies, site selection, and awareness raising; and (5) possible potentials and constraints of the program. During the field assessment, which covered all the zones and special woredas of the region, a combination of predominantly qualitative field data collection methods were applied.

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¹ The breakdown for the four regional states is 200,000 HHs in Amhara, 100,000 HHs in SNNPR, 100,000 HHs in Oromia, and 40,000 HHs in Tigray.

2 Mission findings

2.1 The region's approach to resettlement

The region has embarked on planning² an intra-regional resettlement program. The planned scheme will be conducted at different levels: (1) inter-zone/special woreda, (2) inter-woreda, (3) inter-kebele, and (4) intra-kebele levels. In principle, the regional government intends to implement 'low scale integrated resettlement schemes', providing only basic relief support (until they produce their first harvest) and social services such as health, education, potable water, credit, feeder roads, and grain mills. The approach adopted by the regional state to move only the heads of households initially and then other family members will follow after having established basic needs in the receiving area. The resettlers are entitled to maintain their land usufruct right in the home areas for three consecutive years. Except selling or mortgaging, they can either sharecrop or cultivate the land by using either part of the family labour left behind or making institutional arrangements through social networks.

The regional government has prepared an implementation manual for resettlement. Committees responsible for the program execution are formed at all administration levels from the region to the kebeles. At the regional level, the head of the regional state chairs the committee while the vice chair is the Head of the Rural Development³ Coordination Bureau (RDCB). The head of the Food Security and Nomads Development Program Coordination Office (FSNDPCO) is the secretariat. At the zonal level, the Chief Administrator chairs the committee while the Head of Rural Development Coordination Main Department is the secretary. At the woreda level, the Chief Administrator chairs the committee while the secretary is Head of Rural Development Coordination Office. At the lower level, the Kebele Chief Administrator chairs the Committee. Additionally, technical committees are formed at different levels responsible for the assessment of the technical aspects of planning and implementation. Intensive awareness creation program is underway both in the sending and receiving areas and is meant to orient and convince both the resettlers and hosts about the worthiness of the program. The sending areas are busy selecting and screening resettlers. In the mean time, the receiving areas are equally busy undertaking feasibility studies and identifying resettlement sites. Both began reporting their progress to the region.

2.2 Categories and current status of resettlement

The zones and special woredas of the region are categorized as (1) only emigration zones and special woredas; (2) emigration or immigration zones and special woredas alongside internal migration and resettlement, and (3) those planning only internal migration and resettlement. For instance, Kambaata & Tambaaro, Sidama, and Gedeo Zones as well as Derashe Special Woreda are in the first category and selected 16,939 resettlers so far.

² The region is currently engaged in the planning of the resettlement program with the exception of Wolaita Zone where actual implementation has already started.

The office charged for the coordination of resettlement in SNNPRS is the RDCB is mandated to coordinate the activities of the following ten bureaus — 1) Bureau of Agriculture (BoA); 2) Regional Cooperative Office; 3) Food Security & Nomads Development Program Coordination Office (FSPDPCO); 4) Regional Irrigation Authority; 5) Bureau of Water Resources Development (BoWRD); 6) Regional Rural Roads Authority; 7) Agricultural Research Institute; 8) Agricultural Inputs Coordination Office; 9) Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Office; and 10) Bureau of Mines and Energy.

Wolaita and Hadiyya Zones as well as Konso Special Woredas selected 60,000 resettlers for sending and 2,512 for internal resettlement. Kafa, Shaka, Bench-Maji, Dawuro, and South Omo Zones as well as Konta and Basketo Special Woredas have identified land capable of accommodating 131,000 resettler heads of households, which will be received from outside their areas. 58,998 persons will be internally resettled within the zones and special woredas. Gamu Gofa, Silti, and Gurage Zones as well as Alaba, Yem, Amaro, and Burji Special Woredas will resettle 16,823 heads of households within their areas. Altogether, 76,939 resettlers will be received from sending areas and 78,333 resettlers will be resettled through intra-zone and intra-special woreda schemes (see map and table in annex for more details).

2.3 Selection and location of resettlers

Primarily, resettlers are from chronically food insecure areas that depend on regular relief support. Ideally, those targeted are the landless, food insecure, healthy, young adults, and peasant farmers capable of producing enough (if possible surplus) by enduring the inevitable initial hardships in the new sites. Resettlement is restricted only to smallholder farmers at productive age. The resettlers are expected to be free from any form of debt (private, community, & state) and other sideline social misbehaviours such as theft and dishonest. Kebele councils are responsible for the selection based on voluntary choice of resettlers without any external pressure, coercion or manipulative mechanisms.



Densely populated village in Derashe Special Woreda (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

The selected resettlers will be resettled in potentially productive and fertile areas. Careful assessment will be made presumably in the receiving areas before transferring resettlers from their original areas. Socio-economic and cultural factors that would facilitate productivity, adaptability and hostresettler coexistence will be taken into consideration. Before moving resettlers. their representatives together with selected community elders will visit and verify suitability of the new sites. Transportation will be provided from the regional state in case of inter-

zone/special woreda transfers. Relief food will be provided at the resettlement sites (for an estimated duration of 8 months) until the resettlers harvest their first produce. The relocated heads of households will be free to visit their families. However, some resettlers rather preferred to move with family members stating that their wives prepare traditional drink and food while the husbands are working in the fields. It is noted that resettlers can freely decide either to return or establish life and livelihood in the new location.

2.4 Preparation in receiving areas

It is reported that multi-disciplinary assessments on the socio-economic details (such as water, infrastructure, agricultural potential, schools, health facilities, resource base, and accessibility) of the intended relocation sites are progressing. Some zones⁴ have set priorities to resettle newcomers in relatively accessible and hospitable midaltitude areas, in particular in the first phase in order to minimize the program's adverse effects. Some other zones³ planned to open feeder roads to the selected resettlement sites. The planned settlement pattern is to establish contextually either separate conventional site villages or intersperse the newcomers by filling spaces among the hosts. The host communities are reported voluntarily to extend support to the resettlers during the initial stages of their arrival and adaptation. In some cases⁶, there is a plan to resettle those coming from outside and from within zones together so that the former will share the experiences of the latter and adapt easily, especially to the traditional natural resource management systems of the hosts.



Enset plant (Ensete ventricosum) in Sheka Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

2.5 Attitude towards the program

2.5.1 Views of resettlers

Resettlers rather preferred to resettle in nearby locations than a long distance from their places of origin. Many volunteered to resettle within their kebele as a first priority. If this is not possible, their preference is progressively to resettle within the respective woreda or zone. However, the choice for resettlement outside one's zone and special woreda is opted as a last resort.

Resettlers were noted to question the transparency and accountability of the planned scheme such as the timing, destination, and final relocation sites. They questioned the management of the scheme inquiring, "How would our return be facilitated if we find the host area not convenient?" They wanted to know exactly the type and extent of government support to be extended to them during the implementation of the program. Some reportedly argued against the resettlement scheme itself. Instead, they requested land redistribution by reducing from those who possess plenty rather than sending them away on the pretext of lack of land, which induced them to opt for "voluntary" resettlement. They are rather sceptical about the potential for many successes. Some seem psychologically not ready to leave their origins, which they consider 'an area where one's umbilical cord is buried'. Besides, the excessive failure of past resettlements in the country has had an adverse influence on the new recruits.

On the other hand, resettlers are feeling optimistic about joining the scheme, expressing their trust in the efforts of the state to solve their food security problems. They presumably

⁴ Sheka Zone can be cited as a case in this context.

⁵ In this context, Basketo Special Woreda can be cited as a case.

⁶ Sheka and Kefa Zones can be cited in this context.

volunteered to face possible initial inconvenience by using a local saying⁷ — dawn follows dusk (which literally means, a bright day light will come following darkness). They expect a temporary hardship and then a bright future. Hence, the number of registering resettlers is noted to be increasing.

2.5.2 Perceptions of hosts

The host communities are very keen and sensitive about the adverse effects of the scheme on their local natural resources, particularly forest upon which their livelihood is embedded. They seem rather suspicious of the planned scheme and of the newcomers and have insisted on setting a precondition to accept resettlers so long as the latter do not destroy their forest resources. They demand closer consultations and understanding

between the sending and receiving areas. Orientation about the hosts' traditional natural resource management practices should be provided to the resettlers before relocating them.

Some hosts are sceptical and hesitant, stating that any available space in their area is meant for their own next generation. The host communities want to set preconditions to address the land shortage problems their



Dense natural forest in Sheka Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

own children will have to face and only then would they welcome resettlers. In other words, they are willing to accept the newcomers from disaster prone areas so long as their internal land holding problems are solved simultaneously.

In the mean time, the hosts expect the resettlers to be hardworking farmers who can



Natural dense bamboo forest in Sheka Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

contribute to the improvement of the new setting. They warned the authorities to be careful not to bring resettlers who may drag-in social problems. In receiving areas such as Sheka, the local people leave their livestock in the jungle and fetch them only when needed. Their beehives stay in the forest from where they also collect wild coffee and spices. Hence, host communities emphasized that introduction of any form of social misbehaviours with the arrival of resettlers might flare-up tensions as a

consequence. They meanwhile expect resettlers to be sensitive to the local people's socio-economic and cultural set-ups. Instead of resettlers who attempt to make profit at the expense of the local communities, the hosts preferred to accommodate smallholder

⁷ A saying noted being expressed in orientation meetings held to select resettlers in Wolaita Zone.

subsistence farmers.



Resettlers busy clearing forest in Bilbo/Humbo, Wolaita Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

The hosts overwhelmingly expect the government to provide infrastructure and social services (such as rural roads, health services /human & livestock/, water points, schools, grain mills, inputs, etc.) facilities alongside the arrival of resettlers. If expectations are not met in terms of basic infrastructure and social service provision. disillusionment and negative attitudes of hosts may be more destructive than constructive to the success resettlement.

Presence of interested and motivated

2.6 Potentials

resettlers willing to resettle is cited as a key potential. Availability of fertile and 'virgin' land convenient for food and cash crop production, livestock raising, apiculture, fishing, and irrigation in the receiving areas is considered important basis for the planned scheme. The selected receiving areas are taken as having a higher level of productive potential. The agro-ecology, production practices, and food habit gaps among most of the sending and receiving areas are noted as not very wide so that the resettlers' will adapt with less stress. Especially, the host communities with sedentary cultivation backgrounds are reportedly outsider-friendly unless affected otherwise by the program. This would enhance host-resettler coexistence. By bringing closer people with different backgrounds, the scheme is envisaged to facilitate inter-ethnic integration. It may likely address rural unemployment and underemployment problems through access to land.

2.7 Challenges

There are serious limitations of financial, material, and logistical resources at all levels, which inevitably constrain the proper implementation of resettlement. Most of the presumed 'empty' spaces selected for resettlement are located at inhospitable marginal and inaccessible lowlands largely infested with human (malaria/mosquito) and livestock (trypanosomiasis/tsetse) diseases as stated earlier. Some of the local authorities at the zonal and special woreda levels are in a dilemma whether to implement the program without the necessary resources put in place or to cautiously refrain from taking hasty actions. They stress that hasty implementation may result in negative consequences such as resettlers finding themselves in a worse situation than their previous state.

The likely implementation of resettlement on a bigger scale is itself problematic, which may cause negative human and environmental consequences. In particular, operating resettlement without proper planning and adequate resources is obviously a risky intervention. If the planned initial interventions fail, the success of the entire resettlement will be affected.

Especially at the initial stage, resettlers will face multiple stresses (social, psychological, physiological, and economic) of differing magnitude. Failure records of past resettlement programs have adverse effects on the present initiative. For instance, returnees from



Resettlers cutting and chopping trees, clearing farm fields in Bilbo/Humbo, Wolaita Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

the 1980s schemes have noted the adverse effects of resettlement upon them, comparing with the present initiative as follows: "We tasted enough experiences and now the turn is for others." Some ethnic groups such as Derashe have very limited experience with a long distance migration and resetting in outside territory is not common. Implementing the scheme without proper knowledge, participation, and consent of the host communities may cause ethnic tension and conflicts with the

newcomers.

The ecology of the receiving areas could be adversely affected by the scheme. The population density both by the resettlers and possible influx of later voluntary immigrants will increase pressure on the carrying capacity of the land under the hosts' traditional systems of resource use. The inevitable clearing of forest for farming fields, settlements, construction, infrastructure, and fuel wood will affect the natural environment. Unless carefully planned, the scheme will extinguish the flora and the fauna and will accelerate soil erosion and hence deplete the ecology.

2.8 Case studies of implemented schemes

2.8.1 Case one: Bilbo Resettlement⁹ in Humbo Woreda, Wolaita Zone

The first new resettlement scheme in SNNPR stated to be implemented in Wolaita Zone on May 15, 2003 when 618 heads of households (HHs) have been resettled. It is part of the zone's intra-zonal resettlement scheme planned to resettle 2000¹⁰ HHs in two woredas (Humbo and Ofa¹¹), identified as having space to accommodate the stated number of resettlers. The above first round resettlers, selected from six woredas (Humbo¹² /133 HHs/, Boloso Sore /111 HHs/, Kindo Koysha /73 HHs/, Sodo Zuria /53 HHs/, Damot Woyide /141 HHs/, and Damot Gaalle /107 HHs/), are resettled in a resettlement site called Bilbo¹³

⁸ Experiences in most resettlement areas show that category of immigrants such as traders, labourers, and many others will voluntarily migrate to the receiving areas in search of opportunities and in many cases small town centres will emerge.

⁹ Initially, UN-OCHA-EUE mission visited and observed the resettlement site on May 15, 2003 (only three days after the resettlers' arrival) and revisited the same site on May 27, 2003 (two weeks after their arrival).

¹⁰ The zone has registered additional 40,000 HHs to be resettled outside the zone.

¹¹ Resettlers are not brought from Ofa because they will resettle within the woreda.

¹² Resettlers were recruited from densely populated parts of the woreda as part of inter-kebele resettlement.

¹³ Bilbo is the name of a hot spring used as main water source for the new resttlers.

in Humbo¹⁴ Woreda. The resettlers arrived on foot from their homes to the administrative centres of their respective woreda. Then, each woreda arranged transport and brought them to the resettlement site and handed them over to the administration of the host Humbo Woreda. All woredas of the zone contributed money and construction material for the intra-zone operation.



Banner – Welcome to Bilbo resettlement village in Humbo Wolaita Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

The relocated resettlers include only male HHs who are accommodated in 24 temporary shelters. They are regrouped into 24 groups — 13 of which contain 25 resettlers and 11 containing 24 members. Each group is composed of resettlers from the six woredas deliberately mixed in order to avoid a reported risk of any 'narrow-minded' minigroupings on the basis of respective original woreda. On the date of their arrival,

the resettlers were provided ready prepared food. Then, they are offered a normal ration of 15 kg/person maize and wheat flour, including edible oil, salt and hot pepper; blankets and weaved palm for beddings; small 5 litres plastic jeri cans, jugs, and plates; and different hand tools for field activities.

As reported by the woreda authorities, there is a plan to organize the resettlement site as a

separate kebele in the near future. For the moment, the site is organized at a subkebele level within the existing kebele previously until a formally elected and legally mandated Kebele Council will be formed. In order to administer the subkebele, the resettlers elected a committee constituting three members — chairman, vicechairman and secretary. Each elected sub-group three member sub-committees. The chairman is responsible for coordinating agricultural development affairs; the vice-



Resettlers in front of temporary group shelter with their hand tools at Bilbo, Wolaita Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

chairman is responsible for coordinating security affairs; and the secretary is responsible

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¹⁴ The resettlement site is located at the southeastern part of the woreda near Lake Abay, bordering the Sidama Zone.

for camp management including shelter, food ration, hygiene and sanitation. Three members from each group are selected for preparing meals and for patrolling camp security — a task to be performed by each resettler on a rotational basis.



Bilbo hot spring under which the resettlement site is named (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)



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Although doubts prevail in the minds of many of

the resettlers about the immediate success of the envisaged food security prospects, some expressed hope despite the initial hardships.

Most of the resettlers strongly complained about their grievances on the reported sufferings of their remaining family members in home areas due to lack of timely relief food provision. They are very critical of the local authorities for not giving priority to the stated families in the absence of the heads of households. For instance, it is stated that a wife of one resettler from Humbo woreda came to the resettlement site with her child to express her complaints to the husband and attempted to give the child to the father due to food problem.

It is also pointed out that resettlers have begun encountering problems in the new site. According to the Junior Clinical Nurse, 360 of the resettlers have received health treatment in the temporary shelter clinic within two weeks. In addition, 4 seriously sick¹⁷ (3 malaria cases and 1 other medical case) patients have been referred to Sodo hospital for further treatment. Since a single nurse operates the temporary clinic, he is forced to work the whole day and night under stressful conditions. He noted serious shortage of medical supplies.

Meanwhile, the resettlers stated their frustration about their future because of the erratic nature of rain in the new site. So far they experienced rain only for a single night. Though

¹⁵ Based on data obtained from the chairman of the resettlers, out of the total deserted 58 resettlers, 7 left the area immediately on the very date of their arrival. From those 51 who deserted later to their respective woredas, 12 returned to Boloso Sore, 10 to Kindo Koisha, 11 to Damot Gaalle, 14 to Damot woyide, and 4 to Sodo Zuria.

¹⁶ The reportedly sceptical demanded to get a share of land and engage in the clearing of private plots because some are noted as not equally working hard like the others — delaying while arriving to work place, disappearing during work, and departing early from work at the end.

¹⁷ The Junior Clinical Nurse explained problem of transport while sending those sick patients to the hospital.

they liked the rain of that particular night, they expressed their suffering due to the loose straw thatching of the temporary shelters, which was not capable of protecting them from the rain. The condition in the temporary shelters, especially at night, is pointed out awful due to terrible mosquito bites¹⁸ and lack of proper blankets¹⁹ to cover the entire body. They also complained for lack of clothing during the day, especially they stressed the need for overalls to wear during the heavy field clearing activities. Additionally, they requested for low-cost shoes that can protect their feet from the frequent injuries while clearing forest and bush. A delay in the timely provision of oxen and goats as promised by local authorities is also among their key complaints.

Resettlers stated a shortage of relief food supplies and complained about the mono-dietary habit (only maize and wheat flour as opposed to their predominant root crop and livestock product consumption background), which is further aggravated by lack of proper cooking knowledge²⁰ by the male resettlers. They also emphasized shortage of relief food items in comparison to the amount of energy they are spending on the daily heavy field clearing work. Meanwhile, a shortage of cooking and food serving utensils is also noted.

2.8.2 Case two: Moggiti-Qoyisa Resettlement21 in Looma Woreda, Dawuro Zone

The Moggiti-Qoyisa resettlement was convened in March 2002 in Looma Woreda of Dawuro Zone. The total population involved in the scheme is 1700 (222 heads HHs, family members being 1478). It is an inter-kebele relocation with an average distance between the source and receiving kebeles estimated to be 20 km. The source Boqi-Gereera Kebele is located at the gorge in the Omo Valley at an altitude of 700 masl, which is stated as being infested with malaria and trypanosomiasis. On the other hand, the Maldiitti Kebele at the receiving end is located at an altitude of 1700 masl on the plateau, which is quite conducive for production of multiple products. There exists only one kebele between the source and destination kebeles. There is significant climatic difference between the two locations. The source kebele is one of the most hard hit by successive droughts since 1991, which has caused chronic food insecurity. It is reported that the residents voluntarily requested to move them out of the valley and resettle in the neighbouring mid-altitude areas. Hence, the present Moggiti-Qoyisa part of the former Maldiitti kebele is identified as a convenient site by the local authorities. Before actual relocation was made, expert socio-economic assessments were reportedly conducted.

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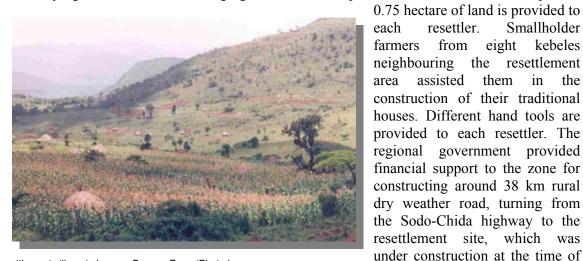
²¹ UN-OCHA-EUE mission visited and observed the resettlement site on May 25, 2003.

¹⁸ Resettlers requested for provision of mosquito nets for protection from mosquito bites and malaria.

¹⁹ Except few, most resettlers are given smaller blankets, which are not enough to cover the whole body of a person in the night, which exposes them to mosquito bites among others.

The male resettlers have traditionally relied on their wives and have no knowledge of cooking. So, it is noted that they either put more or less water, pepper, and salt while cooking or find it hard to consume.

At this stage of relocation, the resettlers have been moved to the area walking on foot carrying their household belongings. A homestead plot of 0.25 hectare and field plot of



Moggiti-Qoyisa resettlement village in Looma, Dawuro Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

0.75 hectare of land is provided to each resettler. Smallholder farmers from eight kebeles neighbouring the resettlement assisted them construction of their traditional houses. Different hand tools are provided to each resettler. The regional government provided financial support to the zone for constructing around 38 km rural dry weather road, turning from the Sodo-Chida highway to the resettlement site, which was

the field visit. The resettlement site has been promoted to an independent kebele status with its

own kebele council.

Since the resettlers have spent much of their time building their houses, the results of the 2002/2003 main season harvest was reported to be almost non-existent. Their problem has not been solved yet. Due to the severity of food shortage, the zone borrowed 20,000 Eth. Birr from the Dawuro Development Association (local NGO) and allocated to use in a food-for-work scheme for a period from August to December. Once again, the zone allocated an additional 6,000 Eth. Birr. Recently, they received a one-time relief support through the DPPC.

Even though the resettlers have not yet recovered from their earlier food insecurity thev have state, positive impression towards the new site. They referred to the successive food insecurity as a basic reason that forced them to resettle. They pointed out that food shortage is prevailing. still Meanwhile, the new location lacks a number of basic social service



Resettlers of Mogiti-Qoyisa village in Looma, Dawuro Zone (Photo by Wolde-Selassie Abbute, OCHA-EUE, May 2003)

facilities such as a clinic, school, grain mill, and potable water. In addition, the land allocated for field plots is considered very small. They noted demarcation problems of the borders of the new kebele. Followers of protestant faith stated a lack of a properly demarcated burial site for their followers.

Resettlers expressed their general impression of their present state: 'although our relocation is forced by hunger, it is still lingering here'. Nevertheless, their backyard plots are observed to be intensively cultivated with green plants of maize, yam, pumpkin, cassava, and taro. The relations between hosts and resettlers are noted to be friendly and there are significant socio-cultural and livelihood strategy similarities, which facilitate their interaction in multiple contexts. Since they are all fully relief food dependent at the moment, the success of the scheme will be assessed in the future, though success is more likely due to similar context of the resettlers, their hosts, and short distance of the move.

3 Conclusion and Recommendation

The resettlement program in SNNPR has been initiated as one of the viable and key options to mitigate food insecurity. However, if implemented on a massive scale without proper planning and without allocating necessary resources adequately, resettlement could have multiple negative impacts on resettlers, hosts, host-resettler relations, and the ecology.

It would be beneficial if the intervention would leave some space for individual adaptation depending on specific circumstances in the various resettlement areas. So, its plans and operations should not be uniform for all zones and special woredas. It should rather be implemented through bottom-up participatory approach, leaving enough space for more decentralized program implementations. A clearly mandated institution delegated with the express executive responsibilities for the operation has to be put in place. At different levels from the Regional Administration to the kebeles, "Who should do what" need be clearly delineated. The use of the term "voluntary" has to be contextually defined because most resettlers are willing to opt for the planned resettlement program induced by chronic food insecurity based on recurrent drought and hunger. Excessive urge for resettlement at a time of major humanitarian crisis could constrain its intended goals because many will be forced to join out of their hopeless livelihood situation without taking rational decisions.

Therefore, in order to minimize the inherently complex human and environmental impacts of resettlement and achieve food security as intended, the following is recommended.

- Resettlement as a development intervention to fight food insecurity should be implemented together with other options. It would greatly help if the planning could be based on multi-disciplinary studies involving all stakeholders both in sending and receiving areas.
- Resettlement should be planned and implemented as a process-oriented, open-ended, and iterative program enabling flexible adaptation based on achieved successes and encountered constraints. The inevitable inherent complexities of resettlement should be thoroughly and professionally analysed.
- Implementing large-scale resettlement programs with a uniform approach should be avoided. Success is more likely to happen if the approach leaves space for individual

and local adaptation of resettlement activities taking into account special circumstances (better slow and steady approach).

- Host-resettler relations should be delicately managed so as to prevent the eruption of
 possible tensions and conflicts based on socio-cultural differences or different
 livelihood strategies as well as on pressure and competition over scarce resources.
 There should be closer communication and relations between the sending and receiving
 areas before, during, and after the transfer of resettlers that would facilitate the
 familiarization and adaptation of the two communities that will have to coexist in the
 same area.
- Provide infrastructure and social services that has been promised and therefore are expected both by the hosts and resettlers alongside or following the arrival of the newcomers.
- Undertake strong ecological conservation measures such as reforestation, the introduction of agro-forestry technologies and activities including planting fruit trees, medicinal plants, shade trees and windbreaks alongside the resettlement program.

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UN OCHA-EUE PO Box 60252 Addis Ababa Ethiopia Web Sites: Tel.: (251) (1) 51-37-25 Fax: (251) (1) 51-12-92 E-mail: un-eue@un.org

www.uneue.org (new)

www.telecom.net.et/~undp-eue/

www.sas.upenn.edu/African Studies/eue web/eue mnu.htm (archive)

4 Annex

Table: Categories and current status of resettlement in SNNPR

No.	Zones & Special Woredas	Category			Current Status (Preparation)	Remarks
		Sending	Receiving	Intra-Zone/ Sp. Woreda	Survey Survey (Freputation)	
1	Sidama Zone	✓	-	-		As of May 14, 2003
2	Wolaita Zone	✓	-	√	40,000 HHs selected to resettle outside the	As of May 15,2003
3	Kambaata & Tambaaro Zone	✓	-	-		As of May 16, 2003
4	Alaba Sp. Woreda	-	-	√	resettlers from densely populated six Kebeles to sparsely populated Kebeles (figure and location not yet identified).	As of May 16, 2003
5	Hadiyya Zone	✓		✓		As of May 16, 2003
6	Silti Zone	-	-	✓		As of May 17, 2003
7	Gurage Zone	-	-	✓		As of May 18, 2003
8	Yem Sp. Woreda	-	-	✓		As of May 18, 2003
9	Kefa Zone	-	√	√		As of May 19, 2003
10	Shekka Zone	-	✓	✓		As of May 21, 2003
11	Bench- Maaji Zone	_	√	√	Preparing to receive up to 29,000 HHs;	As of May 23, 2003
12	Konta Sp. Woreda		√	✓		As of May 24, 2003
13	Dawuro Zone		✓	√	pop. 1700) selected from a lowland Kebele	As of May 25-26, 2003
14	Basketo Sp. Woreda		✓	√	Preparing to receive up to 2,000 HHs;	As of May 28, 2003

²² The number of resettled population increased to 240 HHs as reported by the resettlement Kebele representatives during the field assessment.

15	Gamu Gofa Zone			√	Preparing to resettle up to 4,000 HHs within the zone (out of the 13 woredas, 2 are only senders, 5 are senders meanwhile resettling within woreda, and 6 are only receivers from other woredas). As of May 29, 2003
16	Derashe Sp. Woreda	>			Preparing to send up to 5,000 HHs in three years (out of whom 1000 HHs will be sent in the first year) As of May 29, 2003
17	Konso Sp. Woreda	\		√	 Preparing to send up to 10,000 HHs in three years (out of whom 3200 HHs²³ will be sent in the first year); 200 HHs selected for intra-Kebele resettlement in a planned irrigation site (the transfer moves the resettlers around 45 km from their present village).
18	SouthOmo Zone		✓	✓	 Preparing to receive up to 20,000 HHs; 15,000 HHs planned for intra-zone resettlement. As of May 30, 2003
19	Gedeo Zone	✓			4041 HHs are selected to resettle outside the zone so far and planned to increase the figure (for instance, Wonago Woreda alone reportedly planned to recruit 23,628 HHs). As of June 01, 2003
20	Amaro Sp. Woreda			✓	• Preparing to resettle up to 1792 HHs within the woreda. As of June 02, 2003
21	Burji Sp. Woreda			√	Preparing to resettle up to 500 HHs within the woreda. As of June 02, 2003

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²³ Resettlers from Konso Special Woreda prefer to resettle in the nearby South Omo Zone. Meanwhile, the hosts in the latter welcome resettlers from Konso because they are known hard workers and intensive cultivators known for their famous tradition of terracing. Team of experts selected from woreda and zonal offices in the stated sending and receiving areas have started joint socio-economic assessments in the selected resettlement sites.

Acronyms/Abbreviations

DPPO Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Office

FSNDPCO Food Security and Nomads Development Program

Coordination Office

HHs Households

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

RDCB Rural Development Coordination Bureau

SNNPR Southern, Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region

UN-OCHA-EUE United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs,

Emergencies Unit for Ethiopia