

Challenges and Survival Strategies of People Dislocated due to Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory: The Case of Bambajihua Relocation Site, Benishangul Gumuz Region

Seblewongiel Aynalem (PhD)^a & Asfaw Muket^b

Abstract

Development-induced dislocation could be an opportunity or a challenge for the dislocated people as well as the host community. This study was conducted to examine the challenges and survival strategies of people dislocated due to Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory (TBISF) project at Bambajihua relocation site, in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State (BGRS). TBISF project has led to the relocation of more than 300 people in Bambajihua site only since 2004 E.C. This study employed qualitative research method and a case study design. In-depth interviews with purposively selected eight dislocated individuals, two focus group discussions, and four key informant interviews with experts were conducted. The data was thematically analyzed. The findings showed that the dislocation process was highly chaotic. The dislocated people were forced to leave their residence in short notice and with no house constructed in the new site. People were forced to reside in trees till they build their shelter. Neither the government personnels nor the sugar factory project coordinators assisted the dislocated community in transporting their materials to the new settlement site. During their arrival in the new residence, the reception they got from the local administration and the host community was hardly welcoming. There were also inconsistencies and favoritism in settling compensations. Worsening the situation for the resettles, the host community was not willing to share its grazing land and water with them. . The only social service organizations available in the relocation site were a school, a health centre, and a police office. However, the institutions were not well equipped with professionals and other basic utilities. Even though the TBISF project promised to construct roads and to facilitate access to electricity in the new relocation site, it has been five years and the promises remain unfulfilled. The dislocated people also complained about lack of response to their demand for a pace of worship. There is security problem in Bambajihua. Properties are stolen and conflicts are common between the host and dislocated communities. The survival strategies of dislocated people included renting farmland and grazing land from the host community, digging underground well for drinking water, tolerating differences and using traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, and renting of privately owned houses for spiritual purpose. The study implies the dislocated people should get proper attention from Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory project coordinators and humanitarian service providers. Large scale studies need to be conducted to assess the impact of development-induced dislocation upon the resettles and the host communities in rural settings.

Key words: Dislocated people, Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory project, Bambajihua

^a Lecturer at Social work Program, Bahir Dar University, Email: Seblewongiel@gmail.com

^b (Master of Social Work), Email: asfawmuket@gmail.com

Background

Displacement is described as the dislocation of people from their native place and region. According to Agba, Akpanudoedehe, and Ushie (2010), relocation can be a voluntary or an involuntary act upon people from their place to a new settlement sites. Development-induced displacement (DID) is forcing of communities and individuals out of their homes, often also their homelands, for the purposes of economic development. Across the world approximately 10 to 15 million people are displaced each year due to development related mega projects (Bogumil, 2013).

Development induced displacement was started in Ethiopia during the Imperial regime around the 1960s and 1970s (Pankrust and Piguet, 2004), and has been historically associated with development projects, political tragedy, or accomplishment of food security (Terefe, 2012). However, the recent displacement patterns are different from the previous concerns such as resettlement, refugees, returnees and demobilization. Currently, huge domestic human displacements are taking place in Ethiopia for various reasons including dam constructions for irrigation and hydropower production; urban renewal projects referred as provision of better housing; large scale agriculture investment projects; and conservation of wildlife via national parks (Eguavoen and Weyni, 2011; Irit & Woyni, 2011; Mesay & Bekure, 2011).

Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory project (TBISF) is one of the development projects in Ethiopia. The project is found in Amhara region, 576KM away from Addis Ababa and 200KM away from Bahir Dar. The project covers 75,000 hectares of land between the Amhara and Benishangul Gumuz regional states and a huge portion of the project is situated in Amhara region, Jawi *Woreda*. The project which includes installing three factories, aims to have the capacity to produce 242,000 tons per annum when completed (www.etsugar.gov.et retrieved on 7/20/2016). The project caused the dislocation of people from both Amhara and Benshangul Gumuz regions. More than 300 households are moved into one relocation site, Bambajihua¹ of Dangur *woreda*², in Benishangul Gumuz region (Dangure Woreda Land Administration Office 2015/16 annual report). The resettlement process was started in 2011/2 and had been implemented in two phases. More than 280 households were resettled in the first cycle and about 40 households in the second cycle.

The government of Ethiopia has a policy framework for development-induced dislocation. The objectives of the policy framework are targeted at; improving social services, creating economic opportunity, and improving environmental protection on the relocation sites (Draft Resettlement Policy Framework, 2016). Though the policy framework guaranteed these services for the host and dislocated community, there are challenges as to its practicality at implementation stage. Thus, in the process of dislocating people for development purpose, their wellbeing is usually put at risk. During replacement, or adaptation process, resettled people may face physical, psychological, and socio-economic risks (Agba et al., 2010; Vilayvanh, 2012). According to Vilayvanh (2012), dislocated people may encounter hardship since they lose their income sources, social associations, community linkages, and previous networks. Hence, this study examined the challenges and survival strategies of development-induced dislocated people due to TBISF project in Benishangul Gumuz Regional state.

¹Bambajihua –the place where TBISF dislocated people are settled and the study area

² Woreda –an administrative structure greater than kebele and less than zone

Problem Statement

Dislocation of communities is practiced everywhere in the world. Such dislocation could be attributed to variety of reasons, development being one of them. As Ethiopia commits to fighting the deep rooted poverty and endeavors for growth, many development projects are underway. Given the broad goals of development projects and initiatives, various sites could be needed for the construction of dams or plantation of factories. Thus, the displacement of the people could be justifiable in light of the country's struggle to reduce the long lasting poverty. Communities would then be forced to leave their original settlement and re-settle in different new sites. However, the life of the displaced people who are subject to relocation deserves close attention from researchers and practitioners (Mesay and Bekure, 2011).

Regardless of the good intentions of dislocation of communities for development, the new settlement sites may pose challenges for the survival of the relocated people. Studies have been conducted on the challenges, opportunities and survival strategies of development-induced dislocated people in Ethiopia (Endeshaw, 2016; Feyera, 2005; Gebre, 2008; Getu and Assefa, 2015; Habtamu, 2011; Saba, 2016; Teketel, 2015).

Previous studies that are particularly done in Ethiopia are mostly conducted on urban development-induced dislocation. The nature of life and its challenges in urban areas such as Addis Ababa is quite different from that in rural areas. To date, little research has been conducted on the impact of development-induced dislocation outside of Addis (Terefe, 2012; Desalegn, Karriippa, and Puskur, 2010).

Thus, conducting a study on development-induced dislocation in rural parts of the country helps to capture the different experiences from resettles with diverse socio-demographic background. So far, the challenges and survival strategies of development-induced dislocation in rural areas are not well addressed. Particularly, no study has explored the challenges and survival strategies of dislocated people due to TBISF project, in Bambajihua relocation site. Thus, this study investigated the challenges and survival strategies of the dislocated community at Bambajihua relocation site in the Regional State of Benishangul Gumuz, Ethiopia.

Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study was to investigate the challenges and survival strategies of people dislocated due to Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory in Bambajihua relocation site. The following specific research questions guided this study.

- What are the challenges of people dislocated due to Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory into Bambajihua relocation site?
- How do Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory dislocated people adjust themselves and survive in the new relocation site?

Methodology

Study Area

This study was conducted in Benishangul Gumuz regional state, Metekel zone, Dangur Woreda, particularly at Bambajihua relocation site. The site is found in a very rustic area. The

resettlement site is 30 km, 52 km, and 410 km away from the center of the Woreda, the Zone, and, the Regional State of Benishangul Gumuz respectively (Dangur woreda communication affairs, 2016). Bambajihua relocation site has no transportation service, electricity, or water supply, and the area is characterized by a hot weather condition. Dislocated people of TBISF started relocating in Bambajihua site since 2011. Excluding other households who are relocated in other sites, 320 households were dislocated due to Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory project and relocated in Bambajihua relocation site (Dangur woreda communication affairs, 2016).



Figure 1. The view of Bambajihua relocation site from West to East direction



Picture 2: Tana Beles Sugar development project

Research Design

This study investigated the challenges and survival strategies of people dislocated due to development projects and are relocated in Bambajihua site. The study used a qualitative inquiry with a case study design. According to Linda et al. (2008) qualitative methods are often used to study in detail a particular event of what has happened or is happening. Qualitative study helped to investigate how people sense the challenges of dislocation on their daily lives in the new resettlement site and their survival strategies.

A case study is a detailed study of “a single person, event, community or group” (Linda et al., 2008, p. 143). Case study design was appropriate to capture the experiences of the resettled community who had moved from similar areas for the same purpose of building TBISF project, and resettled together in Bambajihua site. Therefore, the study employed case study for the in-depth investigation of the challenges and survival strategies of dislocated people.

Study Participants and Data Collection Tools

The individuals who participated in this study were drawn from the resettled community and from professionals working in the resettlement site. Accordingly, eight individuals from the dislocated people were purposively selected for in-depth interview. In-depth interview participants were identified based on the seriousness of their challenges and the strengths they have showed to survive in the new resettlement site. The researchers also used their judgment to select informants who are familiar with and can describe the existing problems of the relocated community. Moreover, four key informants from professionals (education, health, police department, and natural resource management office) took part in the study. Key informants were selected based on their work experience with the dislocated community. In total, twelve people participated in the in-depth and key informant interviews.

In addition, seventeen individuals from the dislocated community participated in focus group discussions. Two focus group discussions were arranged; the first group included 9 individuals who were dislocated in the first round (in 2011), and the second group included 8 individuals dislocated in the second phase (in 2015). The challenges of dislocation from the beginning to the end of relocation, after relocation, and survival strategies of dislocated people in the relocation area are the issues that were central points of the focus group discussions. The focus group discussion helped to supplement information that would be missed during one to one interviews with individuals.

Data Collection Procedures

Based on the objective of the study, open-ended questions were prepared in Amharic and Awgni³ language both for the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The selected participants of the study were informed about the objective of the study prior to the actual interviews and focus group discussions. In addition, probing questions were asked in line with the interview guides. The information that was obtained from individual interviews was used as input for the focus group discussions. A gate keeper was recruited to facilitate and translate in-depth interviews and FGDs with Awgni language speakers.

Data Analysis

Before the data was analyzed, the researchers transcribed all the information recorded from the in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews. Interviews and focus group discussions were sorted for conceptualizing, coding, and categorizing the data. In constructing meaning, the researchers made an intentional effort to analyze the data in its context rather than relying solely on a word by word interpretation, . .

First, the researchers familiarized themselves with the data and generated initial codes. Then they read throughout each transcript to immerse themselves in the data and reviewed the themes. Finally, the themes were defined and the report produced. The data gathered in each instrument (interview and focus group discussion) were concurrently analyzed and the results concluded.

³ Awgni –the mother tongue of most of dislocated people and the host community

Trustworthiness

To maintain the credibility of the research, data information collected from interviews and focus group discussions were triangulated. In addition, thick -rich -descriptions were provided by presenting the participants' voices under each theme. One of the researchers was residents of the study area and was familiar with the dislocated community which enhanced the likelihood of obtaining credible research data. The researchers also attempted to rephrase and ask questions in a slightly different way, while still maintaining the central idea, to check the similarity of responses. This resulted in the congruence of the data collected in both ways.

Ethical Considerations

The study participants were informed about the purpose of the study prior the start of the data collection. Autonomy of informants was maintained by not interrupting when the interviewees and focus group discussion participants express their ideas. The researchers got an oral consent from participants about their willingness to participate in this study. Caution was taken during the data analysis phase not to reveal the identity of informants in anyway.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This study was conducted on the challenges and survival strategies of people who were dislocated from their places because of the establishment of Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory project in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State particularly at Bambajihua relocation site. A discussion of the challenges in the dislocation process and after the dislocation, and the survival strategies of dislocated people in the relocation area is presented below.

Profile of the Study Participants

The study participants were between 28-71 age ranges. The participants were leading agricultural and semi-pastoral way of life. Study participants were mainly displaced from Kuancha, Legas, Jigra Wuha, and Ashenkora villages. These villages are ten to twenty kilometers far from the relocation site (Bambajihua). These communities are dislocated due to Tana Beles Integrated Sugar Factory project because the place was needed for planting sugar cane. (*See Appendix for study participants' profile*).

Challenges during the Dislocation Process

When people are dislocated because of development projects, intensive preparations are needed to minimize the risks. The Draft Resettlement Policy Framework (2016) states that people who may be affected by a development project should participate beginning from the first stages of the preparation of the dislocation plan. Against the policy framework, the dislocation process in the TBISF project was full of perplexity from the very start. The participants of this study confirmed that they were not informed about the plan, rather they were only told to leave the place.

Haphazard and forceful displacement: Informants shared that they were not given sufficient time to prepare for the move to the new relocation site. The police force and the sugar factory workers took forceful measures (warning and beating) to evict the dislocated community from their original place within short period of time. As revealed by FGD participants "the only focus of government officials was clearing people who were in the place reserved for the

factory.” An informant recounted “A man has fallen down from the roof of his house and broke his leg as he was forced by the police to collapse his house.” Another participant expressed that “When we were forced to dislocate into Bambajihua, one of my neighbors had to carry a sack of difdif⁴ which was prepared for the festivity of Easter all the way from there.”

Further, the government officials and the sugar factory coordinators were expected to support dislocated people by providing transportation services. However, as the participants confirmed, they were not assisted in transporting their materials to the new settlement site. One of the informants stated during the interview that *“No one helped me to transport my family or household facilities. I put my children on the back of a donkey to travel here.”* To cope with lack of transport, dislocated people have used cattle to travel their families. Youngsters and adults carried children, pregnant women, and the elderly on their back.

Dislocated communities were promised to be given time for constructing their houses in the new location. Nevertheless, within short time the government officials compelled the community to leave the area before the dislocated communities could construct the houses in the new site. As a result, they had *“to shelter in trees”* until they finish building their own houses. Further, in constructing these houses, the dislocated people received very little support from the host community. Only those who have blood relationship with the host community gained labor support.

The result of the current study contradicts the experiences of urban-based dislocates since the relocated people in Bambajihua site were forced to shelter under trees till they construct their own shelter. A study by Getu and Assefa (2015) at Bahir Dar city found that the people of “Kotatina”⁵ stayed in a rented house in the dislocation process until they construct their own house. Another study conducted by Habtamu (2011) in Arat Killo area of Addis Ababa city found that people were placed in a temporary shelter until they construct their own house. A relatively, better preparation was found from a study by Tesfa (2014) who observed that dislocated people in Addis Ababa were given one bed room for households during the dislocation period. This shows that unequal attention is given for urban-based and rural-based development-induced dislocates. This is against to the government resettlement policy for development induced projects (The Draft Resettlement Policy Framework, 2016).

Lack of Compensation for Lost Asset

According to this study, while some dislocated people were given compensation though the amount was much less than the lost wealth, there were others who were not compensated at all. According to key informants, people were dislocated in two phases. In the first phase, people who were very close to the sugar factory were dislocated in 2011. These people were paid compensation (about 12, 300 ETB) by the TISF project coordinators, though the compensation was not satisfactory. The dislocated people complained that the restitution could not substitute what they lost (farm land, fruit plants, household facilities, and animals) in their original place of residence. An interviewee who was dislocated from Jigra Wuha village said, *“I had many mango trees out of which I was getting enough income. When I*

⁴ Difdif – a home-prepared brewed mix (of buckthorn/hop and cereal malt) after which is diluted with water to make the local drinking alcohol called *ale/tela*

⁵ “Kotatina” – a place where a study was conducted by Getu and Assefa (2015) and found in Bahir Dar city

came here, all of my mango trees remained there and the compensation I got for it could not come close." The resettlement policy framework however, stipulates that people who are affected by the dislocation should be sufficiently paid and the compensation should reestablish the past earnings of the dislocated people (Draft Resettlement Policy Framework, 2016).

Some interviewees reported they used the compensation money for renting a farmland and for building houses. *"The payment I got from the compensation was not even enough to construct a house I had to sell my cattle"*, said G.A. Others wasted the money they got in drinking alcohols. An informant said, *"If I was in a town, I would open a shop, or I might buy a house with the compensation money. But here I am in a village, and I have finished the compensation money by drinking alcohol"*. Even if some informants had interest to engage in small business activities, they complained about either their lack of business management skill or the insufficiency of the compensation money to start business.

According to ILO (2008) the economic hardship in the rural life, lack of employment opportunities and limited future vision of working to way out from poverty are all the major problems faced by dislocated rural farmers. They are forced to change their livelihood strategy which will be new for them and difficult to adapt. Hence, they will be obliged to migrate for searching job in urban areas.

The second round dislocation was held in 2015. These people have got neither compensation for their lost wealth nor farmland yet. It was said the people had no fixed assets which was registered by the government officials in their original place. However, the study participants disagreed saying *"we have been residents of the area for long; we had houses, farms, and cattle there"*. Some interviewees and focus group discussants linked the reason for denying them compensation with *"ethnic-based discrimination."* An informant stated that *"those dislocates who belong to the Awi community have better chance to get compensation than the Amhara because the Kebele administrator had similar background with the former."* Angered with this, some dislocated individuals quarreled with the government officials, and to make matters worse they beheaded the Kebele administrator's donkey. This shows some dislocated people strongly believed there was unequal treatment among dislocates. According to Siciliano (2012) a development-induced project that caused displacement of farmers with insufficient compensation for the lost farmlands is a factor for involuntary migration and for socio-economic inequalities.

Challenges in the New Relocation Site

Lack of Basic Needs

Limited Access to Water: Lack of water has been found in the study as one of the challenges faced by the dislocated people in Bambajihua site. The participants of the study confirmed that there were only five small hand pumps that were constructed for both the dislocated and the host community. However, two of the hand pumps are currently dysfunctional and the other three can give little water per day. There is no river near to the relocation area which worsens the situation. An interviewee said that *"the TBISF project coordinators and government officials cajoled us by saying they would construct enough water pipes not only for people but also water vats for animals. Nothing has been done as you can see now."*

The dislocated people tried to use small springs and underground well as an alternative water source. A.F said; *"I use an underground well since there is no river or water pump for the community in this area."* However, the springs usually dried during the winter season and cannot fulfill the water demand of the people. People are expected to wait for long lines and spent the night outside to fetch water. *"If you see the spring in the mid night, you can get many people who are keeping turn to get water"*, assured focus group discussants. A key informant from the natural resources management office confirmed that *"people are disputing with their neighbors while they are trying to fetch water from the small springs."* Before the dislocated people came to Bambajihua, the spring water was enough for the host community. When the number of residents increased due to the relocation, people could not access enough water. This became a cause for conflict between the host and dislocated community

Shortage of Farm Land: The government officials had promised to give a farm land to the dislocated people, which can equally substitute, what they had in the previous place of residence. According to informants, the dislocated people had ten to thirteen hectares of farmland in their previous place of residence. However, as the study informants shared, three hector of farm land was given for the first round dislocated people though the land is infertile and not enough to secure their food demand. However, the people dislocated in the second phase have received neither a farmland nor compensation. A key informant, a natural resource management professional, stated that; *"Three hectares farmland could not be enough to insure food security for one household which has many family members. The three hectares of farmland is also plundered by the host community forcefully."* This directly caused for economic deprivation of dislocated people. Dislocated people are also exposed to psychological problems due to lack of farm land. One of the dislocated study participants replied, *"I am worried about what I will feed my children since I have no farmland to crop"*. This clearly indicates that the dislocated people are encountering stress due to lack food insecurity.

An other key informant confirmed that the host communities have dominated vast farmland. While dislocated people have little or even no farmland. The existing farmland owned by the host community could be sufficient for both the relocated and host community if it would be distributed fairly. If there would be fair distribution of farmland, dislocated people may not be prone to food insecurity.

Shortage of Grazing Land: Most of the dislocated people were also semi-pastoralists and had money cattle. They had a vast grazing land for their cattle in their original place which they now lost. Bambajihua is not suitable to pastoral activities since there is no sufficient grazing land and water source for animals. As a result, they lost many cattle due to death and as they began selling. *"We have to go to distant places with our cattle to get water and free land for grazing"* said one informant. A participant in the FGD said: *"our cattle cannot feed freely in this area since host communities disagree to share grazing lands with us."* One informant mentioned that he had possessed many cattle when he was dislocated in Bambajihua. He added that *"I lost eleven cattle and I have few cattle remaining. Now I have few cattle and even I am worried I might lose these cattle with short period due to shortage of grazing land and access for drinking water."* Other study participants also confirmed that they are vending their cattle because of shortage of water and grazing land in the area. G.L, an informant shared that *"I sold half of my cattle because of shortage of grazing land in this area"*.

Adaptation problem: The dislocated people are facing difficulties of adaptation in the relocation site. Shortage of farmland, shortage of grazing land, lack of water, in acceptance by the host society, conflict with the host, security problem, and theft are the main causes for un-adaptation in Bambajihua. G.L, one of the participants said, *“If it would be possible to return back to my original place of residence, I would go back there.”* The study participants were also concerned about a rumor that the sugar factory may re-dislocate them to other area. According to Terminski (2012) displacement due to development project has profound socioeconomic and cultural disruption for those evicted. It dismantles existing modes of production, disrupts social networks, causes the impoverishment of many of those uprooted, threatens their cultural identity, and increases the risks of epidemics and health problems.

Unfulfilled promises of Tana Beles Sugar Factory project

The government of Ethiopia contends that resettlement is being undertaken to ensure more efficient delivery of services to rural populations. But failure to provide promised infrastructure was a major failing of Ethiopia’s past resettlement and villagization efforts and remains so today. Tana Belese sugar factory project had promised to build roads, access for electricity, and social service providing institutions in the new resettlement areas.

Road construction: There is a great problem of transportation access in Bambajihua relocation site, which restricted the movement of dislocated people to nearby districts and towns. People are expected to walk to town. FGD participants said that they go to Pawi General Hospital and Jawi Health Center nearly 25-30 kilometers, which takes five-eight hours traveling on foot. Elderly people, pregnant women, and children who cannot travel long distance most suffer from the problem. As informants revealed the sugar factory coordinators had promised to construct road from Bambajihua to the center of the Woreda. However, five years had passed with no road construction. An informant of the study spoke bitterly:

We were living a short distance from the main road and had easy access to transportation service. We were hoping that the sugar factory may construct road for us, but nothing has happened. We, older people, are left with few years. However, we are worrying about the fate of our new generation since they are leading lives that are more worse than we did.

Dislocated people especially women, children, patients, and elderly people are the most vulnerable parts of the society. When they become ill, they are expected to travel long distance, which is causing them other health related problems.

A study conducted by Getu and Assefa (2015), in Bahir Dar, revealed that dislocated people are living in the periphery of the city and they are exposed to problem of transportation to perform daily activities and to get health service. Nevertheless, if dislocates of Kotatina cannot access and obligated travel on foot, it may take only half an hour, which has incomparable gap between Bambajihua dislocates who are expected to travel five-to-eight hours because there is no access to road in Bambajihua dislocation site.

Access to Electricity: The study participants stated that both the local government and the sugar factory coordinators had promised to supply electricity for the dislocated communities in the relocation place. The host community was also hopeful to get electricity when the sugar factory relocated people in Bambajihua. An interviewee supported that *“the sugar factory coordinators promised that there would be electricity 24 hour a day and seven days a week, but they could not keep their promise.”* A.F, an interview participant, wondered; “Access to

electricity was not a big deal for me since *I have been living without it for long. However, I am wondering why the project officials promised us if it was beyond their capacity?*"

A study participant stated that they always raised the fulfillment of infrastructure including electricity in Bambajihua relocation site whenever there is meeting with government officials, nevertheless, he confirmed, *"due to my persistence to raise the concerns of the community, the local government officials of the Woreda framed me as terrorist. Is asking for the fulfillment of infrastructure terrorism?"*

Lack of professionals: study participants appreciated the construction of the school, health post, police offices, and farmers training center in the relocation site. The problem is the buildings are not capacitated with skilled human resources and facilities. In-depth interview participants shared that *"the only social service organization which provides a better service for both the dislocated and host communities is the school. The other social service institutes are not well equipped with logistics."* Even the number of teachers is very few and disproportional to the number of students; more than hundred students are also crowded in each class.

The other social service institution in the relocation site is the health post. The health post is not well organized and equipped; it has limited human and medical resources. When mothers face serious illness during pregnancy and delivery, they had to be carried on the shoulder for five to seven hours travel to get better health service centers. One of the study participants stated; *"we carry pregnant women who are in the middle of labor while their blood is running on our shoulder, to get medical service in Jawi and Pawi."*

A woman expressed her filling: *"I am traveling to Jawi ⁶, travelling on foot for five to six hours, for a vaccine to my newly born child because the health workers in our place (Bambajihua) are not available regularly."* One of the interviewees (W.T) said, *"One day a man was bitten by a snake and we took him to the health post. However, there was no drug for curing the person and we had to take him to Pawi ⁷General Hospital."* This clearly shows the health service in Bambajihua is not well functional and people are exposed to travelling long distance to get better medical services. A health professional key informant confirmed that the available drugs in the health post store are not appropriate for most prevalent diseases of the area. The informant described the situation:

I have examined many individuals with different cases. However, there are very few types of drugs in the health post to prescribe. People are returned without getting a malarial drug since it was not available in our store. If a newborn gets suffocated in the mother's womb, we do not have a bulb spring to remove the fluid left in the infant's breathing system.

Lack of place for spiritual services: Dislocated people complained that they could not get place to build religious houses to perform their religious rituals. *"We requested for a place to build a mosque in 2013. Two years has passed without getting the place"*, said the focus

⁶ Jawi – the district where TBISF is planted and which covers most parts than other districts

⁷ Pawi – another district where TBISF covered its some part

group discussion participants. When religious rights are not valued, it causes other conflicts that may challenge the relocated people to live in the area.

In relation to infrastructural problems, the dislocated people look disgruntled and the study participants confirmed that they stopped asking officials for infrastructure since nobody listened to them. T.H, pointed out that *“When we ask for something, the government officials label us ‘problem creators or terrorists.’ We are also afraid the officials might sent us to jail if we persistently ask. So, we are keeping silent hoping God may do something for us”*.

Social Insecurity and Conflict with the Host Community

Robbery: There is security problem in Bambajihua. The problem is aggravated after the dislocation process. Though some of the study participants confirmed the problem existed before the dislocation, most of the study participants commonly shared the robbery activities emerged severely after people were relocated in Bambajihua. One of the key informants expressed *“robbery is becoming common and its difficult to identify suspects since the people of the host community and the dislocated community do not know each other well.”* W.T, the other interviewee, added *“before the dislocated people came to Bambajihua, stealing was not a serious concern but now it became a day to day phenomenon in Bambajihua”*. When someone’s cattle are stolen, the person who lost his cattle retaliates by taking the property of the robber or his relative’s. This creates other disputes between the two sides.

A key informant from the police department stated that most individuals who are accused of robbery act belonged to neither the host nor the dislocated community. The robberies usually come from neighboring Kebeles. Study participants believed that the problem is aggravated due to irregular placement of policemen in the area. A.F one of the interviewee confirmed, *“I lost two oxen after we were relocated here and I could not get them. If there were police officers positioned here, I may have gotten my oxen.”* The study participants confirmed that people in the relocation site always asked government officials to assign police officers in the area though there was no measure taken so far to position police men in Bambajihua. There is a police office without any police officer and they do not know the reason why the government is not assigning one.

Conflict between the host and dislocated community: Conflict is common between the host and dislocated communities. The disputes are mainly caused by issues related to access to farmland, water access, and robbery. FGD discussants complained that neighborhoods from the host community are not usually supporting the dislocated people. Focus group participants highlighted, *“We often disagreed with the host communities. Even the children of the host community are not interested to play with our children and hit them.”* This inhibits the newly relocated community to adapt to the place.

There is also an ethnic-based dispute in the Bambajihua relocation site. The study participants confirmed that a man was killed in the dislocation site when a conflict broke out between two sub-ethnic groups (Gagrisa⁸ Agaw and Kolegna⁹ Agaw). Other people (the relatives of the deceased and the killer) were also involved in the fight as a result. There were local militants

⁸ Gagrisa agaw –people who are the speaker of Awi language and who are living in highland areas

⁹ Kolegna agaw –people who are the speaker of Awi language and who are living in lowland areas

who tried to stop the murder by popping gun repeatedly for half an hour. This strengthens the study participants' call for the urgent assignnment of police officers in the area to minimize the increased disputes. As a result, the dislocated people are living under the constant fear of getting attack by the host communities.

Survival Strategies of Dislocated People

The second objective of this study aimed at investigating survival strategies of dislocated people in Bambajihua relocation site. The study identifiedd the following survival strategies of the dislocated people in the relocation site.

Renting farm land: lack of farmland is recognized as one challenge of dislocated people in Bambajihua relocation site. While some dislocates got three hectares of farmland, others are landless. As coping strategy landless dislocated people and those who got small size farmland are renting farm lands with high cost from the host community. N.A, an interviewee, confirmed that he rents farmland from the host communities every year to at least fulfill the basic food needs of his family:

I have been given only three hectares farmland, which cannot fulfill my food demand per year. However, I am using the money that I deposited to rent a farmland from land owners. Every year I spend more than 10,000ETB to rent a farmland.

Those people who were dislocated from Kuanch village have no farmland yet. Thus, they have tried to return back and do their farming in their original place. However, the government officials enforced them to leave the place they use as farmland. Related to this, an eye witness confirmed that she had seen federal policemen beating dislocated people to leave the farming area. She said that *“policemen were beating the dislocated people who were doing farming activities. I became angry and shivered when I looked a bitterly crying woman who was beaten by polices.”*

Searching for grazing land: access for grazing land was also another challenge in the relocation site. As a short term solution, dislocated people are trying to cope by using a land which the TBSIF has not yet planted sugar cane. Nevertheless, this is not reliable and the dislocated communities are always traveling long distances to access grazing lands unused by the host community.

Digging underground well: The participants mentioned that dislocated people use underground well water in the new site, and the underground well dries in every winter season. A.F said; *“I use an underground well since there is no river or water pump for the community in this area.”*

Animals as a means for travel: To cope with lack of transport, dislocated people have used cattle to travel long distances. When this is not possible, youngsters and adults carry children, pregnant women, and the elderly on their back, to health centers which are found at distant places. FGD participants said that they go to Pawi General Hospital and Jawi Health Center, nearly 25-30 kilometers, which traveling on foot could take between five and eight hours.

Solar power: The study participants stated that they use solar power to cope with the absence of electricity. Nevertheless, the purpose of solar power is mainly limited to giving light during night time and for mobile charging.

Renting Private House for Spiritual Activities: Unable to get place for building spiritual house, they are performing their religious activity in rented houses. T.H, responded; “*We are using an individuals’ house for praying and for other rituals*”. A key informant in the study stated that the host communities opposed as the *Woreda* government officials were trying to demarcate places for building religious houses. Due to this, the local government was unable to give a place for religious institutions in the relocation area.

Selling Charcoal as survival strategy: Due to the limitedness of survival strategy opportunities in rural areas, the economic challenges of people dislocated in rural area is severe than that of urban areas. Rural dislocated people do not have many economic opportunities to engage (Dejene, 2011). The only opportunity of economic survival strategy for dislocated people in rural area is agriculture and pastoral activity. However, dislocated people in the study area could not get farmland for farming activity and grazing land for cattle. As a result, they are using charcoal production as a means of survival for the time being though destruction of forest is becoming a threat for the future. The study investigated that there is destruction of forest in the dislocation area. One of the study participants W.T confirmed; “*The forest is becoming a bare land: there are illegal charcoal producers who are destroying the forest*”.



Figure 2. Charcoal production in Bambajihua relocation site

Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms: The study found that conflict between the dislocated and host community is a challenge. Key informants indicated that they are working together to minimize conflict by using traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. There are

local arbitrators who administer justice in the community (*Yhager Shimaglie*¹⁰, *Dem Adrakie*¹¹, and *Timir committee*¹²). For example, every resident of the resettlement site took an oath, according to the religion they followed, to end robbery. Yehager Shimaglie (traditional leaders), Dem Adrakie (blood feud resolvers), and Timir Committee (Community care coalitions) are mediating to solve disagreements between the communities.

Dem Adrakie elders (blood feud resolvers) focus on serious conflicts that principally involve murders and killings. These elders resolve cyclic retaliatory killings among families in the area. The community has a trend of avenging the killing of their relatives and the Dem Adrakie elders work to stop such harmful traditional practices. On the other hand, Timir Committees are organized from neighboring Kebeles to end theft in the area. The selected individuals of each Kebele have made vows to expose (if they see or hear) anyone who is believed to have been involved in robbery or theft. The committees pledged to apprehend and surrender any thief in their local area. One of the members of the Timir committee said, *“We exposed a man who stole twenty cattle in our locality. The cattle are stolen from Jawi woreda which is our neighboring district and we returned the cattle to the owner.”*

Securing traditional relationship with the host community: The study explored that inability to adapt in the dislocation site had been one of the challenges of the relocated community. Thus, in order to create relationship with the host community, the resettles relied on yet another traditional method. Having a breast father and being son of the breast (*Yetut Abat*¹³ and *Yetut Lij*¹⁴) is a tradition through which new comers forge relationship with the host community, and this helped the relocated community to adapt and minimize conflicts. A father of the breast (*Yetut Abat*) is similar to a God Father, and the father is expected to treat his *Yetut Lij* as his own child. According to the key informants, this method of creating relationship helped the dislocated and the host community to bond strong relationships. The dislocated people anticipate to use these traditions more vigorously as they try to form a relationship with the host community. To get an acceptance, the dislocates create these relationship with those people who are respected in the host community. The host community is forced to respect the resettled individuals, for it is not allowed to belittle the dignity of honored individuals who become “*Yetut Abat*” of the dislocated person.

Tolerance: As a means of survival, the dislocated community acknowledged the importance of and demonstrated tolerance. Dislocated community mentioned that they often prefer to keep silence or tolerate those individuals who disputethem. N.A, one of the study participants in the in-depth interview stated; *“I usually do not respond if someone comes and trys to quarrel with me. If I were to respond harshly, the consequence will be bad and my family may fall into danger.”*

¹⁰ Yhager Shimaglie – elders who are assigned by the community and work on arbitrating quarreled people

¹¹ Dem Adrakie – the most powerful and accepted selected individuals in the community who work to end murder issues by negotiating both sides (the murderer and murdered relatives) that have a murder conflicts

¹² Timir committee – a group of individuals who are elected by a neighboring kebeles to work cooperatively to end theft and related criminal activities

¹³ Yetut abat – a man who act as a real father for another man to create a relationship but have no blood relationship

¹⁴ Yetut lij – a man who create a fatherly relationship with another man to create a strong relationship and act as a real son but have no blood relationship

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The objective of this study was to investigate the challenges and survival strategies of people dislocated because of TBISF in Bambajihua relocation site. The study was conducted in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State, Metekel zone, Dangur Woreda particularly at Bambajihua relocation site. The data were collected through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The people were dislocated from their original place of residence because of TBISF from 2011 to 2015 from four different villages. The dislocation process was done forcefully according to the study participants.

The study investigated lack of farming land, grazing land, and drinking water for people and animals (especially worst in the dry season); lack of transportation, lack of compensation for the lost wealth, no access to electricity, inability to adapt the new area, economic challenge, security problem, a very limited access of health service,, robbery , conflict with the host community, and lack of legal permit for building spiritual institution are the major challenges in the relocation site. Security problem in the area is the other burning issue. The study observed dislocated and host communities frequently clash over resources. People especially, the dislocated communities are highly disquieted and concerned about the day-to-day conflicts that broke out in Bambajihua.

To confront with the above mentioned challenges, dislocated people use different survival strategies: renting farmland from land owners, using underground well, relying on the unused areas of the sugar factory for grazing, going to the nearby town for health service, using private houses for spiritual activities, establishing joint committee between neighboring *Kebeles*, and using traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and tolerance.

Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms are valued for negotiating disputes between people in the relocation area. *Timir* (joint) committee is established by community members to tackle theft and related activities. Similarly, *yehager shimaglie* (elderly people) is another traditional conflict resolution mechanism for solving routine conflicts. *Dem adrakies* are the most influential traditional conflict resolvers of the community (than *Timir* committee or *yehager shimaglie*) especially with conflicts that involve murder and other serious disagreements .

Implications of the Study

Implication for practitioners: The findings of this study imply that practitioners who are working at local Kebele administration, police department, health department, and social workers need to work in collaboration to help the dislocated community by providing appropriate services. The local government officials are expected to encourage and facilitate harmony between the host and dislocated communities.

Particularly, the Tana Beles integrated sugar factory is indebted to the dislocated community to keep its promises regarding compensations, road construction, and access to electricity. A development project has a responsibility to benefit the people/community who as a result have lost their resources and social services. Compensation and other legally protected rights of affected people should be respected as much as possible.

Implication for research: This study was conducted in a single relocation site. This may not represent other dislocation site challenges of development-induced dislocated people.

Infrastructure problems, survival strategies, compensation issues, the relationship of dislocated and host communities, and security problems may differ from one dislocation site to the other. Future research should include other dislocated communities in other relocation sites and look into the problems of dislocated people in-depth. In addition, researches are needed that examine the impact of development-induced dislocation on the host community. Furthermore, future researchers may focus on the challenges of development-induced dislocation on women and children in particular. Lack of infrastructure and security problems may have more challenges on women and children.

Implication for Local Policy Makers: The Ethiopian Draft Resettlement policy has stipulated what should be done for development-induced dislocated people. Even though the policy is designed clearly and guarantees compensation for dislocated people, the implementation of the policy is still a challenge. Clear directions and legal enforcements are required to address the concerns of the dislocated community. To this end, local adoption of the policy document depending up on the context might be a crucial step.

References

- Agba, A. M. Ogaboh, Akpanudoedehe, and J. J. Ushie, E. M. (2010). Socio-economic and cultural impacts of resettlement on Bakassi people of cross river state, Nigeria: *Studies in sociology of science Vol.1 No.2, 2010, pp. 50-62.*
- Ahmed, S. (2009). An exploration of resettlement and its impact on social services: The Case of the Maldives.
- Anjan, C. and Anup, D. (2009). *Dislocation and resettlement in development: From third world to the world of the third*, The MPG books group, Great Britain.
- Asrat Tadesse (2009). The dynamics of resettlement with reference to the Ethiopian experience: Kimmage DSC, *Development Studies Centre*, Kimmage Manor, Whitehall Road, Dublin 12, Ireland.
- Assefa, T. (2005). "Resettlement Impact on Environment and Host Communities," unpublished paper, December 19, 2005, Forum for Social Studies.
- Bartolome, L.J., de Wet, C., Mander, H., Nagraj, V.K. (2000). Displacement, Resettlement, Rehabilitation, Reparation, and Development, WCD Thematic Review I.3 prepared as an input to the World Commission on Dams, Cape Town: www.dams.org.
- Beles Sugar Development Project, available at <http://www.etsugar.gov.et>: retrieved on 7/20/2016.
- Bikila Ayele (2014). The Impacts of Development-Induced Displacement and Relocation on the Livelihoods of Households in Dukem Area; Addis Ababa University (unpublished).
- Bogumil, Terminski (2013). *Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: Theoretical Frameworks and Current Challenges*, Geneva.
- Brooke Macdonald, Michael Webber & Duan Yuefang (2008). Involuntary Resettlement as an Opportunity for Development: The Case of Urban Resettlers of the Three Gorges Project, China; *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Oxford University Press.
- Creswell, W. J. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed methods Approaches*, 3rd ed.
- Dangure Woreda Land Administration Office (2008 EC). Annual report.
- Dario Zanardi (2011). The Tana Beles Resettlement project in Ethiopia.
- Desalegn Rahmato (1989), Resettlement in Ethiopia: The Tragedy of Population Relocation in the 1980s.
- Dessalegn Molla Ketema, Ranjan S.Karrippai, and Ranjitha Puskur (2010). Women's Social Networks in Resettlement areas: the Case of Metema Resettlement Site, Ethiopia, *Africa's Social Development Review*.
- Eguavoen, Irit and Weyni Tesfai (2011). Rebuilding livelihoods after dam-induced relocation in Koga, Blue Nile basin, Ethiopia: ZEF Working Paper 83. Bonn.
- Feyera Abdissa (2005). Urban Expansion and The Livelihood of The Peri-Urban Agricultural Community: The Case of Addis Ababa (unpublished).
- Gebre Yntiso (2008), Urban Development and Displacement in Addis Ababa: The Impact of Resettlement Projects on Low-Income Households; *Eastern Africa Social Science*

- Research Review, Volume 24, Number 2, June 2008, pp. 53-77 (Article)*, Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa
- Gerum Taye Mulaw(2010). 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; *international institute of social studies*, The Hague, Netherlands
- Getu Ambaye and Assefa Abeliene (2015). Development-Induced Displacement and Its Impacts on the Livelihoods of Poor Urban Households in Bahir Dar, North Western Ethiopia; *AHMR, Vol.1 No3, September- December, 2015*
- Habtamu Atelaw (2011). The Livelihoods Of Displaced People In Addis Ababa: The Case Of People Relocated From Arat Kilo Area: Addis Ababa University (unpublished)
- Hathaway, T. (2008). What Cost Ethiopia's Dam Boom? A look inside the Expansion of Ethiopia's Energy Sector: International Rivers, people water, life
- Linda Kalof, Amy Dan, and Thomas Dietz (2008), *Essentials of Social Research*, Open University press, Bell and Bain Ltd, Glasgow
- Martyn, D .(2003). *The Good Research Guide for small-scale social research Projects*, second edition
- Mesay Mulugeta and Bekure Woldesemait (2011),The Impact of Resettlement Schemes onLand-Use/Land-Cover Changes in Ethiopia:A case Study from Nono ResettlementSites, Central Ethiopia: *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa (volume 13, No. 2, 2011 ISSN: 1520-5509)* Clarion University of Pennsylvania, Clarion, Pennsylvania
- Mesay Mulugeta Tefera (2009), Challenges and Opportunities of Voluntary Resettlement Schemes in Ethiopia: A Case from Jiru Gamachu Resettlement Village, Nonno District, Central Ethiopia: *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa (Volume 11, No.3, 2009)*, ISSN: 1520-5509, Clarion University of Pennsylvania, Clarion, Pennsylvania
- Michael M. Cernea (1990). Internal Refugee Flows and Development-Induced Population Displacement – *Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 3. No. 4*: Oxford University Press
- Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources (2016): Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project (DRDIP) In the Horn of Africa (P152822) Draft Resettlement Policy Framework (Rpf): Government Of Federal Republic Of Ethiopia
- Moti Jaleta, Mekonnen Yohannes, Adugna Tolera, Mitiku Haile, Ansha Yesufe, Kindeya Geberehiwot, Kelemework Tafere, Yemane Gegziabher, and Mekonnen Teferi (2011) Impact of Resettlement on the Livelihood, Food Security and Natural Resource Utilization in Ethiopia: (dray-lands coordination group) DCG Report No. 65
- Muruyama, J. (2003). *The Impacts of Resettlement on Livelihood and SocialRelationships among the Central Kalahari San*, African Study Monographs, 24(4): 223-245, December, 2003: Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University.
- Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, PRIO (Norway), FAFO (Norway) and the World Bank (2012). Assessing the impacts and costs of forced displacement
- Robert, M. (2008). *Relocation Failures in Sirilanka: a short history of internal displacement and resettlement* ,Zed Books Ltd, 7 Cynthia Street, London n1 9 jf, uk and Room 400,

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, ny 10010, USA.

- Robinson, W. C. (2003). Risks and Rights: The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement: The Brookings Institution-SAIS Project on Internal Displacement
- Saba Sintayehu (2016). Assessment of the Effects of Development Induced Displacement in Addis Ababa, Arada Sub City: The Case of Relocated Households of Basha Wolde Chilot No 1. Area, St. Mary's University (unpublished)
- Teketel Fekadu (2015). Urban Expansion And Its Effects On Peripheral Farming Communities: The Case Of Hosanna Town, Hadiyazone, Snnpr, Ethiopia; Haromaya University, Haromaya (unpublished)
- Terefe Zeleke (2012). Resettlement And Sustainable Food Security: A Comparative Study Of Inter-Zonal And Intra-Zonal Resettlement Schemes And Host Communities In Dawuro Zone, Southern Nations, Nationalities And Peoples Region, Ethiopia; *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa (Volume 14, No.2, 2012) ISSN: 1520-5509, Clarion University of Pennsylvania, Clarion, Pennsylvania*
- Tesfa, T. G. (2014). The Effect of Development Induced Displacement on Relocated Household: The case of Addis Ababa: *International Institute of social Studies*
- The Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia Ministry Of Industry (2015), Resettlement Action Plan; Kilinto Industrial Zone Competitiveness and Job Creation Project; Ministry of Industry, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
- Vilayvanh, P. (2012). From Resettlement to Sustainable Livelihood Development: The Potential of Resettlement and Livelihood Restoration Arrangement to Achieve Livelihood Sustainability; Massey University
- World Bank, (2010). Rising Global Interest in farmland: Can it yield sustainable and equitable benefit? New York, The World Bank

Appendices

Table 1: profile of study participants of in-depth interview

Code	Age	sex	Academic background	Years lived in the relocation area	Place where she/he come from	Source of Income
In-depth interview participants of the study who dislocated in the first phase						
A.F	52	M	None	4 years	Jigrawuha	Farming
W.T	54	M	Grade 9	4 years	Ashenkora	Farming
A.M	45	M	None	4 years	Legas	Farming
A.A	58	M	None	4 years	Ashenkora	Farming
In-depth interview participants of the study who dislocated in the first phase						
S.A	42	M	None	1	Kuancha	Farming
T.A	53	M	None	1	Kuancha	Farming
K.M	38	M	None	1	Kuancha	Farming
N.A	51	M	None	1	Kuancha	Farming
key informants who participated in the study						
T.A	29	M	Diploma	5	Teacher	Monthly salary
Z.A	28	M	Diploma	5	Natural resource professional	Monthly salary
D.G	28	M	Diploma	5	Health worker	Monthly salary

The table shows in-depth interview participants' sex, age, academic background, source of income, and the place/village where the study participants were dislocated.

Table 2: Focus group discussion participants

No.	Code	Age	Sex	Academic background	Years lived in the relocation site	Place where they come from	Income
Focus group discussion (one) participants with the first phase dislocated individuals							
1.	A.L	65	M	Illiterate	4 years	Legas	Farming
2.	D.H	43	M	Illiterate	4 years	Legas	Frming
3.	G.A	31	M	Illiterate	4 years	Ashenkora	Farming
4.	M.D	42	M	Illiterate	4 years	Jigrawuha	Farming
5.	Y.A	63	M	Illiterate	4 years	Kuancha	Farming
6.	K.D	41	M	Illiterate	4 years	Kuancha	Farming
7.	D.M	71	M	Illiterate	4 years	Ashenkora	Farming
8.	D.E	36	M	Illiterate	4 years	Jigrawuha	Farming
Focus group discussion (one) participants with the second phase dislocated individuals							
1.	G.A	39	M	Illiterate	1 year	Kuancha	Farming
2.	T.H	34	M	Grade 5	1 year	Kuancha	Farming
3.	G.L	51	M	Illiterate	1 year	Kuancha	Farming
4.	K.M	41	M	Illiterate	1 year	Kuancha	Farming
5.	G.K	43	F	Illiterate	1 year	Kuancha	Farming
6.	A.B	49	M	Illiterate	1 year	Kuancha	Farming
7.	W.D	37	M	Illiterate	1 year	Kuancha	Farming
8.	T. A	49	M	Illiterate	1 year	Kuancha	Farming
9.	K.K	51	M	Illiterate	1 year	Kuancha	Farming