

THE IMPACT OF URBANIZATION ON FARMERS: ANALYSIS FOR ETHIOPIA

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research is to assess the socio-economic impacts of urban expansion on the displaced farmers with particular reference to Bole and Akaki-kality sub-cities of Addis Ababa City Administration, Ethiopia. Problems associated with farmers' awareness, compensation, resettlement, socio-economic circumstances and the measures taken to address the problems are investigated. In assessing the impacts of the relocation, a sample of 165 displaced farmers were selected randomly from the two sub-cities. The assessment results show that meagre compensation, resettlement, and adjustments problems are major challenges encountered the farmers. Their income had diminished while coping costs risen. Lack of business skills to start new venture has also been a formidable challenge facing the farmers and their family members. Even though the government lately recognized the situation and taking measures to redress the challenges, there are still outstanding problems to be tackled. To mitigate the challenges, the city government has to revisit the approaches used to evict, relocate and rehabilitate the farmers. In this regard, transparency in the decisions for the displacement must be ensured and the decision on the amount of the compensation versus the expropriated land and properties must be fair. If dislocation is mandatory, the rehabilitation of the farmers and their family members must be properly planned and executed in a way that the farmers should be better off than worsening their livelihoods.

Keywords: Eviction, relocation, socio-economic impacts, compensation, urban expansion.

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1. INTRODUCTION

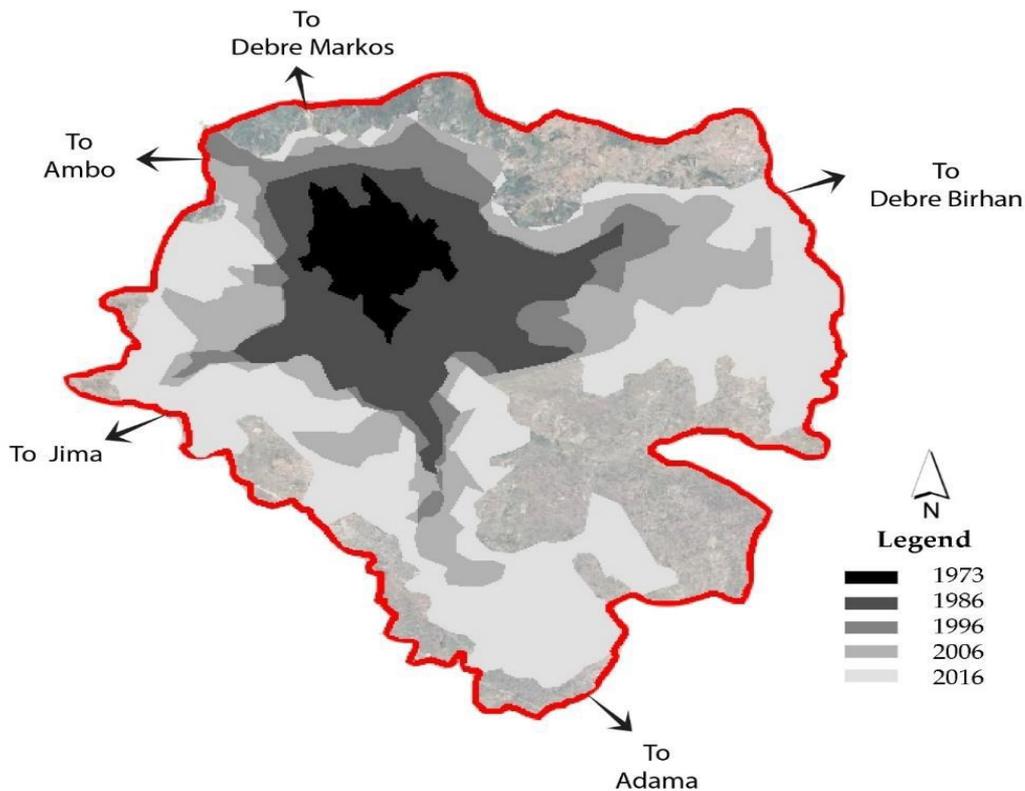
Urban expansion in many developing countries is taking place through the inclusion of nearby rural villages and is competing against the major productive asset (farmland) of the subsistence farm households in these villages (Mattingly, 2009). This form of urbanization affects the production and livelihood patterns of the farm households in those areas. In fact, some studies indicate that the poor are likely to become more vulnerable and marginalized as a result of urban expansion (Mattingly, 2009).

Similarly, the urbanization process of Addis Ababa and its horizontal expansion resulted in negative impacts. Even though urbanization brought some opportunities in the area, it also has posed several negative impacts by not only consuming farming lands but also disturbing the lives of the farmers through dislocation.

The expansion of the city took place in different forms. Development induced, uncontrolled urban growth and haphazard land developments are some of the crucial problems. However, much of the expansion and encroachment to the farmlands took place as the result of development-induced projects.

Many examples could be raised to illustrate the problem of Addis Ababa's horizontal expansion towards the surrounding areas. As shown by Abdissa and Degefa (2011), in the years between 1961 and 1984, Addis Ababa area extended by 400 hectares. From 1984 to 1994, it was about 30,814 hectares and in 2005 its total area stretched to 54,000 hectares (540,000 square kilo meters). The figure below shows the expansion of the city over the years since 1973.

Figure 1: Urban growth of Addis Ababa from 1973 to 2016

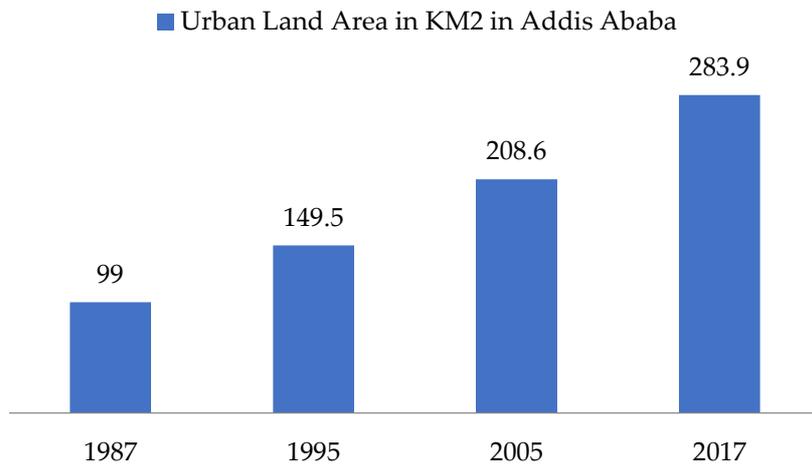


Source: Google earth, cited in Mengesha (2017, p.21)

This expansion has taken place with the cost of forest degradation, loss of agricultural land and worsening of the hinterland communities' livelihoods. In some cases, the transformed urban land was not managed properly and it contributed for the haphazard land development and several types of urban anomalies.

Over the last two decades, Addis Ababa City has been expanding exponentially as depicted

Figure 2: Trends of urban land areas increase in Addis Ababa



Source: Based on Terfa et al. (2019)

The dislocation of the farming community and the subsequent socio-economic problems facing the farmers are the major objectives that motivated the researches to undertake this research.

So far, only few researches were done and they were also old whose currency has diminished while the expansion of the city has been very dynamic and continued unabated. This requires an assessment of the existing social, economic and displacement procedures that dealt with people with a view to identify gaps and areas for improvement.

1.1. Problem statement

The research conducted by Abdissa (2005), that mainly focuses on urban expansion effect on the livelihood of the dislocated farming community indicated that rapid urbanization process in Addis Ababa towards the peripheral rural farmlands have displaced 4,390 agricultural communities estimated of 1232.96 hectares of farmland changed to urban use in 5 *kebeles* in three years' time (1997-1999).

The process of rapid urban expansion that causes loss of dwellings, assets and uprooting from an existing pattern of living is further impoverishing the neighborhoods. As to Tefera (2010), the peripheral farmers in fear of eviction from their lands for the prevailing rapid rate of urbanization that affect their production and productivity further will have long-term effect on supply of food to urban population

It is believed that displacement of people from their original residential areas in favor of development-induced projects has a significant impact on displaced adjacent communities.

In Addis Ababa, their impacts were not well investigated. The details of these impacts were not critically studied. Therefore, this research was conducted to address this gap.

The research also intended to fill the gaps in understanding the main effects of urban development or urban expansion on the livelihoods of the Peri-urban households surrounding the city.

1.2. The objectives of the research

The purpose of this study is to assess the socio-economic impacts of Addis Ababa's expansion to the farming community living in the area surrounding the city. As long as the researchers of this study observed, no similar research had been done in recent times. This was the key rationale for conducting the study. The researchers believed that the detailed nature of these impacts deserve study.

The research aims at fulfilling the following specific objectives.

1. To identify the magnitude of eviction/displacement of farmers and residents due to the horizontal expansion of Addis Ababa
2. To identify specific reasons for land expropriation from farmers due to urban expansion
3. To assess the socio-economic impacts of eviction/displacement on the former farmers
4. To identify the coping strategies of the displaced farmers
5. To assess the mechanisms adopted by the government to compensate and rehabilitate the displaced citizens
6. To indicate the way forward

1.3. Research questions

Based on the research gap identified the researchers raised the following research questions to guide the study.

1. What is the magnitude of eviction/displacement of farmers and residents due to expansion of Addis Ababa in the selected sub-cities?
2. What are the reasons for land expropriation of peri-urban farmers?
3. What are the socio-economic impacts of eviction/displacement on the former farmers?
4. What are the coping strategies of the displaced farmers?
5. What are the mechanisms adopted by the government to compensate and rehabilitate the displaced citizens?

1.4. Research methodology

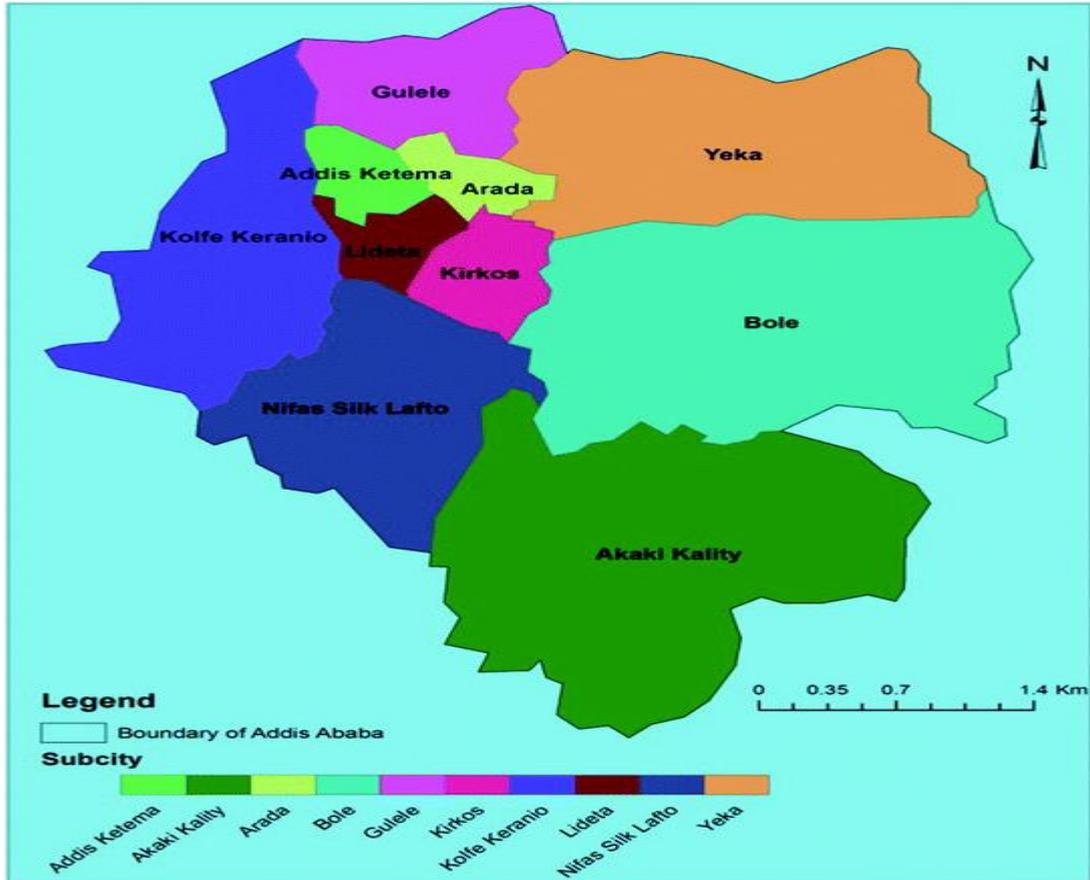
1.4.1. The study area

This study is conducted on relocated farmers from the vicinities of Addis Ababa, the capital city of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The city has been expanding faster since its establishment in 1886. It was originally located on very small place (33 km²). However, the horizontal stretch of the city in the last 133 years grew to total-built-up area of 540000 km². (ORAAMP, 2000a).

The early development of the city from 1886 to 1936 was commonly characterized by fragmented settlements. Following Italian occupation in 1937, the process of physical development of Addis Ababa was characterized by infill development and consolidation of the former fragmented settlements (ORAAMP, 2000b). The physical expansion of the built-up area of the city during the

period 1937 to 1975 was characterized by a compact type of development. From 1976 to 1985, the built-up area increased by 4788 hectares, thus it increased to the cumulative total to 10,838 hectares.

Figure 3: The map of Addis Ababa indicating the sub-cities



Source: <http://www.ilic.gov.et/index.php/en>

According to the initial information obtained from the farmers' rehabilitation project office, Bole and Akaki-kality sub-cities are the major expansion areas where the city expanded intensively and a high number of displacements of peri-urban farmers took place. Hence the choice of the study areas was based on judgmental decision as the two areas are in the expansion parts of the city.

1.4.2. Research design

To attain the objectives of the research, both qualitative and quantitative data were required. Hence a mixed research method was adopted to generate the data. The researchers used cross-sectional descriptive approach to assess the effects of the horizontal urban expansion on the peri-urban community.

To understand the effects of urban expansion on the surrounding pre-urban rural communities and the intervention made by the urban local government for rehabilitation made for farmers, a descriptive survey research design was employed.

1.4.3 Sampling frame and sample size

According to the initial information obtained from the project office, the two sub-cities are located in major expansion areas of the city.

After selecting the sub-cities purposively, the target population was identified. The target population is the evictees of the two sub localities. Following the determination of the target population random sampling technique was used to collect data from the households and then data collectors were selected to conduct data collection from the total of 165 households out of 3555 households from the two sub-cities.

Data collectors selected farm villages randomly and then they randomly contacted the farmers by skipping 5 households after each successful contacts.

1.4.4. Methods of data collection

The household survey was used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data on specific socio-economic attributes related to the process of dislocation and resettlements and its implication on their lives. Closed and few open ended questions were provided in the questionnaires.

Interviews were also conducted with the city and sub-city level officials (one from the city and two from the sub-city).

Secondary data were collected from the project office documents regarding the measures taken by the project office.

1.4.5. Data analysis

The data collected are analyzed using both statistical instruments as well as qualitative modes using SPSS version 22. That is, statistical instruments like percentages, table and figures are employed. Moreover, qualitative data are analyzed using narration. This means the responses from interviews have been analyzed along with the data obtained from the offices regarding the rehabilitation efforts being made by the office.

2. CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF URBAN EXPANSION

The process of dislocating rural communities from their habitat for urban development through the action of governments is an increasing phenomenon in many parts of the developing world. If not well managed, the dislocation results in many socio-economic problems. This section reviews literature on the causes and impacts of the urban expansion to the adjacent communities.

2.1. Causes of urban expansion

The expansion of urban to the neighboring rural environment is caused by two major factors, namely spatial urban growth and increase in urban population due to high birth rate and rural to urban migration. Places or sites that are adjacent to urban areas are needed for social, economic, industrial, road construction and for other infrastructure and investment that may in turn need resettlement and displacement of the neighboring rural farming community (Cernea, 1997). Hence, urban centres are expanding into lands that are valuable for agricultural and forest production and impinging on the residents socio-economic situations.

2.2. Consequences of urban expansion

Consequences of urban growth may have both positive and negative impacts; if not properly managed, negative impacts are generally more highlighted because this growth is often uncontrolled or uncoordinated and therefore the negative impacts override the positive sides.

Positive implications of urban growth include higher economic production, opportunities for the underemployed and unemployed, better life because of better opportunities and better services, and better lifestyles. Urban growth can extend better basic services (such as transportation, sewer, and water) as well as other specialist services (such as better educational facilities, health care facilities) to more peoples. However, in many instances, urban growth is uncontrolled and uncoordinated resulting in negative impacts.

Urban expansion and the attendant's social and environmental changes it introduces remain to be a topic of popular debate and active policy discourse. Scholars in the field of development studies have argued the issues of urban development and growth from different perspectives. Accordingly, the interaction of urban to rural was described in modernization theories of economic development. The main paradigm in this regard is the structural transformation model formulated in the mid 1950s. The main focus of this model was the transfer of agricultural labour and growth of output and employment to the modern urban industrial sector through wages that is higher than subsistence agriculture (Burchell et al., 1998).

Other theorists stated that the city offers cost reducing advantages in economic, social and cultural amenities. However, this structural transformation has historically a great deal of upheaval, conflict, dislocation and human degradation in which the process involves winners and losers.

In contrary to this structural transformation theory the dependency theory maintains that cities grow parasitically by exploiting and holding back their surrounding regions. Established economic development in the city is only takes place at the expense of the surrounding areas (Balchin, et. al., 2000). The rapid urban expansion in developing countries is usually associated with unplanned development in the periphery that requires high cost of infrastructure. It is also evident that even in planned activity the development of infrastructure usually does not correspond to the large tract of land that develops in a low-density pattern.

Uneven urban expansion will occupy considerable valuable farmland around urban centers, which causes to sensitive contradiction and conflicts with the farmers who are displaced from their farmland. Urbanization negatively affects the peri-urban areas in different ways. As urban centers, expand by occupying fertile farm land and displacing farmers cause to reduce the amount of production and number of family members and move to the nearby urban centers.

As a result, the farmers with their large family size are exposed to unemployment and poverty (food insecurity) for the reason that they are not well educated and skilled rather depending on their agricultural production. It is understood that, people without basic qualification are unable to compete and get job in the labor market. Thus urban expansion consequently results in social, environmental and economic problems to the society.

2.2.1. Social consequences of urban expansion

Urban expansion results in displacement and dislocation of urban neighbours in general and neighbouring farmers in particular. They usually do not participate in the planning and design of resettlement and displacement options as well as the distribution of associated costs or benefits. Since social infrastructure is concentrated in the center, people in the extended area do not get easy access. This involves long travel for work, market and other basic social needs. Specifically, low- income households will continue to live in such sever social constraints in the periphery (Carter et al., 1995) as cited by Kedir (2010).

Urban expansion causes displacement, dislocation and segregation that result in the disorder of the social fabric. People in the extended urban areas “live still partly rural and where many of the residents live in the country but are not socially and economically of it” (Carter et al., 1995). There is also a possibility of isolation from the city development, and being sandwiched between the rich, creating class difference. Thus, the community in the periphery could face problems of survival strategies, solidarity network, and systems of power to which the social and economic activities are linked to their original location (Mejia, 1999).

Moreover, the peripheral farmers in fear of eviction from their lands for the prevailing rapid rate of urbanization that affect their production and productivity further more will have long-term effect on supply of food to urban population.

2.2.2. Environmental consequences of urban expansion

In many of the developing countries urban expansion is at the expense of productive and fertile agricultural farmland and forest. Thengvel and Sachithanandan (1998) discussed the cases of Madras Metropolitan area of India; the residential area that was 3,318 hectares in 1964 increased by three fold and became 20,747 hectares in 1991. Egypt lost more than 10 percent of the country's' productive farmland to extended urban settlement (Hardoy et al. (2001), cited by Minwuyelet (2004)).

On the other hand, urban expansion is not accompanied by environmental protection system. Urban waste rely on open canals, open drains in the road side and holes in the ground as regular means of waste disposal particularly in expansion areas. This exposes the dwellers to sanitation related disease and air pollution. In addition to the farmland, environmental resources such as clean air and water, peace and quiet, access to the countryside and recreational facilities are environmental values that the rural farming communities lose due to urban expansion in the periphery..

There are environmental pressure groups to fight such expansion of cities to the periphery in developed countries. For example, in England there are national pressure groups like the Council for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE), the County Landowners Association (CLA) or National Farmers' Union (NFU) that seek to protect the farmland against urban encroachment. Whereas in developing countries such social groups are rarely found. Hence, the loss of farmland and forestland with its ecosystem for urban use is free and fast (Herington, 1989)

2.2.3 Economic consequences of urban expansion

In developing countries people are migrating from rural areas to urban centres and the poor also move from centre to the periphery for urban squatting. These areas need provision of infrastructure like road, power line, water pipes and drainage line. This requires high development cost that draws on the financial capacity of the municipal governments. In many cases the municipality cannot afford to provide and people remain deficient of basic means of life. Because of this, most of the residents are exposed relatively to high cost of living (Todaro, 1989).

According to Todaro (1989), there is also limited work opportunity in the area. The challenge is more intense to the dislocated and evicted farming community since they lose their means of livelihood.

In developing countries, it was also estimated that in the year 1990 and 2000 approximately 14 million of hectares (475, 000 hectares per annum) of rural farm land would be converted to urban uses. As a result a huge number of farmers will be forced to leave their farmland (Drescher and Iaquina, 2002).

2.3. Peri-urban in Ethiopia

In this study, a peri-urban area refers to the rural villages surrounding the towns including their farmlands, grazing and other common lands. These villages can be part of the urban administration due to implementation of an urban development plan or under the rural administration. The regulations and administrative authority of land use in these areas can be under either urban or rural administration. The urban administrative body allocates land that belongs to peri-urban areas for investments on the basis of the urban development plans. The development plan can have separate locations for investments on manufacturing (usually known as industrial areas), residential houses or institutions. This indicates that peri-urban development is mainly a result of processes originated and driven from urban centers which concurs with Webster's (2002) description of peri-urban development.

The peri-urban areas are mostly agrarian in orientation but subject to change into urban oriented activities in short period of time with the implementation of urban development plans. Usually farmlands and common lands are allocated for development purposes and sometimes private houses can be demolished for the same reason. In the latter case, inhabitants are relocated to different localities within the same rural administrative unit or within the urban boundary by receiving another plot of land to build new houses provided by the local authority.

2.3.1 The expropriation procedure and rights of expropriatees in Ethiopia

Ethiopia's federal government's Proclamation No. 455/2005 of landholdings for public purposes & payment of compensation and Regulation No 135/2007, which declares about payment of compensation for property situated on landholding expropriated for public purpose, are the two current legal grounds for taking lands from the private owners. As stated in the proclamation No. 455/2005, a Woreda or an urban administration shall, up on payment in advance of compensation, have the power to expropriate rural or urban landholdings for public purpose where it believes that it should be used for a better development.

The expropriation decrees required to notify the compelled people regarding the state's plans before entering into the action to expropriate land. The issues of putting lists of owner's properties, the timeframe within which compensation payment should be completed and the resettlement strategies and schedules for displaced people are explained.

The expropriation and compensation describes how expropriations of private landholdings are made, and notification has to be given to the landholder. The notification includes the period within which the holding has to be vacated and the amount of compensation to be paid in writing. To facilitate the notification process, the law puts an obligation on implementing agencies to prepare detailed data pertaining to the land needed for the work and send the same, at least one year before the commencement of the works.

However, the farmer's access to full information in the process of expropriation and the opportunity to actively participate in the decision making of their rights are not yet institutionally organized to accomplish in an effective procedure.

Researches show that farmers are not well informed as well as given formal written notifications except verbal information, for what purpose the land is required, what benefits they will obtain from expropriation and what will be their future destiny by the expropriators.

There has also been lack of transparency in determining the values of property for compensation purposes. Despite the fact that few of the property owners/ holders involve when their holding boundaries are identified and measured, valuation computations were kept secret from property owners.

The other issue identified by the study is about expropriation order notification rights vested to the expropriated individuals. The proclamation guarantees that as soon as the decision of expropriation has been made, notification in writing should be given for the landholders to be displaced in accordance with the Proclamation No. 455/2005 Article 4 (1). The notification should fully denote the time period within which the landholders have to be vacated from required areas and the amount of compensation to be paid. The notification process puts an obligation on city administration to prepare comprehensive data pertaining to the land needed for the public purpose and send this compiled data, at least one year before the commencement of the works, to the organs empowered to effect compensation payment.

3. DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

This section provides information on the pre and post relocation and deals with the impact of Addis Ababa’s expansion on the lives of former farming communities.

3.1. Current socio-economic background of the respondents

Regarding current occupation of the respondents, majority are partial farmers followed by no job and full-time farmer respectively. Some of them were turned daily laborers too. Most of the respondents were evicted from Bole sub-city particular area known as Bole Lemi.

3.1.1. The land size taken by the government and their use

The table below shows the size and reasons for which farmlands were expropriated from the farmers by the government.

Table 1: Land taken by the government and their use

Item 1: Land Taken	Frequency	Percent	Item 2: use of land	Frequency	Percent
1/4-1 hectare	42	25.5	Given for condominium projects	98	59.4
1-3 hectare	87	52.7	Industries	47	28.5
3-7 hectare	21	12.7	Residential (leased)	3	1.8
7-10 hectare	6	3.6	Condominium projects and industries	1	.6
> 10 hectare	3	1.8	Total	149	90.3
Total	159	96.4	Missing System	16	9.7
Missing System	6	3.6			
Total	165	100.0	Total	165	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019).

Item 1 of table 1 above shows that nearly 53% of the farmers lost between one and three hectares of land followed by quarter of hectare to 1 making up 25.5 %.

Majority of the respondents were forced to leave though they resisted. The households had awareness on the urban expansion programs but the time it was conducted, the information on compensation, the amount and procedure of compensation were mostly not clear before the government action was started. Hence, this shows that the farmers opposed to dislocation both overtly and implicitly.

Furthermore, item 2 of the same table reveals that the majority were told that land was needed for condominium construction. In addition, land needed for industrial purpose constitutes 28.5 %.

The respondents were asked what domestic animals they owned before eviction and they responded that they owned mostly cows.

Table 2: The number of cows owned and the volume liters of milk produced/day

Item 1: Number of cows owned	Frequency	Percent	Item 2: Volume of milk produced /day	Frequency	Percent
<2	74	44.8	<5	57	34.5
3-5	69	41.8	5-10	52	31.5
6-9	13	7.9	6-9	21	12.7
>10	1	.6	10-15	19	11.5
Total	157	95.2	16-20	2	1.2
Missing	8	4.8	21-30	1	.6
Total	165	100.0	>31	1	.6
			Total	153	92.7
			Missing	12	7.3
			Total	165	100

Source: Field survey (2019).

Item 1 of table 2 shows that nearly 42% of the farmers used to own 3-5cows whereas nearly 45% of the farmers used to own two and less. On the other hand, item 2 of the same table revealed that (37%) of the respondents milk less than 5 liters per day while 34 % of the respondents milk5-10.

Table 3: Average grains produced in quintals and their sufficiency for family

Item 1: Grain produced in quintals	Frequency	Percent	Item 2: whether production exceed consumption	Frequency	Percent
6-15	2	1.2	Yes	69	41.8
16-30	13	7.9	No	3	1.8
31-50	32	19.4	Just enough	84	50.9
51-75	78	47.3	Total	156	94.5
75-150	21	12.7	Missing	9	5.5
151-300	14	8.5	Total	165	100.0
>301	1	.6			
Total	161	97.6			
Missing	4	2.4			
Total	165	100.0			

Source: Field survey (2019).

Table 3 shows the number of quintals of grain produced annually by the farmers as well as whether their production exceeds their consumption. According to item 1 of table 3 above, more than 70% of the farmers used to produce more than 51 quintals per year. It is interesting that the farmers were producing large crop products before their eviction. Furthermore, item 2 of the same table revealed that nearly 42% said that they were producing over and above family consumption. They sell the rest and earn money to supplement their income.

3.2. The socio-economic situations of the farmers after eviction

The farmers were asked whether they were given the opportunity to participate in planning and implementation of the resettlement programs.

Table 4: Participation in planning and implementation of the resettlement

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	34	20.6	21.1	21.1
No	121	73.3	75.2	96.3
I don't know	6	3.6	3.1	99.4
Total	161	97.6	100.0	
Missing	4	2.4		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Field survey (2019).

When asked whether they were consulted about the relocation planning and implementation, more than 75 % stated that they were not invited to participate meaningfully.

The farmers were asked if they were given compensation and their fairness. The following table shows responses of famers on compensation.

Table 5: Responses on whether compensation was given or not and their fairness

Item 1: whether compensation was given or not	Frequency	Percent	Item 2: fairness of compensation	Frequency	Percent
Yes	134	81.2	Yes	1	.6
No	23	13.9	No	134	81.2
Total	157	95.2	I don't know	5	3
Missing	8	4.8	Total	140	84.8
Total	165	100.0	Missing	25	15.2
			Total	165	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019).

Item 1 of table 5 revealed that more than 80 % of the respondents said that they were given compensation for their land while 13% said no compensation was given.

On the other hand, item 2 of table 5 shows that 81 % of the respondents said the compensation was not enough compared to the value of the land. The problem is not only the unfair amount of compensation but also the unawareness of the farmers what to do with the money they took as compensation. Because of lack of awareness, the money was used improperly extravagantly. Now most of them are left barehanded.

Table 6 indicates the perceived land value at the time of eviction. The farmers unanimously responded that the then market price of the land was much higher than the amount paid as compensation. This shows that the compensation paid is contrary to the Art 7(3) of Proclamation

No. 456/2005, which stipulates that holder of rural land who is evicted for public purpose, shall be given compensation proportionate to the development he has made on the land and the property acquired or shall be given substitute land thereon.

Table 6: Farmers’ estimation of perceived land value relative to compensation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Extremely greater	106	64.2	70.7	70.7
Greater	16	9.7	10.7	81.3
Less	2	1.2	1.3	82.7
extremely less	26	15.8	17.3	100.0
Total	150	90.9	100.0	
Missing	15	9.1		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Field survey (2019).

Moreover, it contradicts to Art. 7(2) of proclamation No.455/2005, which states, “the amount of compensation for property situated on the expropriated land shall be determined on the basis of replacement cost of the property”.

Table 7 shows whether the farmers were given timely notification about the displacement or not and appropriateness of seasons.

Table7: Responses on whether the farmers were notified before eviction and appropriateness of eviction season

Item 1: Whether notification were given or not	Frequency	Percent	Item 2: Appropriateness of season	Frequency	Percent
Yes	92	55.8	Yes	0	0
No	63	38.2	No	164	99.4
I don’t know	6	3.6	I don’t know	1	.6
Total	161	97.6	Total	165	100.0
Missing	4	2.4			
Total	165	100.0			

Source: Field survey (2019).

Most respondents were aware of the government plan to relocate them prior to the action. However, half of the respondents stated that time given between warning and eviction was less than 2 months in the additional comments they gave.

The table reveals whether the government has chosen an appropriate time/season for eviction or not. As indicated in table 7 item 2, almost all except 1 replied that the government did not choose appropriate time/season for eviction. Yet, in a farming community, there are three critical seasons specific to farm including seeding, weeding, and harvesting seasons. The losses were so devastating when the government urges them to leave their place in any of the three aforementioned seasons. That is, they have either left their farm after they have planted but before the weeding time; or they have planted and weeded but before harvesting. Their loss increases as the time of eviction approaches the harvesting time as they keep investing their energy until harvesting.

The farmers were asked whether the government gave them farmland replacement or not as indicated in table below.

Table 8: Responses on whether the government gave them farmland

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	159	96.4	100.0	100.0
Missing	6	3.6		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Field survey (2019).

The above table shows whether replacement farmlands were given or not. Almost all [96.4%] of the respondents revealed that replacement farmland were not given. When farmers are evicted from their farmland on which they had been living and farming for generations and suddenly told to lose the land and leave, they face formidable challenges in acquiring different life skill which would be almost impossible for adults and the youths and children.

The farmers were asked whether they were given induction and training to cope up with the new city life as indicated in table 23 below.

Table 9: Response on whether induction training for new city life was given or not

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	158	95.8	97.5	97.5
I don't know	4	2.4	2.5	100.0
Total	162	98.2	100.0	
Missing	3	1.8		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Field survey (2019).

The above table depicts whether the government had given induction training for the new “city” life style or not. The majority [95.8%] of the respondents replied that the government did not give induction training for the new “city” life style. The government should have guided them on the direction which enable them produce something upon which the family live on outside the conventional farming.

The farmers were asked to state various coping mechanisms to adapt to the new city life. The table 10 shows the occupation of the respondents after they left farming. Accordingly, significant proportion (40.6%) of the respondents replied that they were sitting idle while the remaining 13.3% and 12.1 % were engaged in either daily labor, or partial farming respectively constituting majority 66% all together. The remaining 1/3 of the respondent revealed that they were engaged in miscellaneous activities like grocery, renting milk, urban farming, bajaj driving and the like.

Generally, their coping mechanism were not designed and organized. Therefore, something well-structured mechanism which changes their mode of life from exclusively farming to partial or off farming [like small industries, merchandising, modern urban farming, etc. with close follow up] should be implemented immediately before it is too late.

Table 10: Coping mechanisms in non-farming lives

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Guard	3	1.8	2.2	2.2
sitting idle	67	40.6	48.6	50.7
daily labor	22	13.3	15.9	66.7
Trading	5	3.0	3.6	70.3
I am trying to use the little farmland left	20	12.1	14.5	84.8
Grocery	2	1.2	1.4	86.2
Renting milk	1	.6	.7	87.0
Renting house	2	1.2	1.4	88.4
Student	3	1.8	2.2	90.6
Private organization worker	1	.6	.7	91.3
Cart men	1	.6	.7	92.0
Urban farming	2	1.2	1.4	93.5
Industry worker	1	.6	.7	94.2
Construction worker	1	.6	.7	94.9
Bajaj Driving	3	1.8	2.2	97.1
Since I am civil servant, I haven't used any mechanism	3	1.8	2.2	99.3
illegal broker	1	.6	.7	100.0
Total	138	83.6	100.0	
Missing	27	16.4		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Field survey (2019).

The farmers were asked whether the family members were given plot of land for residential houses as indicated in table 11.

Table 11: Whether residential plots were given to each family members or not

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	16	9.7	10.2	10.2
No	139	84.2	88.5	98.7
I don't know	2	1.2	1.3	100.0
Total	157	95.2	100.0	
Missing	8	4.8		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Computed from primary data.

The table 11 shows whether the government gave residential plot for household head and each of family members or not. As indicated residential plots were given only for 9.7% of the respondents while 84.2% were not given. In farming community, commonly all male child must be given a plot of land for residence adjacent to the father and a farm plot anywhere which goes on and on.

Table 12 shows the impact of displacement on the lives of the evicted farmers. The table revealed how displacement affects the socio-economic life of displaced farmers. Accordingly, 72.7% of the respondents replied that this displacement has adversely affected their socio economic life. That is, 46.1% replied that they have lost all they have, while 11.5%, 9.1%, and 6.1% replied that it has affects their socio-economic life respectively.

Table 12: Whether the displacement affect socio-economic life or not

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes, we lost all we have	76	46.1	63.3	63.3
Yes, It affects my socio-economic life	19	11.5	15.8	79.2
Yes, we are enforced to intake new life without better composition	15	9.1	12.5	91.7
Yes, Life of non-farming is terrible	10	6.1	8.3	100.0
Total	120	72.7	100.0	
Missing	45	27.3		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Computed from primary data.

The farmers were asked about their current occupation and given various responses as indicated in the table below. Table 13 shows whether the displaced farmers are in a position of supplying enough food for their family from their current income or not.

Table 13: Sufficiency of current income to supply enough food

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	31	18.8	19.9	19.9
No	125	75.8	80.1	100.0
Total	156	94.5	100.0	
Missing	9	5.5		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Computed from primary data.

Out of the 156 who replied for this question, majority 80.1% of the respondent replied that they do not supply enough food for their family from their current income while only 19.9% is able to avail enough food for their families from their current income. Therefore, supplementary income generating activities in case they have one shall be availed by the government as it's the responsibility of the government who officially took off their farm land upon which they used to satisfy their own basic needs.

Table 14 shows how those former farmers strive to fill in the gap between their current income and their family consumption. To fill the gap between their family consumption needs and their current income, most of them 30.6%, 28.2%, and 18.5% depend either on their former saving, daily labor, and jobless respectively.

The remaining are engaged in a wide arrays of activities including petty activities like farming, guarding houses, support from wife involved in cleaning/janitor, house renting, support from children, and remittance.

Table 14: Sources and strategies of filling current income deficiency gap

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
From former saving	38	23.0	30.6	30.6
Remittance from abroad	1	.6	.8	31.5
Mostly starved/reduced family consumption	23	13.9	18.5	50.0
Partially farming	7	4.2	5.6	55.6
daily labor	35	21.2	28.2	83.9
by reducing family consumption rate	2	1.2	1.6	85.5
Renting house	2	1.2	1.6	87.1
my wife is janitor	5	3.0	4.0	91.1
Guard	1	.6	.8	91.9
dependent on my children	5	3.0	4.0	96.0
only in the help of God	1	.6	.8	96.8
Just enough	4	2.4	3.2	100.0
Total	124	75.2	100.0	
Missing	41	24.8		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Computed from primary data.

Table 15 reveals whether the respondents believe that they have lost their economic sources as a result of urban expansion or not.

Table 15: Loss of economic sources as the result of urban expansion

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	162	98.2	98.8	98.8
No	2	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total	164	99.4	100.0	
Missing	1	.6		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Computed from primary data.

Almost all (98.8%) of respondents replied that they have lost their economic sources because of urban expansion while 1.2% denied that their economic sources were not affected. On the other hand, one person did not replied to this question. Thus we can say that corrective action in a manner that re-establishes their economic sources should be designed and implemented.

Table 16 indicates the outlook of the farmers about their future life. Data in the table above reveals that 23.6%, 26.1%, and 1.2% of the respondents replied that the life of their family would be worst, difficult, and getting bad in the future respectively. On the other hand, only hand full i.e. 3 and 11.5% of the respondents believe that the lives of their family would be best and good in the future respectively. In addition, 7.9% of the respondent left the future of their family to God.

Table 16: Perceived future livelihood outlooks

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Worst	39	23.6	32.0	32.0
It will be difficult	43	26.1	35.2	67.2
Good	19	11.5	15.6	82.8
somewhat getting lower	2	1.2	1.6	84.4
Best	5	3.0	4.1	88.5
God know, I can't say any thing	13	7.9	10.7	99.2
Total	122	73.9	100.0	
Missing	43	26.1		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Computed from primary data.

The farmers were asked if they would like to involve in government initiated business activities to improve their living. Table 17 above shows the readiness level of the respondents in case the government organizes them in different business activities to earn living. Accordingly (76.4%) of the respondent replied that they were ready to be organized in different business activities to make their living. On the other hand, 16.4% of the respondent revealed that they do not want to be organized by the government in different business activities to make their living.

Table 17: The readiness of the respondents to involve in business activities suggested by government

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	126	76.4	82.4	82.4
No	27	16.4	17.6	100.0
Total	153	92.7	100.0	
Missing	12	7.3		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Computed from primary data.

The respondents were also asked their business preference and showed that the majority preferred urban agriculture. The rest listed like animal fattening, shop and trade. The remaining has preferred car wash, grocery, woodwork, restaurant and employment while some also replied that they are not capable of doing for either age or capacity reasons.

Table 18 depicts the classification of respondents on the base of income and capacity status. The city administration established a project named displaced farmers rehabilitation project office which aims at supporting evicted famers and their families. To this effect, the office classified the displaced farmers in to 3 categories. Accordingly, [73.9%] of the respondents fall in the category of poor or low-income group while [14.5%] were in the category of medium while the remaining [10.9%] did not reply to this question.

Table 18: Income level rating

Categories	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
poor or low income	122	73.9	83.0	83.0
Medium	24	14.5	16.3	99.3
Higher	1	.6	.7	100.0
Total	147	89.1	100.0	
Missing	18	10.9		
Total	165	100.0		

Source: Computed from primary data.

3.3. Recent actions taken by the city government to redress some of the socio-economic problems of the evictees

The data obtained from the Bole and Akaka Kaliti sub cities' displaced farmers rehabilitation project office indicates that currently there are 32088 family members in the two sub cities. As the complaints over the eviction mounted from time to time not only by the farmers but also by rights activists the city government was forced to issue a proclamation in 2008 (2016) and established a project office that rehabilitates the farmers and their family members.

The following section of the study shows data abstained from the office and what the office is doing to support the farmers.

Table 19: The displaced farmers in 2018 (2010 EC)

Sub-cities	Household	dependent	Total
Yeka	843	3168	3941
Akaki-kaiiti	1432	6760	7996
Bole	2123	8362	10419
Nifas Silk Lafto	1597	5122	6641
Kolfe-Keranyo	558	2615	3091
Grand total			32088

Source: Addis Ababa project office for the rehabilitation of the farmers displaced for urban development

3.4. Measures taken by the city government to address the problems

3.4.1. Mode of rehabilitations

The office organizes the farmers in to groups having a minimum of 10 members and help involve them in different business activities namely, manufacturing, service and urban agriculture.

Before organizing them, the office classifies the farmers to very poor, medium and 'well to do' groups.

a. Very poor

This group involves those who do not have minimum capacity, with poor health and old age. This group is not expected to be organized in to business activities due to lack of health, old age and lack of capacity. Thus, the group is provided with monthly handout to support their lives permanently. Those who do not have shelter are also provided with monthly rent allowance.

b. Medium

This involves those who have minimum capacity to work but do not have financial resources and assets. These are encouraged to involve in urban agriculture to earn their living.

c. Those who have assets and capacity

These farmers and their family members are organized in different business activities as stated in table 20 below.

The city administration organizes the farmers under special arrangement of enterprise, that means while the minimum association number of members under the normal business law is 50, the city reduced it to ten to help the displaced farmers and their family members to ease the groupings.

3.4.2. Supports provided by the city government through the project office

Provision of loan

Interest free loans are provided to those who are very poor. For those who earn a monthly income between 2501 and 5000 Birr, loan is provided by both the city administration and Addis Credit and Saving Institution.

For those who earn a monthly income of above 5000 Birr, similar supports are provided to encourage them to be self-reliant by doing business. The support provided to the last two groups is temporal i.e. valid only until they become self-reliant.

Table 20: Number of farmers and families engaged in different businesses in Bole sub-city

No.	Selected major sectors	Specific areas of business	No of members in each buiness	Total members		
				M	F	Total
1	Urban Agriculture	Sheep & Goats	1	6	7	13
		Animal fattening	22	119	109	228
		Dairy farm	14	71	77	148
		Poultry	4	21	20	41
		Vegetable	1	6	4	10
2	Services	Car wash	4	22	19	41
		Advertisement & Printing	0	0	0	0
		School	2	10	10	20
		Café & restaurant	4	23	23	46
		hotel	1	5	9	14
3	Trade	Grinding mills	11	69	61	130
		Soft drinks	2	9	12	21
		Cereal trading	1	4	6	10
		Liquor sale	9	50	43	93
4	Construction	Domestic whole sale	2	11	9	20
		Concrete	5	28	23	51
		Gravel	4	21	26	47
5	Manufacturing	General construction	3	18	14	32
		Foods & beverages	0	0	0	0
6	Mining	Home economics	1	7	4	11
		Selected materials	2	17	5	22
Grand total			93	517	481	998

Source: Bole sub-city project office for the rehabilitation of the farmers displaced for urban development.

Though positive efforts are being made by the sub-city project office. compared to the number of displaced farmers and their families in the sub-city, the number of farmers involved in various businesses is very small.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study reveals that the farmers are worse off in many aspects after the displacement. In the first place, the way and the process of displacement was not transparent and did not take in to account the needs of the evictees.

- Most displaced farmers indicated that they were not well informed in advance about the displacement. This means they did not participate in the planning and execution of the displacement process.

- Moreover, the compensation paid was very little compared to the market price of the land expropriated.
- The relocation time was not appropriate for the farmers in relation to the farming reason. For instance, they were told to leave during weeding.
- After displacement, they faced multiple socio-economic problems as well. They were not given orientation as to how they cope with new life style of the city. As the result they misused the compensation money. This led to poverty and impoverishment of the households.
- Since they were not skilled to be employed in the new area, significant number of farmers and their family members remain idle.
- The majority of the respondents replied that they do not supply enough food for their family from their current income.
- Almost all (98.8%) of respondents replied that they have lost their economic sources because of urban expansion
- The study also shows that even though the government lately recognized the situation and taking measures to redress the challenges, there are still outstanding problems to be tackled.

The Ethiopian urban centers are expanding in unexpected rate resulting in peasant displacement with concomitant loss of agricultural land and change of their livelihood. Meagre compensation and strong resettlement programs worsen the situation.

The Objectives of this research is to assess the socio-economic impacts of urban expansion on the displaced farmers with particular reference to Bole and Akakai-kality sub-cities of Addis Ababa City Administration. Problems associated with farmers' awareness, compensation, resettlement, socio-economic circumstances and the measures taken to address the problems are investigated. In assessing the impacts of the relocation, a sample of 165 displaced farmers were selected randomly form the two sub-cities. The assessment results show that meagre compensation, resettlement, and adjustments problems are major challenges encountered the farmers. Their income had diminished while coping costs risen. Lack of business skills to start new venture has also been a formidable challenge facing the farmers and their family members. Even though the government lately recognized the situation and taking measures to redress the challenges, there are still outstanding problems to be tackled.

To mitigate the challenges, the city government has to revisit the approaches used to evict, relocate and rehabilitate the farmers. In this regard, transparency in the decisions for the displacement must be ensured and the decision on the amount of the compensation versus the expropriated land and properties must be fair. If dislocation is mandatory, the rehabilitation of the farmers and their family members must be properly planned and executed in a way that the farmers should be better off than worsening their livelihood.

This study shows that poorly designed, very hurriedly undertaken, forced and spontaneous resettlement schemes have had so many adverse effects on the overall livelihoods of the people.

The respondents stressed that since the compensation was less and there was no training to handle the little compensation money, the compensated money lasted for short duration. Afterwards, they faced lack of money to finance their needs and wants. The main cause for this

was lack of dependable livelihood strategy after displacement. That is lack of income generating business activities after displacement.

Regarding the livelihood source, previously, there were agricultural products, milk and milk products and others that support their livelihood (for consumption and sale). Although they did not produce much surplus, they led stable life since they have diversified source of income.

After displacement all their livelihood sources were relinquished to the little compensation money without other sustainable sources of income exposing them to vulnerability.

Recommendations:

- Urban development program that affect the adjacent farmers must be participatory where the affected should take part and have a say, ensure common benefits. When it is implemented, the farming community whose land is to be expropriated and hence whose livelihood to be interrupted need to be compensated proportionally.
- The government should follow-up the post eviction lives of the affected community and assist them based on their ability and interest in such a way that their family secure their livelihood.
- For sustainable livelihood creation, there should be strong institutional support for the encouragement of the expropriated groups in creating job opportunities, in training different skills and knowledge, in organizing financial institutions for credit service.
- Relocation should be executed after the provision of trainings and other capacity building services to this community on how to make urban businesses, how to manage these businesses under the smaller and micro- industry organizations where strong institutional follow- up exists.
- Moreover, giving reasonably enough compensation [proportional to the land given up, is very necessary

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