

**URBAN LAND EXPROPRIATION AND ITS IMPACTS ON LOCAL COMMUNITY:
THE CASE OF PERI-URBAN AREA OF KOMBOLCHA, NORTHEAST ETHIOPIA**



MA THESIS

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HAWASSA UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

JUNE, 2024

HAWASSA ETHIOPIA

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**A THESIS RESEARCH SUBMITTED TO HAWASSA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF
GRADUATE STUDIES**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MAS
TER OF ARTS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

JUNE, 2024

HAWASSA ETHIOPIA

APPROVAL SHEET I

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “urban land expropriation and its impacts on local community: the case of peri-urban area of Kombolcha, Northeast Ethiopia” submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master’s with specialization in social anthropology, the Graduate Program of anthropology, and has been carried out by Mohammed Seid, ID No - GPSoAnR/0012/15 under my/our supervision. Therefore I/we recommend that the student has fulfilled the requirements and hence hereby can submit the thesis to the department.

Name of major advisor

Signature

Date

APPROVAL SHEET II

We, the undersigned, members of the Board examiners of the final open defense by Mohammed Seid have read and evaluated his/her thesis entitled “urban land expropriation and its impacts on local community: the case of peri-urban area of Kombolcha, Northeast Ethiopia” and examined the candidate. This is, therefore, to certify that the thesis has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree.

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Final approval and acceptance of the thesis is contingent upon the submission of the final copy of the thesis to the school of graduate studies (SGS) through the department/ School graduate committee (DGC/SGC) of the candidate’s department.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I express my deepest gratitude to Allah (SWT) for the strength, guidance, and perseverance. He bestowed upon me throughout my life including this research journey, enabling its successful completion.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Alemante Amara (Associate Professor) for their expert guidance, insightful feedback, and unwavering encouragement throughout the research process. Their dedication to clarity, which ensured my writing was well-communicated, and their genuine enthusiasm for my work, which kept me motivated during challenging moments, have been a constant source of inspiration. It has been a true privilege to learn and work under their tutelage.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Mellese Mada (Associate Professor) for their insightful feedback and guidance on my thesis proposal. Their careful review and thoughtful comments were instrumental in shaping and strengthening my research plan.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Hawassa University for master's program financial support. My appreciation also extends to Anthropology Department Office for their invaluable collaboration and sharing updated information.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all those participated in my research by providing data or sharing their experiences.

Special acknowledgment is due to my friend, Mr. Kedir Abdu, instructor and PhD candidate at Jimma University, for his constant advice and encouragements.

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DECLARATION

I honestly declare that this MA thesis is my original work and has not been presented for degrees in any other university, and all sources of material used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Mohammed Seid

Signature: _____

This MA thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as thesis Advisor.

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Signature: _____

Place: Hawassa University, College Social Science and Humanities

Date: _____

ABBREVIATIONS

ANRS	Amhara National Regional State
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
EHRCO	Ethiopian Human Rights Council
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FHH	Female-headed household
IFC	International Finance Corporation
KCGOSC	Kombolcha City Government Office Structural Configuration
RLMUO	Rural Land Management and Utilization Office
ULDMO	Urban Land Development and Management Office
UN	United Nations
UNCTD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
WB	World Bank
WCYO	Women, Children and Youth Office

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GLOSSARY

Bega – The dry season from December to February

Belg – A short rainy season in most parts of Ethiopia highland area from March to May

Meher - Accounts for the majority of crop production between from end of winter to beginning of autumn seasons

Harima – Islamic religious teaching center at rural area

Iddir /Kere - A social institution established voluntarily by the communities to perform burial and other socioeconomic activities

Jige - The social collaboration for working practice such as sowing, weeding, harvesting and others at the rural area community of Ethiopia

Wujibe – Forest like area where peoples practice their customs

Zawya – Religious worship center at rural area like mosque

ABSTRACT

Land expropriation for urban development becomes a hot issue due to rapid urbanization. While expropriation can facilitate urban development, balancing urban expansion with welfare of evicted community is important. This study explores the practice of land expropriation and its impact on local community in the peri-urban area of Kombolcha, Northeast Ethiopia. To achieve this objective, the study used primary data collection methods such as observation, semi-structured interview and focus group discussions. The finding revealed that acquisition of land for urban expansion was undertaken without timely notification, inadequate prior public consultation, and exclusion of evicted community from decision-making regarding valuation and compensation. This hinders the affected individuals from effectively preparing and speaking about their rights. The compensation process also looks inconsistent and delay payment, incompletely income assessed, inadequate consideration of some individuals and communal assets, leaving affected households with little influence over the process. The nature of implementation, along with the devastating loss of their lands negatively influences their perceptions towards expropriation. However, the study revealed that the community may collaborate if some pre-conditions are fulfilled. The finding also indicated that expropriation exposes the evicted groups to several socioeconomic challenges including displacement from their livelihoods, loss of income and jobs, which further worsen by inconsistency compensation and lack of comprehensive entrepreneurial training. The social challenges includes erosion of long-standing social networks and established mutual working and support systems, like Jige and Iddir associations. Additionally, the expropriation widens the social class gap by stripping people of their landholding status. The study also revealed that expropriation affects the provisioning services of environment. Thus, the study recommends that ensuring effectiveness of established expropriation proclamations and minimizes widening effect of expropriation needs consideration, unless it may raises concerns over procedural fairness and legitimacy of the process.

Keywords: Expropriation, Compensation, Kombolcha, Peri-urban, Urban expansion

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Urbanization is a global phenomenon that has accelerated in recent decades. More than the half of world's population now lives in urban areas, and this proportion is expected to reach 68% by 2050, with the urban population of developing countries doubling (UN, 2018). Most of this demographic growth is expected to occur in low- and middle-income countries, where much of the spatial expansion is taking place at the peri-urban fringes (Adam, 2020). The number of people living in Africa's cities almost doubled over the last 20 years, rising from 237 million in 1995 to 472 million in 2015 (Mohamed & Worku, 2020). This trend is expected to continue in the future, with Africa's urban population projected to reach 1.5 billion by 2050 (UN, 2018). Urbanization is leading to the conversion of farmland to urban land through expropriation. For example, in China, it is estimated that 3.63 million hectares of farmland will be converted to urban land through expropriation when China's urbanization rate reaches 50% (Tan & Qu, 2005 cited in Admasu, 2019).

Driven by the demand for economic development and improvement of citizen well-beings, governments in every country maintain and exercise the power to expropriate private properties for public purposes (ADB, 2007). However, many governments exercise this right in ways that undermine tenure security, equity, and transparency, often paying little or no compensation (Deininger et al., 2011). For example, between 1988 and 2008, at least 300 million people worldwide lost their land to expropriation (Terminski, 2013). Urbanization is leading to a growing demand for land, which is largely met by transforming rural land on outskirts of cities (Admasu, 2019). This is a particular problem in developing countries, where the majorities of people live in highly concentrated peripheral areas and rely on agriculture with fragmented landholdings (Kasa, 2011). As a result, displacement due to land expropriation for urban development is more significant problem in developing countries than developed countries. Each year, millions of people are displaced by land expropriation. For example, between 1989 and 1990, authoritarian Burmese government forcibly relocated about 1.5 million residents, half of

them from cities, to make way for urban development. This resulted in the displacement of 500,000 residents from the capital, Rangoon (UN, 1990 cited in Terminski, 2013).

Ethiopian rapid urban population growth is causing an increasing demand for urban land, which is primarily met by expropriation of peri-urban land (Workineh, 2017). According to the United Nations (2018), Ethiopia's population is projected to grow from 108 million in 2018 to 191 million in 2050, with the proportion of urban dwellers increasing from 21% to 39%. To meet the demands of land for urbanization, the government is converting rural land through expropriation (Adigeh & Abebe, 2023). However, this is often done without considering future survival strategies of those affected (Mohammed, 2017). The effectiveness of existing rules and regulations is severely hampered by shortcomings in expropriation procedures, and compensation practices. This often leads to the loss of livelihoods, displacement, and social disruption. The continuous eviction of peri-urban farmers from their indigenous land for land redevelopment negatively affects livelihood of farming communities. This becomes a serious problem especially in Ethiopia, where agriculture is the backbone of economy, accounting for more than 42% of GDP, 90% of exports, and 85% of total employment (Hassan, 2011).

The Ethiopian government has amended laws and policies governing expropriation and rehabilitative mechanisms for peri-urban farmers in several times (Mohammed, 2017). Peri-urban areas are transition zones between urban and rural areas where the process of expropriation is most vigorous due to urbanization process. However, the policy implementation process has not taken into account the lives of rural peasants living in the vicinity of cities (Alemu, 2015). As Dires et al. (2021) argue that current practices fail to consider evicted farmers' existing livelihood strategies, leaving them vulnerable to economic hardship and food insecurity. According to Alamerew (2020) peasants are largely excluded from the process and the compensation amounts are neither timely nor fair. Moreover, land is more than just a means of subsistence to farmers; it holds deep political, cultural, social, and psychological significance. However, number of people being displaced from inner cities and resettled in urban outskirts is increasing in major cities of the country. In Ethiopia, 111,811 households were forcibly evicted from their homes in Addis Ababa, Sheger city administration, and Adama due to land expropriation for urban expansion and other infrastructural projects in just eight months in 2023 (EHRCO, 2023). This suggests that government should consider well-being of displaced citizens when implementing expropriation.

The policy also equally executed in other cities of the country even if the law governing land expropriation in Ethiopia is not applied uniformly and consistently across all cases. Some of the rural communities with the most fertile lands are included in the special urban district of Kombolcha town. The peasants lived in settlements in the surrounding hills – the fertile plains were used solely for agriculture where producing high-quality t'éf and exporting grain and vegetables to other parts of the country. This is the area that is now affected by a wide range of transformative processes related to infrastructure, industrialization and urbanization (Harald & Bedemariam, 2020).

Rapid population growth in Kombolcha is putting pressure on land resources, particularly in the peri-urban fringes, as the town's population is projected to be more than double in the next 20 years, reaching 334,274 in 2035 (MoUDH, 2015b cited in Maru & Worku, 2022). This suggests urban redevelopment and expansion in Kombolcha is imperative due to the rapid rate of urban growth. According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), through the cited Kombolcha Mayor Office Planning Commission Group, the population of the city was 94,474 in 2010 and reached 162,533 in 2021. The growth rate from 2010 to 2020 was 60.5% over 10 years. In response to the rising demand for land driven by urbanization, the city administration is actively acquiring land through expropriation, primarily targeting peri-urban areas. This trend is likely to exacerbate further expropriation of farm households, and displacing farmers from their land and properties. It has also far-reaching socio-economic and environmental consequences, especially in urban fringe areas. Therefore, the aim of this study investigates urban land expropriation and its impacts on local community in the peri-urban area of Kombolcha, Ethiopia.

1.2. Statements of the Problem

Expropriation, also known as compulsory land acquisition, is the power of state to appropriate private property for public use, with compensation (Deininger et al., 2011). It is crucial for development, particularly securing land for essential infrastructure (Lindsay, 2012). However, many governments exercise expropriation right in ways that undermine tenure security, equity, and transparency, often paying little or no compensation (Deininger et al., 2011). This negatively impacts livelihoods of targeted individuals in peri-urban area (Belachew, 2013).

Despite intricate nature of the issue, some studies have delved into peri-urban land expropriation

and compensation practices in Ethiopia. Dires et al. (2021) conducted study on impacts of expropriation and compensation on livelihoods of farmers in peri-urban areas of Debre Markos. Their findings revealed that expropriation practices are often characterized by inconsistency, unfairness, and lack of transparency. Similar conclusions are drawn by Talema and Nigusie (2023) in their study in Burayu town. Effectiveness of existing rules and regulations is severely hampered by shortcomings in expropriation and compensation practices. However, this is not always the case. For instance, Tesfahun (2022) found adherence to international guidelines in the Hamusit-Estie road project, on notification and compensation procedures in place. Funke (2023) further noted a growing attention of social impacts, evident in wider consultation and compensation frameworks in Ethiopian resettlement policy. Fitawok et al. (2023) revealed deep farmer resistance in Bahir Dar, driven by inadequate compensation and perceived lack of good governance during expropriation processes.

The long-term impacts of land expropriation paint a grim picture for peri-urban farming communities. Dires et al. (2021) argue current practices fail to consider evicted farmers' existing livelihood strategies, leaving them vulnerable to economic hardship and food insecurity. This echoes findings from Wegedie (2018) and Talema & Nigusie (2023) in Bahir Dar and Burayu, respectively. The study by Mohammed et al. (2017) in some metropolitan Amhara towns found land expropriation for urbanization can diminish natural resources available for peoples. This includes small plots for farming they rely for subsistence, as well as access to resources for informal collection, like firewood, medicinal plants, or wild fruits for sale or personal use.

This study makes a number of significant contributions for existing literature on land expropriation for urban expansion and its impacts in Ethiopia. While previous research offers valuable insights, it often presents contradictory findings on its implementation. For instance, Dires et al. (2021) found that expropriation practices are often characterized by inconsistency, unfairness, and lack of transparency, in contrast, Tesfahun (2022) examined expropriation procedures found that they followed steps somewhat similar to international guidelines. Further complicating the issues, policies and proclamations concerning expropriation and rehabilitation for peri-urban farmers are amended at different times (Mohammed et al., 2017). There is also some difference between the existing proclamations. For instance, the Amhara region proclamation addresses the fate of communal assets, especially cultural and religious sites during

expropriation, while the federal proclamation says noting. As long as existing studies say nothing on this issue, investigating what the practices are in specific areas becomes essential. Additionally, as far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned, studies on land expropriation in urban expansion case are scarce in the study area. Even some of these few studies (Harald & Bedemariam, 2020) analyses processes of valuation and compensation of land for infrastructure and industry. Thus, this study focus the land expropriation practice on specific setting of peri-urban area of Kombolcha, so as to contribute to a broader understanding of peri-urban dynamics and its associated implementation challenges in these areas.

Moreover, studies on community perceptions toward land expropriation in urban expansion context remain inadequate. While some of the few studies that exist, even Fitawok et al. (2023) have explored this; their findings may not be generalizable to other areas due to inherent diversity in socio-cultural and economic settings. To address this critical gap, this study focus on a specific peri-urban area in Kombolcha town, aiming to provide insights into community perceptions within its unique context. This can provide a unique opportunity to understand the social dynamics, perceptions, and experiences of affected community members.

Furthermore, previous studies (such as Dires et al., 2021 and Wegedie, 2018) also pay scant attention to the social ramifications of land expropriation. These ramifications encompass disruptions in livelihood patterns, social cohesion, and access to essential services and amenities. These studies also often fail to adequately address social and economic inequalities that may arise during the process, such as exacerbation of existing social class divisions. Additionally, most of existing studies (such as Dires et al., 2021 & Talema and Nigusie, 2023) have not considered the particular impact of land expropriation on historically or socially marginalized groups such as women, orphans etc. Berger (2014) asserts a number of vulnerable groups in land expropriation are increased. This highlights the need for further investigation into the differential treatment of these groups during expropriation and implications of compensation.

Despite the importance of understanding environmental impacts of land expropriation in urban expansion case, inadequate body of research specifically focuses on this issue. Especially regarding provisioning services, the existing few studies like Mohammed et al. (2017) often lack detailed analysis of this specific impacts. This study tries to fill this gap by investigating and analyzing in detail the environmental consequences of land expropriation from provisioning

services perspective (directly provide resources that use for survival and well-being, such as; food production, water availability, access to raw materials, and energy). This possibly helps to analyze indirect economic effect of land expropriation. This study aims to explore urban land expropriation dynamic and its effect on local community in the peri-urban area of Kombolcha, Northeast Ethiopia, where its socio-cultural and economic settings are different. Therefore, the study seeks to address the following research questions:

1. How expropriation and its compensation are implemented in Kombolcha?
2. What are the perceptions of the displaced community towards land expropriation?
3. What are the socio-economic challenges of land expropriation on peri-urban communities?
4. What are the environmental impacts of land expropriation from provisioning service aspect?

1.3. Research Objectives

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of the study is to understand urban land expropriation dynamics and its effect on peri-urban area community of Kombolcha town.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study include:

1. To describe how land expropriation and compensation procedures are implemented.
2. To explore the perceptions of displaced community towards land expropriation.
3. To explore the socio-economic challenges of land expropriation on peri-urban communities.
4. To explore the environmental impacts of land expropriation from provisioning services aspect.

1.4. Significance of the Study

Delving into the ongoing debate surrounding land expropriation in Ethiopia, this study may contribute to ongoing debates or controversies within the field, presenting evidence or arguments that support or challenge certain perspectives or positions. The study may also identify gaps or limitations in previous research for instance through by incorporating community perspectives.

While the study's focus on Kombolcha offers valuable insights, its geographical scope presents a limitation. By focusing intensively on this peri-urban area, this study may have the potential to uncover unique characteristics in the expropriation process and impacts as experienced by peri-urban communities. Additionally, future research may leverage this foundation to delve deeper by exploring land expropriation across a wider range of locations and contexts. Or it provides further empirical evidence for the existing body of knowledge in this area and provides insights into the current status and implementation of expropriation in general, and land expropriation for urban expansion at Kombolcha town in particular. For instance, this study revealed that land expropriation undertaken with inconsistency or without community consultation, and its possible reason, incomplete income assessment, and chance of community collaboration for expropriation if certain preconditions are fulfilled.

Furthermore, the findings of this study may identify important lessons that may use for policymakers, government agencies, and donors on the current situation of land expropriation in Ethiopia (if any). Just what can we learn from the land expropriation processes in peri-urban areas, and what does this mean for the future of urban development?

1.5. Scope of the Study

Land expropriation is a common practice in Ethiopia, particularly in peri-urban areas. However, the process is often opaque and arbitrary, and affected communities often have little say in the matter including the study area. While common across the country, this study delves deeper into the specific dynamics of Kombolcha town, a rapidly growing peri-urban area in Amhara region. My selection arises from a compelling confluence of factors: a personal interest in this pressing issue, Kombolcha's intense land demand for expropriation, financial capacity, and readily available planning data. Conceptually, this study investigates the practice, perceptions, and multifaceted impacts (socioeconomic and environmental) of land expropriation for urban expansion purpose on the local community in the above mentioned area.

1.6. Limitation of the Study

A primary limitation of this study lies in its scope, focusing on a single town and solely on land expropriation on urban expansion contexts. This limits the generalizability of findings to other regions or expropriation types. Another limitation during the study was the uncertain situation of

armed conflict in northern Ethiopia. Especially, the command posts made the difficulty of organizing group discussions to collect data. However, I mitigated these limitations by employing all necessary safety precautions for myself and participants, and maintaining flexibility in the research plan, which recognizes the dynamic nature of the situation. To mitigate the limitations imposed by above problem, I employed several measures. Discussions were held during peaceful intervals and in locations approved by local authorities. Additionally, I conducted discussions in secure community centers and supplemented them with individual interviews when group meetings were not feasible.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter focuses on exploring the existing literature review to understand the land expropriation practice and its impact in urban expansion projects context.

2.1. Expropriation and Compensation: An Overview of Conceptual Framework

2.1.1. Concept of Expropriation

Expropriation is a comprehensive term that encompasses various forms of the state taking private property for public use, regardless of whether it occurs during times of peace, war, or national emergencies (Epstein, 1985). This concept differs in terminology across different legal systems. In the United States, it is referred to as eminent domain (Kayden, 2009), while in the United Kingdom and continental Europe, it is known as compulsory purchase and expropriation, respectively (Lindsay, 2012). For the purposes of this study, the term "expropriation" is predominantly employed to align with the legislative text in Ethiopia.

Scholars have provided varied definitions of expropriation. According to Black's Law Dictionary, expropriation is the government's taking of private property for public use, such as building a road, park, hospital, setting up a military reservation, public utility, or right of way (Garner, 2010). Expropriation is an essential power of the state that allows them to acquire private property for public use, with compensation for affected parties (Wortley, 1960; Plimmer & McCluskey, 2018). The compensation prevents expropriation from resulting in unjustified enrichment, ensuring that the affected parties receive financial compensation for their loss.

The definitions provided above highlight that expropriation is justified when it serves a public purpose and emphasizes the requirement of fair compensation, except for Black's Law Dictionary's definition, which does not explicitly mention the need for fair compensation. However, what remains lacking in all these definitions is a detailed exploration of the procedures involved in expropriation. Recognizing this gap, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTD) took a significant step in 2012 by adopting a comprehensive understanding of expropriation. UNCTD's comprehensive framework acknowledges that states

have sovereign right, as per international law, to expropriate property belonging to their citizens or foreign individuals for various reasons, including economic, political, or social objectives. However, for expropriation to be considered lawful, it must have a legitimate public purpose and be accompanied by fair, prompt, and adequate compensation. Moreover, the process of expropriation should adhere to principles of transparency, non-discrimination, and due process of law.

This definition provides, encompassing all essential elements of expropriation. For instance, expropriation is a right exercised by the state or its sub-branches. Another important element to consider is the concept of public use, which curtails the rights of private property owners. Expropriation is justified based on the premise that it serves a greater public interest or purpose. Moreover, the state or authorized entities responsible for expropriation must follow due process, ensuring fairness and transparency throughout. Lastly, the aspect of compensation is essential to consider, whose property is expropriated must receive appropriate compensation. The compensation should be fair, based on the property's market value, and take into account any other relevant factors to ensure that individuals are not unjustly deprived of their property rights.

2.1.2. Expropriation under the Law

Expropriation is typically regulated by legislation or constitutional provisions that outline the conditions and the compensation must be paid to affected parties. International standards and guidelines emphasize the importance of fair compensation and due process in expropriation cases. For example, the United Nations Guidelines on Business and Human Rights (2011) adopted that states should establish mechanisms for effective remedies for individuals or groups that are adversely affected by business activities, including expropriation. Such kinds of international standards help to protect landholdings' rights and ensure that they are not unfairly disadvantaged.

Expropriation did not become a major issue in Ethiopia until the early 20th century, due to the country's predominantly agricultural economy. Modern urbanization began with the establishment of the present capital, Addis Ababa, in 1886 (Henze, 2000; Ambaye, 2013). Although modern road construction began on a small scale and for military purposes in the mid-19th century, it intensified only after the establishment of the capital. According to Ambaye

(2013), the Ethiopian government was compulsorily take land and any building for public purposes, if necessary. The owner would be compensated based on the assessment of experts.

Nowadays, expropriation of farmland from small-scale farmers has been used by all levels of government as a tool to provide land for industrial investors, commercial agriculture, and expanding cities (Harris, 2015). In Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 455/2005 of FDRE, Article 3 Sub-Article 1, gives woredas and urban administrations the power to expropriate landholding for public purposes. The legislative text says that:

„,,, upon payment in advance of compensation in accordance with this Proclamation, have the power to expropriate rural or urban landholdings for public purposes where it believes that it should be used for a better development project to be carried out by public entities, private investors, cooperative societies, or other organs, or where' such expropriation has been decided by the appropriate higher regional or federal government organ for the same purpose.

As mentioned above, land expropriation has been used by governments to promote public interest, such as by expanding public services, provided fair compensation for affected parties.

2.1.3. Justification for Expropriation

Expropriation is the power of government to acquire private property for public use (Keith, 2008). However, this power is not absolute, international law and national constitutions or laws place certain limitations on it. For instance, the 1962 UN General Assembly Resolution on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources, states that expropriation must be based on a public purpose, such as national security or the general welfare. According to Fernando (1984), the usual reasons for expropriation include redistribution of land in an equitable manner, political and price stabilization through land control, social justice, physical planning, redistribution of income, wealth, and opportunities, etc.

National constitutions and laws typically specify other public purposes for which expropriation may uses, such as transportation uses (e.g., roads, highways, railways), public buildings (e.g., schools, hospitals, factories, religious institutions and public housing), public utilities (e.g., water, electricity, irrigation), public parks (e.g., gardens, sports facilities and cemeteries), and

defense purposes (Keith, 2008). Despite the different reasons for expropriation, the overarching principle in most cases is that government is taking land to meet public needs that are not being met by the market.

2.2. Concept of Compensation

The concept of compensation is inextricably linked to expropriation. All legal systems, regardless of their differences, require that property owners be compensated for what they loss due to expropriation. Compensation for expropriation is intended to make up for the losses suffered by people displaced or negatively affected by the acquisition (Alemu, 2015). The compensation, whether in financial form, replacement land, or structures, is essential in compulsory acquisition. It is intended to repay people for their losses, which can be significant, including their homes, land, and means of livelihood (Keith, 2008).

The purpose of compensation is to remedy the losses suffered by those whose property has been expropriated. Compensation should be guided by principles of equity and equivalence, meaning that it should be sufficient to ensure that landholders are neither impoverished nor enriched by expropriation (Locke, 1988; Keith, 2008). It is considered prompt if paid without delay, adequate if it has a reasonable relationship with the market value of the property expropriated, and effective if paid in convertible or freely usable currency (UNCTAD, 2012).

2.3. Related Empirical Studies

2.3.1. Land Expropriation

While the right of states to expropriate is recognized, its exercise has triggered conflicts, debates, and disagreements (UNCTAD, 2012). In Ethiopia, rapid urbanization has increased demand for urban land (Koroso et al., 2021). To meet this demand, governments use various methods, including land expropriation, which is legitimate when applied fairly. To ensure transparency and fairness in land expropriation, FDRE Proclamation No. 455/2005, Article 4, provides detailed procedures, including compensation assessment and landholding involvement such as notification. Proclamation No. 456/2005 is another government effort to ensure transparency, fairness, and somewhat community participation in land-related decisions.

Despite efforts to improve land expropriation practices in Ethiopia, there are ongoing discussions

about their effectiveness and adequacy. The underlying principle of expropriation is to serve a public need, not to acquire land for private gain (Chan, 2003). However, land expropriation in Ethiopia is often conducted without enough involvement of affected landholdings (Ambaye, 2013; Wegedie, 2018; Alamerew, 2020; Dires et al., 2021; & Talema, & Nigusie, 2023). The legal authorities of expropriators often do not pre-inform or provide written notification to peasants when their land is vacated and compensation is paid. Expropriation practices are inconsistent, unfair, and lackluster, and peasants are not engaged in the process. The municipality has no bargaining power to influence peri-urban farmers to voluntarily give up their land and reach a common consensus (Mohammed et al., 2020).

While some scholars argue that land expropriation in Ethiopia is often conducted without involving affected landholdings, others argue that this is not always the case. For instance, in his paper “Expropriation challenges in large infrastructure project in rural area of Ethiopia,” by taking Hamusit-Estie road project as a case, Tesfahun found that expropriation procedures in Ethiopia follow somehow similar steps to the international guidelines (Tefahun, 2022). Local government’s typically informs households that their land will be taken and makes compensation payments. According to Funke (2023), the Ethiopian resettlement policy has become more concerned with the social impacts of expropriation, as evidenced by broadened compensation entitlements and expanded consultation processes. These findings suggest that there is community consultation and genuine public participation on expropriation activities in Ethiopia. It also seems that the process of expropriation follow due process of law, ensuring fairness and transparency. It is important to ensure that community consultation is meaningful when the concerns of landholding are adequately addressed (Kumsa, 2011; Belachew, 2013). Public participation is essential for achieving the goal of land expropriation in public interest (Alemu, 2015).

Scholars have raised different and often contradictory viewpoints on the grounds and process for expropriation. It is difficult to form a comprehensive understanding of the expropriation process in this case. In addition, Ethiopia's federal structure gives the freedom for regions to formulate laws based on federal constitutional guidelines (Deininger et al., 2011). As a result, the policies and proclamations concerning expropriation and rehabilitation for peri-urban farmers are amended at different times (Mohammed et al., 2017). It also directly matters its effectiveness on

ground and sometimes leads some legal difference, possibly further complicating the issue. To fully understand land expropriation practices in specific cases, it is necessary to consult the relevant laws, regulations, and local authorities. Expropriation is a complex and controversial issue that requires careful examination from a specific perspective, due to the variation in context, project, and region. Therefore, this study aims to explore expropriation practices for urban expansion in Kombolcha town.

2.3.2. Compensation for Land Expropriation

Compensation is the centerpiece of land expropriation in Ethiopia, as it is intended to balance social justice and protect the rights of landholders from arbitrary confiscation (Belachew, 2013). Most national constitutions provide for adequate, fair, or just compensation for expropriated properties in public interest (Ndjovu, 2003), including the FDRE Proclamation No. 455/2005 in Ethiopia. The FDRE Proclamation No. 455/2005 states that landholders whose land is expropriated must be paid compensation. In addition, the amount of compensation must cover cost of replacing property and be equal to the current value of capital and labor expended on the land.

Compensation for losses suffered and who gets what during the government acquires land are typically the most complex and controversial aspects of compulsory acquisition (Lindsay, 2012). Communities without tenure security are particularly vulnerable to losing their land and livelihoods to industrial and urban expansion (Admasu et al., 2019; van Berkum, 2023). It is often unclear to what extent project developers are obligated to explore alternatives or assist affected communities in reconstructing their livelihoods. In many jurisdictions, expropriation is guided by the principles of equity and equivalence (Ndjovu, 2003; Babu, 2020). This means that compensation should be adequate to ensure that people are neither impoverished nor enriched as a result of expropriation.

However, in Ethiopia, compensation is often not paid in advance, which violates legal rights of expropriation affected farmers (Mohammed et al., 2020). The amount of compensation paid for expropriated land in Ethiopia is often inadequate (Kumsa, 2011). It could not replace any standard house as per the requirements of the city regulations (Ambaye, 2013). On other hand, for expropriated pre-urban landholdings, compensation is a combination of monetary and land-

to-land compensation (Alamerew, 2020). For instance, the monetary compensation amount per hectare increased from birr 327,710.776 in 2017 to birr 651,238.552 in 2019. This suggests that the government is committed on protecting the rights of expropriated landholders and helping them to rebuild their lives after losing their land.

Compensation is not always paid promptly, and expropriation often disproportionately affects pre-urban land farmers (Alamerew, 2020). In most cases, compensation payments are delayed for a year or more after the land is vacated. As Admasu et al. (2019) found that farmers received only 37% of the value of their current crop yields and growth. The reason for this incomplete compensation is inclusion of actual predominant crop such as teff and exclusion of crop residuals that are parts of the income that could be obtained from their land. The current compensation scheme also ignores the impact of inflation on crop prices (Ambaye, 2013; Admasu et al., 2019). For instance, the compensation offered is the same for previous land users who lost their land at different times (e.g., three to four consecutive years) without considering inflation in crop prices and yields. This can be a significant financial burden for evicted farmers, especially those who are already struggling to make ends meet. Affected people are not adequately involved in the decision-making process for valuation and compensation. Expropriated landholders also do not receive any support from the government to help them use their compensation money wisely for further investments (Dires et al., 2021).

The law governing land expropriation is not applied uniformly and consistently to all affected people (Belachew, 2013). A problem seems associated with the legal, technical, institutional and financial aspects of expropriation as well as property valuation and compensation practice. The problem includes lack of formal written notifications of expropriation orders, lack of community consultation, lack of transparency in the determination of property values, and inconsistency of compensation payment. According to the study by Workineh (2017), found that the number of compensated and non-compensated people is roughly equal that possibly indicates the inconsistent compensation payment practice. This may also suggests that a significant number of people are not receiving compensation that they are entitled to under the law.

As mentioned above, there is disagreement among scholars about how to compensate expropriated landholders especially the timing, amount, and forms of compensation. Ethiopia's federal and regional land laws do not clearly specify the amount of compensation for

expropriated landholders except provide vague explanation (Kumsa, 2011). Additionally, municipalities do not follow similar or standardized compensation procedures (Ambaye, 2013; Mohammed et al., 2017; & Alamerew, 2020). This leads to unfair valuation and compensation regimes, as well as different valuations by different land-taking agencies, resulting in different compensation values for similar lands. It is therefore difficult to develop standard valuation and compensation due to different procedures and practices among municipalities and regions.

The basis for compensation legal framework and procedure in Ethiopia, FDRE constitution in Article 44, Sub Article 2, stating: All persons who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of state programs have the right to commensurate monetary or alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate state assistance. Accordingly, all project affected individuals who loose houses, land or other source of income will be compensated. The FDRE Proclamation No. 455/2005 in Article 7, compensation is payable for each property situated on the land and for permanent improvements made to such land. In Article 8, also emphasis that the compensation in the form of ten times the average annual income from the past five years. As far as regional laws and regulations are concerned, the Amhara National Regional State's Land Administration and Utilization Regulation No. 51/2007 may serves as an example. Article 30 (1) of this regulation, provides that compensation amounting to the money equivalent of the average annual income of the last five years should be made before the landholder or user is made to evacuate his/her holding.

The newly adopted Proclamation No. 1161/2019 relatively provide a number of alternative options for compensating those affected by land expropriation, such as a replacement of land, displacement compensation, and resettlement / rehabilitation packages. Article 13 which is sub-article 1 of the Proclamation puts first provision of replacement land to displaced landholders. If suitable land is unavailable, it is calculated as fifteen times from the highest annual income of the past three years. Additionally, the Proclamation specifically highlights the compensation bounds for peri-urban landholders whose residences are revoked in Article 15, and offers resettlement and rehabilitation packages in Article 16. Despite this, however, there might still be issues related to their implementation and effectiveness existing land proclamations as mentioned above. Therefore, this study aims to examine this issue from a more specific perspective by taking Kombolcha town as a case.

2.3.3. Complaints and Appeals for Land Expropriation

Land expropriation for urbanization in Ethiopia is neither participatory nor supportive of farmers in the periphery (Ambaye, 2013; Mohammed et al., 2017). It is not preceded by reasonable and timely public consultations, and its implementation is often supported by a coercive police force. The lack of a justified and reasonable response to complaints about land expropriation has led to community resistance.

According to Alemu (2015), farmers in Ethiopia have resisted land expropriation due to unfair compensation and a lack of training before and after compensation. The feeling of being deprived of livelihood and welfare due to being least compensated was the main driving force behind the acts of resistance taken by the villagers (Gou, 2001; Alamineh & Eneyew, 2021). Participation in the conflict with local authority was one way of the rural populace resisted expropriation practice. Since land is a major asset for agrarian communities, whereas cash compensation is perishable and consumable within a short time. Fitawok et al. (2023) also found inadequate compensations, a lack of good governance, and inaccessibility of infrastructure are primary reasons for the farmers' struggle against urban expansion on the urban fringes.

Moreover, farmers are reluctant to transfer their land because land expropriation can reduce and fragment their natural capital (Guo et al., 2019; Ogwang & Vanclay, 2019; & Yan et al., 2021). It can also raise farmers' farmland value expectations due to land scarcity and use of monetized compensation (Yan et al., 2021). In Ethiopia, land expropriation has eroded the confidence of local communities. It forced peasants to plant eucalyptus on their remaining farmland in the belief that it will increase compensation in the future (Alamineh & Eneyew, 2021). However, as Ma et al. (2020) imply that rural residents' attitudes toward land expropriation are dynamic, changing depending on their level of involvement in the process and their understanding.

As mentioned above, community perceptions and reactions to land expropriation vary greatly depending on several key factors. It includes compensation, context, project type, procedural fairness and transparency, and communication and engagement strategies. For instance, when communities feel they are receiving unfair compensation, they are more likely to be resentment and lead to resistance. Additionally, feeling excluded from the decision-making process and lacking a voice in negotiations possibly leads to alienation and resistance. This contextual

difference and the fluidity of socioeconomic factors make it difficult to understand and generalize how communities perceive and respond to such policies. Furthermore, most of the studies are focuses on the community attitudes on expropriation in general except Fitawok et al. (2023) who see the attitude of community on expropriation from urban expansion context. Lastly, they often focus on a general community perspective, neglecting the voices of relevant stakeholders such as government officials. Investigating their views and understanding their concerns would contribute to more inclusive and holistic policy interventions. Therefore, this study aims to explore community perceptions and reactions to land expropriation for urban expansion in the town of Kombolcha, including those of relevant government stakeholders.

2.3.4. Impacts of Land Expropriation on Community

While land expropriation may be necessary for the greater good, it can also be controversial due to its potential impact on individual property rights and the risk of abuse by government. Expropriating land for development purposes may ultimately benefit society, but it is disruptive to those whose property is acquired. This is especially true in countries like Ethiopia, where the level of economic and social development is low. People are at risk of displacement from both inner cities and peripheral urban areas for redevelopment purposes or to construct public facilities.

2.3.4.1. Socio-Economic Impacts

Governments use land expropriation to acquire land for development, but this policy can disrupt the livelihoods of local residents (Alamineh & Eneyew, 2021). The practices are neither participatory nor inclusive, and negatively impact the economic livelihood and food security of peri-urban farming communities (Mohammed et al., 2017). It adversely affects previous land users by reducing their production and sources of income. It has not taken into account the lives of rural peasants living near the cities (Utami et al., 2021). Current land expropriation practices do not properly consider future livelihood survival strategies for evicted farmers, including compensation (Mohammed et al., 2020; Dires et al., 2021).

Displacement due to land expropriation is a more significant issue in developing countries, where it is increasing at an alarming rate, particularly at the expense of peri-urban farming households (Wegedie, 2018; Funke, 2023; Talema & Nigusie, 2023). As a direct result of

expropriation, people are displaced from their homes, farmers are dislocated from their fields, and businesses are disconnected from their neighborhoods (Alemu, 2014; Wegedie, 2018). For example, according to Ethiopian Human Rights Council (2023), 111,811 households were forcibly evicted from their homes in Addis Ababa, Sheger city administration, and Adama due to land expropriation for urban expansion and other infrastructural projects in just eight months in 2023. This suggests that the government should consider the well-being of displaced citizens when implementing this kind of expropriation policy.

Most national constitutions stipulate that expropriation must be accompanied by compensation (Yan et al., 2021). However, in practice, the compensation is not always paid promptly. Expropriation disproportionately affects pre-urban land farmers, with compensation payments often delayed for a year or more after they vacate the land (Alamerew (2020). The government does not make up for the inflation losses that result from the delay in payment (Ambaye, 2013). Affected parties who have been paid cash compensation often find it very difficult to find replacement land elsewhere (Ogwang & Vanclay, 2019).

The World Bank's Operational Policy (OP) 4.12 on Involuntary Resettlement requires that projects be designed and implemented in a way that minimizes adverse impacts on affected persons, and that provides them with fair and just compensation and other assistance so that they can improve or at least restore their incomes and living standards (WB, 2001). However, the compensation payment in Ethiopia is too little to sustain life after eviction, and it is economically inadequate to restore affected farmers' livelihoods (Alemu, 2015). The lack of clear and effective compensation provisions for expropriated landholders in Ethiopia possibly becomes a gap in the country's land laws effectiveness. This gap has several negative consequences, including insufficient compensation and delayed payment, which can lead to significant financial hardship for affected parties.

Farmers' land is more than just a means of livelihood; it is a political, cultural, social, and psychological asset (Alemu, 2015). Its true value cannot be measured in monetary terms due to farmers' deep attachments to their land, which has often been passed down for generations (Hsu, 2017; Qu et al., 2018; & Mohammed et al., 2020). Thus, displacement from their land can have devastating social impacts, including separation of families, loss of cultural heritage, and destruction of social networks. The displacement of farmers and rural communities to create an

enabling environment for private investors and urban dwellers is a particularly concerning trend, leading to profound social and cultural lacerations that have not received enough attention from scholars.

Moreover, existing studies on land expropriation often fail to adequately address the social and economic inequalities that may arise during the process. This is particularly true when it comes to the compensation process and its ability to provide an equitable transition for all residents. Those who rely most heavily on the land for their income may struggle to adapt to new livelihoods. They often lack the skills, education, or resources to transition smoothly to other income-generating activities. From this aspect, this pushes some residents into lower-paying jobs or informal work. Whereas other evicted individuals may be able to convert their compensation payments into more successful income-generating activities than others. Additionally, in northern part of Ethiopia landholding size significantly matters wealth status, making these disparities even more concerning.

They have not also considered the particular impact of land expropriation on historically or socially vulnerable groups (such as women, orphans etc.). In fact it's true that some historically or socially vulnerable groups may face greater challenges in accessing and securing landholding, however it's important to remember that this doesn't apply for all vulnerable individuals. Additionally, even if that some individuals and communities belong to populations generally defined as vulnerable, this does not necessarily influence their ability to engage in expropriation processes and reap significant benefits. Factors like individual agency, access to resources, legal knowledge, and social networks can play a crucial role in navigating the complexities of expropriation and securing fair outcomes. Therefore, it is important to understand how women, minority groups, and other socially vulnerable groups are differentially treated during land expropriation and how compensation practices affect them. This study aims to fill this gap by examining the socio-economic impacts of land expropriation on local community and differential treatment of historically disadvantaged groups during land expropriation and the implications of compensation practices.

2.3.4.2. Environmental Impacts

Diverse land use types provide a variety of ecosystem goods and services, which are essential for

human well-being and environmental sustainability (Admasu et al., 2020). These services include not only provisioning services, such as food, water, and timber, but also regulating services (such as climate regulation and water filtration), supporting services (such as nitrogen cycling and soil formation), and cultural services (such as entertainment and spiritual values). However, the current process of urban expansion does not adequately consider the impact on ecosystem services, which can lead to unintended environmental and social problems. The research by Azadi et al. (2021) focuses on the impacts of the land tenure systems on sustainable land use practices in Ethiopia. Their findings shows that conversion of land classified as forest, protected area, or wetland to other uses, such as urbanization, can have a significant negative impact on biodiversity and environmental health (Azadi et al., 2021).

Expropriate land for urbanization can diminish the natural resources available to poor people, making them more vulnerable (Mohammed et al., 2017). Those people often rely more heavily on natural resources for their livelihoods such as subsistence farming on small plots of land and informal resource collection through gathering like firewood, medicinal plants, and wild fruits for sale or personal use. This loss of resources, compounded by potential expropriation, forces the communities to struggle for alternative livelihoods, often leading to poverty and hardship. A recent study in Tanzania found that urbanization severely deteriorated households' natural, financial, and social capital, and had a significant negative impact on wellbeing, compared to a control village (Dwamena, 2021). These findings suggest that important to promote urbanization in Ethiopia in a sustainable way that protects ecosystem services and livelihoods of poor people.

Countries like United States and South Africa have developed useful lessons on how to calculate compensation for ecosystem services (Nsoh, 2013). However, it is important to note that these approaches may not be directly applicable to Ethiopia due to differences in political and legal contexts. Both private and public lands are essential for the provision of ecosystem services, including biodiversity conservation (Farrier, 1995). However, expropriation law in Ethiopia does not fully recognize the value of ecosystem services or rights of landholdings. So, it is important to explore ways to calculate compensation for ecosystem services in the country. Despite the importance of understanding environmental consequences of land expropriation for urban expansion, there is a limited body of research that specifically focuses on this topic in Ethiopian context. The existing few studies also often examine broader aspects of urbanization or land

governance, without delving into the specific analysis of environmental impacts of land expropriation. This study aims to address this gap by investigating the environmental impact of land expropriation from provisioning services aspects (directly provide resources that use for survival and well-being, such as; food production, water availability, access to raw materials, and energy) in the town of Kombolcha, Ethiopia.

2.4. Theories

Land expropriation, the act of taking private property for public use, is a complex and contentious issue with far-reaching implications for individuals in particular and communities in general. While expropriation can be a necessary tool for achieving public policy goals, it must be carefully considered and implemented in a manner that respects the rights of landholders and minimizes negative impacts. Various theoretical frameworks have been there which may help to analyze and understand land expropriation. To shed some light on these principles, analyses of more relevant theories are proper.

2.4.1. Modernization Theory

Modernization theory began by critiquing the economic focus of development in 1940s and 1950s. Through modernity has economic connotation encompassing industrialization, urbanization, and increased use of technology, it is also reflected with in social, political and cultural spares (Willis, 2005).

In the context of land expropriation, modernization theory views urbanization as a key indicator of societal progress. It argues that as societies modernize, they transition from a predominantly rural agrarian economy to an urban industrial society. From this perspective, modernization theory possibly helps to see or reflecting the perceived advancement and modernity of a society after they transform rural areas into urban centers.

Modernization theory's belief that the development of modern institutions and infrastructure in urban areas promotes economic and social progress, so this theory may insightful to see this progress including transportation networks, utilities, and public amenities. Additionally, modernization theory suggests that urbanization and industrialization bring about social and cultural changes in societies. In this case, land expropriation for urban expansion not only alters

the physical landscape but also transforms social structures, dynamics, and cultural practices. So, modernization theory becomes essential to analyze this socio-cultural changes due to expropriation such as shifts in livelihood patterns, migration, and changes in community and family structures as traditional rural communities adapt to the urban setting.

In general, modernization theory helps to emphasis or reflects certain aspects on how land expropriation for urbanization becomes a sign of progress, development of modern institutions and infrastructure, and the socio-cultural transformation on specific area. However, it raises issues of inequality and displacement that challenge this theory's assumptions of equitable development. It misses how the practices are taken, what was the fate of displaced community, are they included in development, or they marginalized further?

2.4.2. Dependency theory

Dependency theory becomes popular at the end of 1960 and 1970s. Dependency theory challenged the prevailing development narrative, asserting that underdevelopment is caused by the economic exploitation of poorer countries by wealthier nations (Frank 1966: 18). It argues that the global economic system is characterized by unequal power relations, where developed nations benefit at the expense of underdeveloped countries.

Land expropriation for urban expansion can be examined through the lens of dependency theory, particularly in terms of economic dynamics and power imbalances between different actors involved. By analyzing data on landholding changes, the theory help to see the economic relation between different actors involved in expropriation process and distribution of benefits from the process after all. Additionally, by reflecting an insight into how power imbalances contribute to inequality in land access or control, the theory uncovers how local people potentially disadvantageous and how their voice might be exclude from the process. Moreover, the theory uncovers how the prioritization of urban projects driven by external actors can divert local resources such as land, and how it exacerbating imbalanced growth and further marginalizing rural areas and vulnerable populations.

The theory uncovers the economic and political powerful elites within the periphery exercise control over the process. In this case, the theory becomes essential to analyze their economic and political powers are leverage to acquire land for development, often prioritizing their own

interests and profit generation at the expense of marginalized communities, small-scale landholdings, and vulnerable groups. How these individuals and groups often bear the brunt of this process, experiencing displacement, loss of livelihoods, and social dislocation without reaping significant benefits from the urban expansion?

Land expropriation for urban expansion purposes can be understood within the lens of dependency theory, by revealing how economic exploitation, power imbalances, and the perpetuation of the core-periphery dynamic relation contribute to the unequal outcomes on such land development activities. It can also see how land expropriation might disrupt their livelihoods and resource access, leading to economic dependence on external forces. Thus, understanding these relationships may be crucial for critically analyzing and addressing the social, economic, and political implications of land expropriation in the context of urban expansion.

2.4.3. Sustainable Development Approach

Sustainable Development approach is the most recent and comprehensive approach for description of development. The first official definition of sustainable development was given by UN World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) in Brundtland Commission Report called 'Our Common Future.' Sustainable Development is a process that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs." Sustainable Development takes in to account the holistic integration of economic, social, and environmental aspects of development.

In the context of land expropriation, Sustainable Development approach can help assess whether the process aligns with sustainability goals and identify potential environmental and social challenges arising from land expropriation. This approach recognizes the importance of accommodating urban growth while minimizing negative environmental and social impacts. It calls for inclusive approaches involving affected communities in decision-making, providing fair compensation, and ensuring equitable sharing of urban expansion benefits. Furthermore, sustainable urban expansion seeks to balance economic growth with long-term viability through careful economic planning and assessing the potential impacts of land expropriation. Sustainable development is essential to emphasize how urban expansion promotes long-term environmental sustainability, social equity, economic viability, and taking future-oriented approach.

While these theoretical perspectives offer valuable insights into land expropriation, dependency theory exhaustively helps my study to analyze the findings. The study reveals that expropriation happened without properly incorporating the evicted communities consequently that can minimize potential role of local population involvement. Dependency theory also argues for unequal power dynamics between two unbalanced groups. From this aspect, this finding aligns with that perspective, suggesting established procedures prioritize the interests of authorities over the rights and needs of the local communities most affected by expropriation. Additionally, the finding indicates that expropriation exposes evicted groups to various socioeconomic challenges including loss of land often their primary source of income, can lead to poverty, unemployment, and social disenfranchisement. Dependency theory posits that some groups become dependent on other better ones due to their exploitative relation. From this aspect, expropriation weakens local economies and communities, potentially forcing them to rely on alternative external sources as rehabilitation, reinforcing a cycle of dependency.

Thus, dependency theory supports to analyze the potential power imbalances and negative consequences of land expropriation on peri-urban communities in study area. It helps also to uncover how these communities are potentially disadvantaged and how their voices might be excluded from the process. By uncovering these, the theory strengthen the study to argues for revising expropriation procedures to ensure fair compensation, transparent land use plans, and genuine community involvement throughout the process.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Description of the Study Area

3.1.1. Origin and Development of the Town

The city of Kombolcha was established during the Italian invasion in 1936. Its name comes from the Italian word "Campolucia" which means "neighborhood with lights." This name is related to the establishment of the city with the Italian invasion, "Campolucia" has been changed and the city continues to be called Kombolcha (KCGOSC, 2020). Before 1943, Kombolcha got recognition by the municipality, formerly known as "Birraro." Before the coming of the Italians to the region, the present site of Kombolcha was largely covered by thick forests and thorny bushes; there was no permanent settlement, particularly due to the prevalence of Malaria (Gashaw, 2002). However, the arrival of Italians and their construction of major roads, including Addis Ababa-Asmara and Addis Ababa-Assab routes, which passed through the present site of Kombolcha, undoubtedly played a significant role in its growth. According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), the city administration is divided into 6 rural and 6 urban kebeles. However, this organization is not able to carry the current socio-economic activity due to rapid population growth. So, currently the city has been reorganized into 14 urban kebeles and 6 rural kebeles.

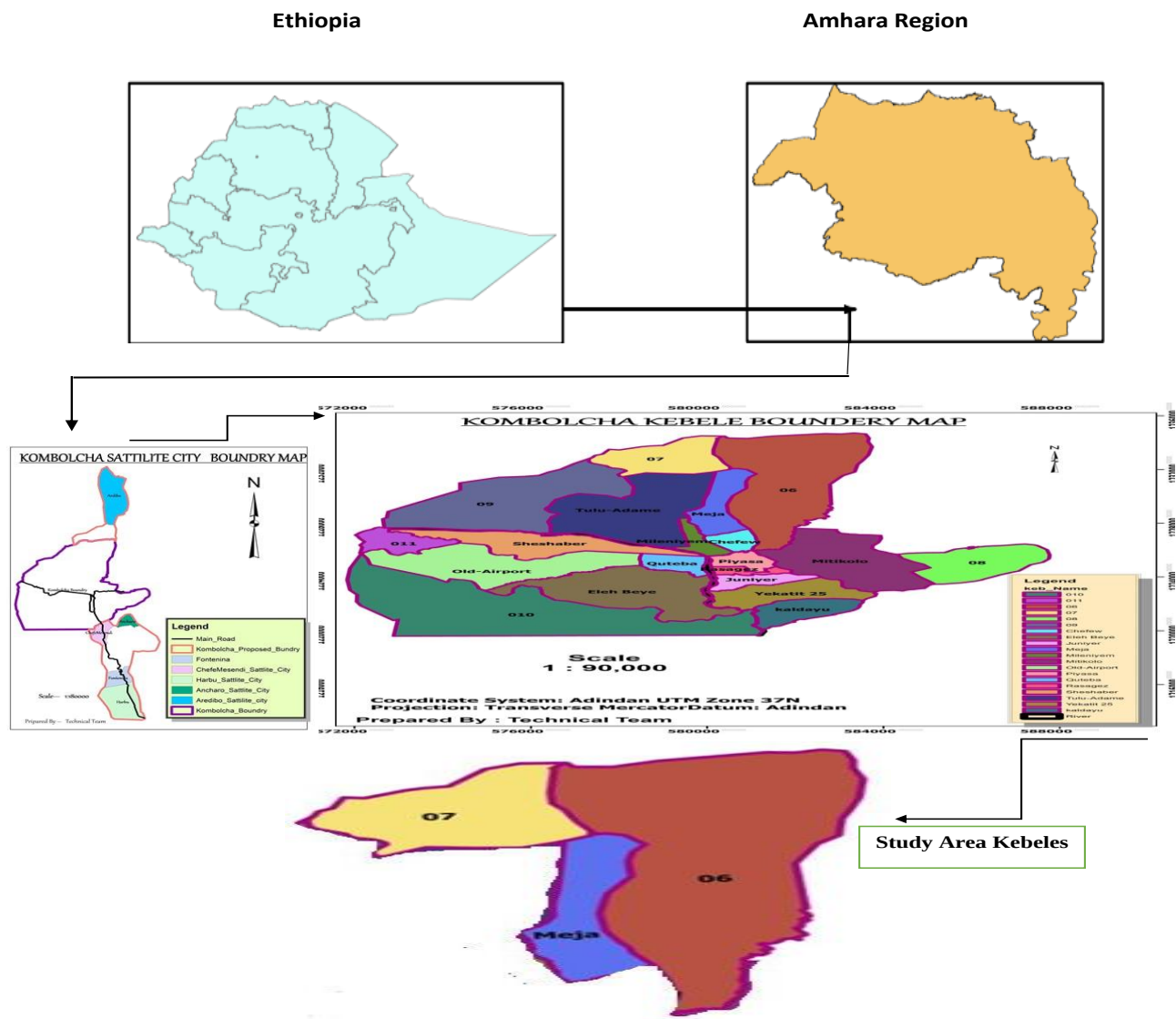
3.1.2. Location

Kombolcha is a town and woreda in north-east Ethiopia, located in the Debub Wollo Zone of the Amhara Region. It is 376 km north of Addis Ababa and adjacent to Dessie Zuria District at the southwest, Kalu district at the east and south, Tehulederie District at the north, and Dessie City at the northwest (KCGOSC, 2020). According to this report, the town which is situated at 11°5'N latitude and 39°44'E longitude in Northeast Ethiopia with an elevation between 1842 and 1915 meters above sea level. Kombolcha is sometimes described as the twin city of Dessie, which lies some 13 km to the north-west. The national road network grid connects Kombolcha with Mekelle in the north via Dessie, with Semera in the east, and Addis Ababa in the south.

Nowadays, Kombolcha is a metropolitan area that has undergone significant urban expansion in

recent decades. Recognized as a national and regional industrial development center since 2005, Kombolcha has undertaken ambitious urban expansion projects (Muluwork, 2014). This makes the peri-urban areas surrounding the town particularly targeting, as they represent the transition zones between urban and rural environments. It also make the town are experiencing the most vigorous expropriation due to the ongoing urbanization process.

FIGURE 1: LOCATION MAP OF KOMBOLCHA/ STUDY AREA



Source: Kombolcha town municipality office, 2024. (With compiled by author)

3.1.3. Population and Demographic Characteristics

Based on the 2007 national census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), Kombolcha town has a total population of 85,367, of whom 41,968 are men and 43,399 women. The majority of the inhabitants are Muslim (73.92%), followed by Ethiopian Orthodox Christians (23.44%) and Protestants (2.32%). The three largest ethnic groups are the Amhara (91.34%), Tigrinya (5.85%), and Oromo (1.29%). Amharic is the most widely spoken language (93.02%), followed by Tigrinya (5.2%) and Oromiffa (1.11%); the remaining 0.67% spoke all other primary languages reported.

In the study area, the population number is growing rapidly. According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), through the cited Kombolcha Mayor Office Planning Commission Group, the population of the city was 94,474 in 2010 and reached 162,533 in 2021. The growth rate from 2010 to 2020 was 60.5% over 10 years. However, a door-to-door census carried out by the city administration for various activities has confirmed that the total number of people living in the city is 120,579 men, 132,585 women, for a total of 253,164. This rapid population growth possibly creates a greater demand for housing, infrastructure, and other commercial spaces. This drives the need for land that can lead to increase pressures on expropriation. In other word, the town may be more likely to resort to expropriation to acquire land for these purposes, from surrounding peri-urban areas.

3.1.4. Climate

Kombolcha falls within Weyna-Dega zone with a mean annual rainfall ranging from 725.1 mm to 1361.6 mm and annual temperature varies from 18.7°C to 20.9°C (Abegaz & Abera, 2020).

3.1.5. Economic Activities

3.1.5.1. Trade and Marketing

The business activity of the town has been increasing and becomes major economic activity as well as source of income for numerous people. Especially between 2016 and 2020, it has been growing rapidly, both in terms of type and size. According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), the number of legally registered traders increased from 4507 in 2016 to 7528 in 2020. Most of the business activities for these legally registered market operators includes mini-cafeteria and

restaurant, textile like ready-made cloth, traditional cloth, salvage cloth, blanket, Edible and Inedible items/goods that include industrial products mostly used for daily activities like soap and stationery materials, Cereals and pulses, fruits and vegetables, furniture and handicrafts (locally produced house equipment made from wood and metal).

3.1.5.2. Investment

Kombolcha is among the leading cities where industrial and investment activities are seen rapidly. Its proximity to the ports of Djibouti and Assab, a well-developed transportation network connecting roads from all directions, reliable electricity supply, air transportation, railway lines, customs and dry port services, and the presence of numerous government and financial institutions are among the reasons for the town is more preferable and more convenient than other cities. This combination has made the city a destination for investors.

According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), currently, the town industrial sector boasts 179 registered industries with a combined capital of Birr 10,395,102,776. These industries are poised to create job opportunities for 28,986 citizens, with 11 already in operation. The hotel and tourism sector has attracted 32 investors with a combined capital of Birr 809,160,535. These investors are poised to create job opportunities for 2,415 people, with 11 already providing services in the hospitality industry. In the construction sector, 120 investors have registered capital of Birr 878,123,930 and are creating employment opportunities for 4,331 people. Ninety-four of these companies are already operational. The urban agriculture sector features 33 investors with a combined capital of Birr 63,310,000, creating employment opportunities for 981 people. Twenty more operate in service-related fields. Finally, the social sector has attracted 10 investors with a combined capital of Birr 678,050,000. These investors are creating job opportunities for 424 people, with 6 already providing social services.

3.1.6. Available Social Infrastructures

3.1.6.1. Transport Sector

According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), the town experiencing significant growth in the transportation sector, and has 1 airline that has been operating since 2015, one railway line that has been already completed, a train fitting and repair workshop station, and a dry port that is in

service. In addition, there are road infrastructures that can be serviced from winter to summer. As the report indicates Asphalt Road 15 km, Cobble Road 30 km, Gravel Road 91.534 km, Paved Road 17.6 km, Canal Construction 29.629 km, Calbert Construction 197, Drainage Canal Construction 27.68 km, Medium 11 bridges, 194 minor bridges have been constructed in the city.

3.1.6.2. Water Supply and Electricity Service

According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), the water supply and electricity service in the town stating as follow. Regarding water supply, currently, nine water wells serve the city, with a combined production capacity of 320 liters per second. Additionally, 21 water storage tanks ensure consistent water availability. Approximately 37.5% of the water produced is allocated for residents and industries, while the remaining 62.5% is held in reserve. Water pricing varies depending on the user category. Government and public institutions pay between Birr 5.50 and Birr 10.70 per cubic meter (m³), while commercial institutions and industries pay between Birr 6.30 and Birr 16.30 per cubic meter (m³). Regarding electricity service, the town has been a 24-hour user of electricity since 1966. To meet the growing demand associated with the city's ongoing growth and industrial expansion, construction of a new substation is underway.

3.1.6.3. Education and Health Sector

Different government and private schools in the town are carrying out their teaching and learning work. According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), the town offers a range of higher education options, including 1 public university branch, 2 government colleges, and 2 private colleges. Additionally, there are 63 educational institutions encompassing both private and government entities. Regarding health facilities, various health facilities have been built by the government and individuals at different times. As the above report indicates, on the public side, there are 10 health centers and 1 hospital, totaling 11 facilities. Additionally, the private sector contributes significantly with 50 health facilities, including 20 medium clinics, 8 minor clinics, 2 specialty clinics, 14 drug stores, and 6 dispensaries.

3.1.7. Landholding Practices

Basically, the economy of rural households in Ethiopia depends on agriculture, be it dominantly pastoral, arable, or mixed farming system (Agidew & Singh, 2018). Like other parts of the

Ethiopian highlands, the major farming system of Wollo is mixed cereal-livestock (Hailelassie et al. 2005). Likewise, in the rural areas surrounding Kombolcha, small-scale mixed farming where crop production and livestock rearing are simultaneously practiced. Land and livestock are therefore important assets and livelihood source of the people. Even in areas recently incorporated into the town, mixed farming was the primary economic activity. The peri-urban areas, however, see transition on non-agricultural jobs.

The area experiences two cropping seasons: Belg and Meher. During the Belg season, barley, teff and irrigation activities reign supreme. In contrast, the Meher season sees a flourishing of wheat, maize, bean, and teff. The farming is mostly carried out using rain-fed systems. Besides, various fruits and vegetables are grown using small-scale irrigation. Livestock also plays a crucial role in their life. Cattle are particularly valuable; with oxen provide essential power for agricultural work. Sheep, goats, and poultry are significant sources of both income and food. The horses, mules, and donkeys available serve as transportation especially for goods. In general, their livelihood income for households primarily comes from crop and livestock. The size and ownership of landholdings are used as a measure of wealth status within the area. However, staying with their landholdings is a challenge due to the continual decline in available arable land caused by urbanization.

3.2. Research Design

Qualitative research stands as a powerful tool for delving beyond the surface and capturing the rich tapestry of human experience. Unlike quantitative research, which focuses on numbers and measurable data, qualitative research prioritizes understanding the reason behind phenomena. Accordingly, the reason for chosen this qualitative research approach is: First, qualitative methods like interviews and focus groups allow participants to share their unique stories and perspectives. This in-depth exploration provides a nuanced understanding of the phenomenon under study, going beyond simple statistics. In other word, it provides a rich and detail pictures that considers multiple perspectives, contextual factors, and other unexpected aspects that emerge during the research process. Second, human experiences are deeply intertwined with the contexts in which they occur. Therefore, this approach allows examining the social, cultural, and historical factors that shape these experiences. This contextual understanding is crucial for interpreting the data and drawing meaningful conclusions (Maxwell, 2008). Third, qualitative

research is inherently flexible. As researcher delves deeper, new questions and themes may emerge, this approach allows adapting their methods to capture these unexpected insights, leading to a more comprehensive understanding. Fourth, the human experience is filled with emotions, values, and beliefs. In this case, this approach provides a platform for participants to share these subjective experiences, offering valuable insights that might be missed by quantitative methods (Maxwell, 2008). The study also used phenomenological research design. The reason for chosen this research design includes it allows exploring and understanding the lived experiences and subjective world of individuals or groups in depth. It also allows to uncovering the essence of phenomena or experiences by exploring how people sense and experience it.

3.3. Data Collection Methods

In order to achieve a comprehensive understanding, this study utilized a multifaceted approach to data collection that incorporated both primary and secondary sources. This fosters a more complete understanding, ensuring that the exploration takes into account both unique perspectives and the current body of knowledge. Primary data sources were the basis of this study, offering fresh insights gained directly from observation, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups. The firsthand information provided useful details that specific to the research questions at hand. Being born and raised as well as living in that area helped me to familiarize myself with the study topic before I conduct extensive fieldwork. Extensively the primary data collected from the end of December to the middle of February, 2024. During the field, some ongoing data analyses were conducted. However, the extensively data analysis and report writing were done after completing data gathering, which concluded on May 20, 2024. This section explores into these key methods used to gather primary data.

Observation

Observation is a research technique where researcher systematically observes and record phenomena within a study area to understand the issue under investigation (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Unlike surveys or interviews, observation captures real-time behavior in a natural setting. People might provide biased or incomplete information when questioned directly. Observation, however, can witness their true actions and interactions (Maxwell, 2008). Instead of

relying solely on reported experiences, it can be witnessed daily realities, fostering a more objective understanding of the current state of the phenomena. Furthermore, by immersing themselves in the daily lives of those groups, it can gain a deeper understanding of their experiences. This approach allows observing not just actions, but also unspoken cues and social dynamics that might be missed through other methods. For aforementioned purposes, participant observation was valuable part of this study.

Primarily this method was helpful to see the study area and ensures its feasibility and comfortability before taking extensive data collection by using FGDs or interviews. It provides a deeper understanding of the study area context such as the physical layout, interactions between people, demographics (age, gender, etc.), and their activities. Additionally, this method was helpful to observe and collect data on land-use changes, particularly which types of land are more likely to be expropriated. Consequently, this data was helpful in analyzing the economic impact of expropriation, especially considering the dependence of many people on agriculture. Furthermore, this method allows me to observe infrastructural patterns and rehabilitation mechanisms that adopted by evicted communities, to discussing their effectiveness and challenges. Combining these observations with interactions with community members allowed for the creation of detailed field notes. This rich tapestry of data, encompassing the general setting of the peri-urban area, paints a comprehensive picture of the social, economic, and environmental dynamics at play during the expropriation process.

Focus Group Discussion

A Focus Group Discussion is a qualitative research method and data collection technique in which a selected group of people discusses a given topic in-depth, facilitated by external moderator (Van Eeuwijk & Angehrn, 2017). This method serves to solicit participants' attitudes and perceptions, knowledge and experiences, and practices, shared in the course of interaction with different people. This study employed FGDs for several key reasons. Focus group discussions (FGDs) are a valuable research tool that allows researcher to collect detailed and real-life data in a social setting. This method is particularly effective for speedy result (gather group opinion, beliefs and preference at once). FGDs are well-suited for research topics that involve contested or controversial issues, such as expropriation studies. Group discussions conducted valuable in helped to crosscheck and validate the data provided by the different

individuals in the interview and the information collected through observation.

Accordingly, FGDs were held with evicted communities as they are expected to have accumulated knowledge of the expropriation's implementation and its impacts on the study area. By comparing data from FGDs with individual interviews and observations, it could strengthen the overall credibility of the findings. Three focus group discussions (FGDs) were held, one each in Meja Kebele, Mutigrar/06 Kebele, and 07 Kebele. Each FGD included six participants, all men, to ensure manageable group sizes for in-depth discussions. As a result, FGDs yielded important data for this study on the socio-economic status of the evicted individuals, their experiences during the expropriation process, the impacts of the expropriation, and the measures taken to mitigate those impacts. By selecting participants based on non-probability purposive sampling, including affected parties and field assistants, guaranteed that the FGDs incorporated the voices of those most impacted by the expropriation and those with firsthand experience in the field.

Semi-Structured Interview

While various interview formats exist, such as structured, unstructured, and in-depth approaches, this study employed semi-structured interviews for several key reasons. Semi-structured interviews are formal and conducted based on a guide. When researcher needs extra information, it can continue the conversation based on the questions provided ahead of time (Taherdoost, 2021). This method prioritizes gaining a deeper understanding of the interviewees' unique perspectives. Open-ended questions act as springboards, prompting them to share their experiences, opinions, and feelings. The flexibility of this approach empowers the researcher to adapt the interview dynamically. They can delve deeper into interesting topics, ask follow-up questions that emerge naturally, and even "probe" for more detailed responses to ensure clarity. Probes encourage interviewees to elaborate on their initial answers and providing richer information beyond surface-level responses. This ability to explore unexpected but relevant tangents ultimately leads to richer and more nuanced data.

To achieve this goal of in-depth understanding, and to enable the right people engaged and get reliable data, interviewees were selected through non-probability purposive sampling technique. This technique strategically selects informants based on specific characteristics relevant to the

research objectives such as experience, specific knowledge and familiarity of the topic, and setting. This sampling technique also allows initial informants recommend others who fit the topic as well as the criteria. Thus, data on the socio-economic status of evicted individuals, their participation and role on the implementation of expropriation, the impact of expropriation on the local community, challenges they encountered and measures taken to mitigate these impacts, and the perception of evicted individuals was collected. To go through interview, here are the steps. Before each interview, I clearly explained purpose of the study and obtained informed consent from the participants. Then, participants had the opportunity to ask questions regarding the interview. Finally, to ensure their comfort, interviews were conducted in a location they preferred and at a time and date convenient for them. Moreover, the interviews conducted using a pre-developed interview guide.

A total of twenty-one informants were selected and interviewed. Seventeen informants (thirteen males and four females) selected from the evicted community/land lost individuals, at Meja Kebele (six), Mutigrar/06 Kebele (five), and 07 Kebele (six). As a result important data are found regarding their role during the implementation of expropriation, their perception towards expropriation, the challenges they encountered and mitigation measures. Two informants from the municipality office and one from the RLMUO, all men, were selected for their familiarity with the expropriation process and their participation in it. These informants possessed relevant data. Thus, as a result data regarding expropriation, valuation and compensation process, some statistical data, and their role as the office were collected. Additionally, one informant (female) also selected and interviewed from the Women, Children, and Youth Office. The reason is the WCYO have their own familiarity with and responsibility for the issues of socially vulnerable groups, particularly during such kinds of development project implementation. This helps to assess the effectiveness of support measures provided by the office after expropriation taken.

3.3.1. Secondary Source of Data

In addition to the primary data collected through observation, interviews, and focus group discussions, the study also uses secondary data that is relevant to the study. Different literature and official documents (including UN documents), along with statistical records, are reviewed and incorporated into the study. Both academic and non-academic sources, including published and unpublished materials such as proclamations, regulations, thesis, dissertations, reports, and

other related materials such as unpublished official reports, are reviewed and incorporated into the study. Background information on the subject matter was reviewed from books, journals, articles, published and unpublished reports. Additionally, publications of the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) 2007 on population and housing census statistical reports were reviewed. These data sources consolidate the data gathered through the aforementioned primary data.

3.4. Methods of Data Analysis and Interpretation

This study employed qualitative thematic data analysis techniques to analyze the collected data. The data collected through the aforementioned instruments was transcribed, coded, and carefully interpreted. After transcription, I attempted to identify categories and themes. Categorization involved documenting each coded segment of transcript in separate files and linking it to its corresponding code level. Finally, identified categories were integrated into themes aligned with the research objectives or questions. These themes were then analyzed based on word descriptions. I attempted to strengthen the analysis by cross-checking and triangulating the participants' narratives which gathered by different data collection tools.

3.5. Ethical Consideration

To make this study ethically acceptable, the following ethical principles were applied. As the first stage, data collection permission gained from Kombolcha town administration office. Secondly, the purpose of the study explained to informants before obtaining their consent. Thirdly, I assured anonymity of the informants (their identities would not be revealed). Fourthly, informants were assured of confidentiality (their information would be kept private). Fifthly, the right and dignity of informants were respected as possible. For instance, informants voluntarily cooperated without any pressure during data collection. Informants also informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time freely. In addition to the above ethical principles, I respected informants' time and culture and avoided asking any questions that could be harmful or upsetting to informants. Finally, I assured the informants that a copy of the research findings would be available upon completion of the study, if they interested.

3.6. Field Work Experience

Fieldwork is a crucial aspect of anthropological research, allowing researchers to fully immerse

themselves in the lives of the groups they study. My recent experience in Kombolcha, an area characterized by ongoing uncertain armed conflict condition, proved to be the most intensive fieldwork I have undertaken. It required a deep commitment to both managing and adapting. Building rapport with the community was essential, as some residents initially mistook me for a political investigator. I guess this may due to the security condition and the nature of my research topic. To rectify this perception, I emphasized my role as a student and the academic nature of my research, stressing the importance of open communication and transparency. By actively engaging with the community, I fostered friendships and encouraged participants to share their experiences freely, leading to invaluable insights into their lives and perspectives.

Organizing group discussions, a valuable tool for data collection, presented another challenge. Due to the above mentioned security condition, participants' fear made it difficult to convene discussions. To address this issue, I prioritized safety and employed necessary precautions, while also maintaining a flexible research plan and conducting discussions during peaceful times in secure locations approved by local authorities. Throughout my stay, obtaining informed consent became a top priority. All participants volunteered their participation, and I ensured their anonymity by contextualizing their remarks without revealing their full identities. This experience reinforced the importance of perseverance in fieldwork. It demonstrated that even in challenging circumstances, trust and understanding can be built, resulting in a richer and more nuanced understanding of the human experience.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. LAND EXPROPRIATION AND ITS COMPENSATION PROCEDURES

Urban expansion practices widely prevail in developing countries, including Ethiopia. These practices often fulfill land requirements through expropriation. In the study area, both the peri-urban landholders who are the samples of this study, and other residents depend heavily on farming for their livelihoods. Since land is a central element of their livelihoods, peri-urban dwellers have seen either a decrease in the size of their agricultural lands or complete elimination of this land due to expropriation. Such actions are common in many Ethiopian towns where urbanization programs involve taking away local people's peri-urban lands. As a result, these urban expansion programs often lead to the displacement of local landholders from their farms, and homes. This chapter examines the process of land expropriation for urban expansion and associated compensation payment, perceptions of displaced community towards land expropriation, socioeconomic challenges of land expropriation on peri-urban communities, and the environmental impacts of land expropriation on the availability of provisioning service.

4.1.1. Expropriation Power

According to UN (2018), Ethiopian urban population is projected to almost double from 21% to 39% by 2050 thus raising demand for urban land. In order to supply land for millions of people heading towards cities, government has been actively acquiring land through expropriation process mostly in peri-urban areas. These areas are transitional zones between urban and rural areas as well as critical stage of expropriation inflicted by urbanization. The study area, Kombolcha, have been designated as a national and regional industrial development center town since 2005 (Muluwork, 2014). According to the report by KCGOSC (2020), through the cited Kombolcha Mayor Office Planning Commission Group, the population of the city was 94,474 in 2010 and reached 162,533 in 2021. The growth from 2010 to 2020 was 60.5% over 10 years. However, a door-to-door census carried out by the city administration for various activities has confirmed that the total number of people living in the city is 120,579 men, 132,585 women, for a total of 253,164.

According to the office, the reason for this population growth is increasing number of people coming to the city from different areas. This is due to the establishment of growing number of industries in Kombolcha. In response, the town has been sprawling its areas and engulfed nearby rural kebeles at the town's boundary. This ongoing process to guarantee transparency and fairness in land expropriation requires its own guidance. Ethiopia, for instance, adheres to different proclamations that were established at different times. The Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic Proclamation No.455/2005, article 3, sub-article 1 empowers woredas and urban administrations to exert land for development of public with certain conditions outlined in the proclamation:

“A woreda or an urban administration shall, upon payment in advance of compensation in accordance with this Proclamation, have the power to expropriate rural or urban landholdings for public purpose where it believes that it should be used for a better development project to be carried out by public entities, private investors, cooperative societies or other organs, or where' such expropriation has been decided by the appropriate higher regional or federal government organ for the same purpose.” (FDRE Proclamation No.455/2005)

As mentioned above, woreda or municipality has an authority to expropriate land deemed beneficial to community for specific projects including urban expansion. In the study area, to address the rising demand for land driven by urbanization, the primary method is convert rural land through expropriation. This statutory procedure implemented through the city planning scheme. Accordingly, to facilitate this expropriation process, as office team leader of RLMUO informant I'18 indicated, housing demand survey was conducted by Housing Development and Management Office as the first stage. Then, the Urban Land Development and Management Office prepared an urban expansion plan or survey, which included demarcation work to define specific areas involved.

When land is expropriated, landholders are entitled to compensation for the lost value of land according to established proclamations. Although FDRE Proclamation No. 456/2005 is primarily focused on rural land management and use, another guidance, that touches expropriation and its compensation aspects. The Article 7, Sub-Article 3 has such a specific provision: “the peasants

displaced for public purpose shall be entitled to fair compensation which shall be proportional to the development they have made on the land and the property acquired, or shall be given substitute land thereon.” Similar to above mentioned legal frameworks, Proclamation No. 1161/2019 is another adopted legal framework that established by national government. Besides, various regional regulations establish that emphasized towards the right to fair compensation for expropriated lands.

Thus, following the survey and demarcation work by the ULDMO, the Rural Land Management and Utilization Office were handovers the land to municipality office. As the office team leader of RLMUO informant I’18 indicates this handovers occurs after confirming that appropriate compensation for land that required for urban expansion has been paid in accordance with established guidelines. As the procedures mentioned above indicate, somewhat steps are involved, including a housing demand survey, an urban expansion plan or survey, demarcation work, and activities related to guaranteeing compensation payments. Even though this can be viewed as a first step towards the process, the main points resemble what public discussion, notification, and compensation payment look like on the ground. In this case affected individuals often express dissatisfaction both expropriation procedure and compensation process as discuss in next subsections. This consequently concerns that the aforementioned guidelines may not be effective or sufficient when implemented in practice.

4.1.2. Public Discussion on Land Expropriation

Upon considering land expropriation practice, local administrations in woredas or municipalities organize public gatherings to elucidate the project's objective. In such case, implementation of participatory approach is a likely effective measure, which increases project success, as well as, builds social acceptance and reduces possible impacts. The Article 43(2) of FDRE Constitution outlines that people have been given the rights to participate as well as consult on national development, especially when policies and projects directly impact them. However, until recently, prior to Proclamation No. 1161/2019, existing land proclamations did not explicitly recognize the need and how the public consultation held before expropriation. Accordingly, Proclamation No. 1161/2019 introduced a positive step forward by mandating public consultations in its Article 8, sub article 1. This provision requires concerned bodies, such as city

or woreda administrations, to consult with evicted landholders at least one year before land handover. The proclamation also allows for shorter consultation periods in urgent cases. However, it falls short by lacking to provide clear guidelines on the conducting of these consultations.

Meaningful public consultations are essential for safeguarding the interests of evicted individuals and communities. As Kumsa (2011) and Belachew (2013) revealed these consultations provide valuable opportunities to optimize shared benefits, mold project design, and guarantee fair compensation. Although open public discussions can offer valuable insights into community concerns and potentially facilitate project implementation. Though these efforts help meet the aimed goals of urban development, it requires holding more than just public meetings to address landholding concerns. According to the Rural Land Management and Utilization Office of the town, they hold meetings and workshops with community members before expropriation. The office team leader informant I'18 during the interview noted that,

"Firstly we conducted a field-level investigation on targeted areas. We then held public consultations in these areas through surveys and town hall meetings to gather feedback from the community. The consultation here by the municipality office and us was focused towards the need to know for how much land we are likely to use and announced it when we measured the size of the land. As we followed, we articulated that a farmer whose land was affected will obtain a fair compensation that is in relation to the size and quality of the land. We valued their input and are committed to working transparently with the community throughout the process." (Interview at Town administration with RLMUO, February 8, 2024)

As above informant indicated, the implementation of community involvement strategies can be viewed as a first step towards fairness and transparency. However, the effectiveness of these initiatives in reducing resistance from community remains a concern. The perspectives of affected community members revealed that possibility of potential gap between intended and perceived levels of transparency and participation. In the study area report instances of land acquisition especially for urban expansion projects made without prior consultation, not having

control on compensation, and exclusion from decision-making regarding expropriation, valuation, and compensation. Studies by Ambaye (2013), Belachew (2013), and Talema & Nigusie (2023) emphasize that land expropriation in Ethiopia often conducted without involving affected landholders. They argue that people affected by land expropriation should be involved early and openly. Among expropriation affected individuals, informant I'11 said that,

"They called us to meetings. Our land is our livelihoods. However, they declared it needs for development. They talk about progress, but where will we go? There was no discussion about the land being taken and the amount of compensation payment in the meeting. The meeting was never intended to consider our questions. We had specific requests regarding alternative lands as a compensation payment. For us it was very important for the replacement lands to be at the same location as an exchange for the payment for the alternative property. However, in the meeting, there was no discussion, no questions; they came to for just pronouncements." (Interview at Meja Kebele, January 9, 2024)

The above provided information suggests a concerning trend of expropriation in the context of urban expansion within the study area. The mandated consultation in the law highlights a major disconnect between pronouncements and peoples' realities during land acquisition project, as confirmed by above informant. It indeed supports the criticism of top-down development models, whereby pronouncements are given precedence over proper discourse that considers stakeholders' opinions. In this case, the informant also points that affected landholdings are not actively involved in expropriation and is, therefore, possibly unfair. Studies by Wegedie (2018), Alamerew (2020), and Dires et al. (2021) also emphasize similar point, highlighting inconsistencies, unfair practices, and lack of engagement with affected landholdings during expropriation process. According to them, expropriated peri-urban farmers were not part of discussion during the determination of the purpose of expropriation.

The concerning trend of limited landholding involvement in the urban expansion expropriation process appears to have persisted with similar conditions persisting on socially vulnerable groups. The implementation of expropriation and compensation is significantly hampered by a lack of community participation and consideration of their desired outcomes. For instance, from

expropriation affected individuals, informant I'10 was directly affected by land acquisition shared her emotional experience. She states as follow,

“We were told by government officials that our farmland would be required for the purpose of residential development for civil servants. They gave us assurances that the compensation will be done according to the law. But our views were not taken into account. “Discuss? With us? Not a chance! For me as a single mom this land was more than just an asset; it was everything with which I survived every day. In this situation I requested compensation in kind – land for land – so that my children could have a future. However, all they did was come and tell us about what we should do rather than discuss with us.” (Interview at 07 Kebele, February 1, 2024)

As above informant indicated, land acquisition issues give rise to critical issues dealing with both ethics and practical aspects, especially about community involvement. Even though evicted community possibly needs meaningful participation in the process and needs in-kind compensation, effectiveness of this approach needs concern. The local government and relevant agencies could not succeed in voluntary land surrender and coercion because there was a lack of engagement with the affected land owners. From development project perspective, it seems that the perspectives of directly affected groups were not adequately incorporated. Mohammed et al. (2020) also highlight similar findings in their study on expropriation process and rehabilitation mechanism of evicted peri-urban farmers. Urbanization programme is neither participatory nor supportive to farmers in periphery, and the peri-urban farmers have complaints on property valuation, amount of compensation, and implementation of policies. Similarly, Alamerew (2020) reveals that peasants are largely excluded from the process. The municipality has no bargaining power to influence peri-urban farmers to voluntarily give up their land and reach a common consensus (Mohammed et al., 2020).

Whether consultations processes mean anything at all or allow communities to have much say remains questionable. Community discussions help in discovering practical options and livelihood alternatives within or around affected communities' vicinity. This crucial information can then be factored into decision-making, leading to more sustainable and socially responsible

outcomes. Provision of transparent and inclusive public participation is crucial for ensuring effective public interest served by expropriation of lands (Alemu, 2015). Nevertheless, as stated earlier on by informant there was a possibility of lack of consultation and disdain for community opinions. The community did not take part in decision making process.

The FGD'3 further revealed that the process of land expropriation was more responsive to the needs and concerns of affected communities. The expropriation process was carried out without prior community consultation. The participants strongly criticized the expropriation procedure, emphasizing marginalization of their voices, particularly with regard to viable alternative compensation for rebuilding their lives after losing the land. No formal public meetings or community consultations were held prior to the land expropriation. Government officials simply appeared in Kebele and informed the residents that the land was needed for development and that appropriate compensation would be provided for their losses. The displaced landholders argues that the need for preparation and discussion prior to such drastic measures, which came as a surprise to them. Discussant D'4 of above FGD'3 stating;

"We need to be involved in decisions about our land! Knowing a year in advance about plans would have allowed us to prepare. But the officials never consulted us - they just `gave us a finished decision with a fait accompli." (a group discussion at 07 Kebele, February 6, 2024)

Comprehensive community consultation is indispensable; that is, the landholding's concerns ought to be properly handled. To accomplish this in equitably and sustainably, clear communication and providing opportunities for landholdings to take part in the decision making process, will be important. Moreover, public discussions should be comprehensive and more interactive for the community as compared to the pronouncement or notices.

While similarities exist with previous research on how land expropriation is implemented, the ongoing case raises ethical questions due to inadequate community consultation. The previous research has also highlighted the under-exploration of factors that exclude evicted communities from public consultation processes in urban expansion projects. This absence of participation puts a question mark on why evicted communities do not participate in the decision making process that directly affects their existence. Therefore, understanding the reasons behind the

limited community participation in consultations is essential. Accordingly, the previous land proclamations did not have explicit requirements for public consultation prior to land expropriation. This absence of clear guidelines on conducting consultations has persisted for an extended period.

The Article 43(2) of FDRE Constitution outlines that people have been given the rights to participate as well as consult on national development, especially when policies and projects directly impact them. However, even if different land proclamations based on this constitution have been established, such as 455/2005 and 456/2005, they did not explicitly recognize the need for and how public consultation should be held before the expropriation. Instead, they focus on the method of compensation payment and, to some extent, the notification process for expropriation. From this aspect, this long-standing absence of a clear legal mandate may contribute to inconsistent or non-existent consultation practices. The possibility of undermine the potential benefits of stakeholder participation is high if meaningful public engagement lacks. However, the recently enacted Proclamation No. 1161/2019 introduced a positive step forward by mandating public consultations. For instance, in its Article 8, sub article 1 mandates concerned bodies to consult with evicted landholders at least one year before land handover. The proclamation also allows for shorter consultation periods in urgent cases. Thus, define the possible reasons for inconsistent or non-existent consultation practices makes different in this study. Moreover, as above mentioned, socially vulnerable groups like female-headed household possibly doesn't get enough opportunities on public consultation regarding on elucidates of land expropriation project's objective.

4.1.3. Notification

Transparent notification practice is another critical issue for communities affected by land expropriation. The community should be notified fully after valuation, verification and quantification of the compensation so that they are informed about where the land is targeted, when to move out, what compensation has been offered, and how grievances will be addressed. It may be seen as one way to enhance transparency and protect those negatively affected by expropriation schemes.

Ethiopia's Federal Democratic Republic Proclamation No. 455/2005 addresses land

expropriation notification in addition to outlining land acquisition and compensation. Specifically, Article 4(1) mandates written notification to landholdings upon the acquisition details being received, clearly stating the deadline for vacating the designated area and compensation amount. Article 4(2) empowers individual regions to determine the notification period, the time between notice and land clearance, with a minimum of 90 days. However, Article 4(4) specifies 30-day handover period for land devoid of crops, perennial crops, or other structures. While the minimum 90-day period might seem adequate on paper, practical factors must be considered. Are notifications reaching all affected individuals promptly and effectively? Is the current system flexible enough to ensure sufficient time for affected individuals to exercise their rights to complain or appeal? Informant I'2 expressed the concern, stating,

"We require significantly more time than the few days they mentioned. Time to comprehend the boundaries they are drawing, the actual extent of the land they need. They were not even said about the amount of land that they were taking. We observed them measuring, our hearts pounding with anxiety while there were no explanations given and there was no transparency. The time has come for the discussion, to raise our grievances, to negotiate a fair payment to enable us to build our lives in a faraway place somewhere else, but no! It all has been done hurriedly, secretly, leaving us with less time to relinquish the land." (Interview at Meja Kebele, December 30, 2023)

In spite of the legal stipulations enshrined in Proclamation No.455/2005, landholders who have been displaced did not receive what was proper notification about the expropriation of their land as above informant mentioned. It is not difficult to argue that this may lead them to struggle for comprehend their situation and be severely hindered in their ability to make preparations for relocation. In order to build trust and minimize disruption of land expropriation, it is important to communicate clearly and timely manner with affected households. This may include providing early notification of intended expropriation project and other ongoing updates throughout the process. The informant I'6 gave the clearest example of this challenge saying that.

"Quick action is not fair! We need time to understand what is going on with our property. Advance knowledge of the event, even a year in advance, helps in ready

for preparation. They never revealed the depth of the land that was required, they didn't say anything about the measurements, and they never indicated when everything was taking place till less than two months. Within a blink of an eye, our property had taken away, and now where we have to go?" (Interview at Mutigrar/06 Kebele, January 16, 2024)

As the above two informants indicated, in the study area, lack of proper notification system regarding land expropriation in urban expansion case are exist. This includes, among others, key information, like the time frame of land acquisition, compensation, and procedure of complaints or appeals. The existing notification model appears to somehow fail to deliver messages on time to the affected people. Therefore, this delay in fast and real information makes it difficult for them to exercise their rights fully in addition to its drastic repercussions. Studies by Ambaye (2013) and Talema & Nigusie (2023) further highlight the issue of inadequate notification in their study areas. In their studies, they reveal that peasants are often not pre-informed or provided with written notifications when their land is expropriated even if that notice is required to be served after completion of valuation. They also indicate that the current practices are inconsistent, lack of transparency, and fail to adequately engage the evicted communities. This may lead to unfairness and hinder their ability to effectively respond to the situation on time, as FGD'1 participants revealed a similar troubling reality. Discussant D'5 of above FGD'1 expressed concern, stating:

"We did not receive any letters in our houses explaining the whole complex situation. The message that concerned removing our land and the possible compensation was placed on the front of the Administration building. How do we know we saw it after all? What about the person who has no way of getting the information? How do we make the very elderly, who rarely go anywhere near the building, know about this? Overall, the situation was such that it was always a better option to take a measurement earlier. The absence of this transparency and communication of the processes and workings makes the situation unfair. We should have the right to not only be informed but be allowed to express ourselves and have our opinions considered before any work is carried out. It is our right to be informed and be considered as part of the process before any activities begin."

(a group discussion at Meja Kebele, January 12, 2024)

Despite the severe compromise of expropriated individuals' right to notification and participation in land acquisition processes; these notification procedures are inadequately implemented on the ground. As indicated above, instead of directly notifying each affected household about land expropriation, crucial information was only posted on a notice board that leaving residents potentially uninformed. In his research, Ambaye (2013) revealed that peoples who were affected by the project including in urban expansion cases, did not receive formal notifications. This issue could particularly intensify the existing problem of delayed notification. Thus, the landholders are likely to become more vulnerable through prevents them from using the tools to implement their own rehabilitation approaches. Regarding this, informant I'3 stating that;

“For a long time, we have cultivated our land, we haven't alternative income sources. Now they are taken our land with giving compensation. However, they giving us no time to plan and take our measurement for new ways of sustain after we lost our livelihoods. Starting new life in short time is difficult for us. We recognized important of development, however this hurried eviction with shorten notification and preparation is devastating for us. It destroys our livelihoods and makes it difficult to rebuild on our terms with compensation only.” (Interview at Mutigrar/06 Kebele, January 14, 2024)

While some similarities exist with past studies in implementing land expropriation, this current case raises ethical concerns due to inadequate and untimely notification. This reflects the shortcomings of previous studies in that neither has fully addressed the factors that render evicted people bypassed land expropriation and compensation procedures in particular, relating to timely notification. I raised this issue during my interview with the informant from RLMU Office to reflect an assumption as a land administration expert. Accordingly, as noted that these factors may include, firstly, project developers might hesitate to share information early, fearing unrealistic expectations from communities. This can occur before concrete details like final designs and land acquisition plans are finalized. While this concern is genuine, it can lead to withholding information and delaying community engagement until later stages. Secondly, authorities may intentionally practice strategic silence for strengthening its bargaining power

during the negotiations process. This limits the time evicted communities have to preplanning, organizing and asking for their rights.

4.1.4. Expropriated Land Compensation Schemes

4.1.4.1. Cash Payment

The concept of compensation is closely connected to expropriation. These issues might be the payment of financial compensations, substitution lands or structures intended to cover the losses of persons who lived, or suffered negative consequences as the result of expropriation (Alemu, 2015). The vast majority of law systems, regardless of their differences, meet this requirement of compensation for the property owners for the losses they suffer during expropriation. For instance, FDRE Proclamation No. 455/2005 under article 8 sub articles 1 authorizes concerned bodies to be immediately to compensate for lost assets and properties as they are moving out of the land.

“A rural landholder whose landholding has been permanently expropriated shall.... be paid displacement compensation which shall be equivalent to ten times the average annual income he secured during the five years preceding expropriation of the land.”

As stated above, the proclamation calculates the average annual earnings from the land over a five-year period to replicate potential losses from land acquisition. It adheres to federal regulations that empower regional states to enact their own proclamations on the matter. The Amhara National Regional State's Land Administration and Utilization Regulation No. 51/2007 may serves as an example. It emphasizes cash compensation for expropriated lands in parallel with FDRE Proclamation No. 455/2005. These proclamations not only outline compensation rights but also establish a defined procedure for valuing the expropriated property. This valuation must be carried out by certified professionals, including private or public institutions and individual consultants.

Furthermore, Council of Ministers Regulation No. 135/2007, titled "Payment of Compensation for Property Situated on Landholdings Expropriated for Public Purposes," provides some improved information on compensation procedures. It offers formulas for calculating

compensation for various property types on expropriated land and provides some comprehensive definition of what qualifies for compensation, along with the specific methods used for each category. The formula for calculating the amount of compensation payable shall be as follows;

- 1) *Compensation for building=cost of construction + cost of permanent improvement on land +the amount refundable money for the remaining term lease contract.*
- 2) *Compensation for crops=the total area of the land (in M^2) x value of the crop per kilo gram x the amount of crop to be obtained per M^2 + cost of permanent improvement on land.*
- 3) *Compensation for unripe Perennial Crops=number of plants (legs) x cost incurred to grow an individual plant + cost of permanent improvement on land.*
- 4) *Compensation for ripe annual yield of the Perennial Crops=Perennial crops (in KG) X current price to produce of the perennial] crops + cost of permanent improvement on land.*
- 5) *Compensation for relocated Property=cost of removal + cost of transferring+ cost of Reinstallation.*
- 6) *Compensation for protected grass=area covered by the grass per square meter X the current market price of the grass per square meter.*

Alongside land proclamation and previous research, there is a critical factor lacking consideration of the method of compensation for expropriated land, mainly in peri-urban areas. In these cases, the government usually values the peri-urban land at its rural rate, despite its potential for an urban rate and eventual conversion to urban use. This practice may raises concerns about the adequacy and transparency of compensation, as landholdings are essentially forced to sell their land at significantly undervalued price. For instance, during my data collection session, at the newly established urban area I observed that 150 care meter of land with formal landholding certificates sell up to 1.4 million Ethiopian birr. In this transaction, local individuals play as agent. However, compensation for such land may not be this high. For instance, Yesuf (2021) asserts that the payment for irrigable farmland and for irrigable grazing land was ETB 57.30 and ETB 29.50 per care, respectively. From this aspect, the government may benefit from increased revenue by acquiring land at a lower cost and then selling it at a

much higher urban value. This raising concerns about fairness and equitable treatment of landholdings. Additionally, if their land has taken through expropriation evicted individuals not interested to accept monetary compensation, rather they choices in kind compensation as some informants indicates. For instance, informant I’10 stating;

“..... For me as a single mom this land was more than just an asset; it was something with which I survived every day. In this situation I requested compensation in kind – land for land – so that my children could have a future.”
(Interview at 07 Kebele, February 1, 2024)

The above informant statement reveals that possibility of the prevailing practice seems to favor cash compensation over in-kind compensation. Mohammed et al., (2017) also indicates that the farmers are not interested to accept monetary compensation even in millions birr and resist losing their land. Compensation which is made for evicted farmers is minimal, it only cover property situated on the expropriated land.

4.1.4.2. Land to Land Compensation

In addition to cash compensation, evicted individuals may get other land such as in kind compensation. For instance, the Council of Ministers Regulation No. 135/2007 mandates that individuals whose land used for growing crops is expropriated for public purposes should be provided with alternative land suitable for the same purpose. In article 15, this regulation stating;

“Where land used for growing crops or a protected grass or pastoral land is expropriated for public purpose, the possessor of such land shall, as much as possible, be provided with a plot of land capable of serving a similar purpose.”

As indicated above, the proclamation emphasizes the possibility of in kind compensation which is land to land for evicted groups. Furthermore, the newly adopted Proclamation No. 1161/2019 relatively provide a number of alternative options for compensating those affected by land expropriation, such as replacement of land, displacement compensation, and resettlement / rehabilitation packages. Article 13 which is sub-article 1 of the Proclamation puts first the provision of replacement land to displaced landholdings. When appropriate substitutes for lost land are not available, landholdings with affected land will be compensated for displacement.

The compensation is, according to a formula, which represents fifteen times the maximum annual income they earned during the past three years. Additionally, the Proclamation specifically highlights the compensation bounds for peri-urban landholdings whose residences are revoked in Article 15, and offers resettlement and rehabilitation packages in Article 16. Despite this, however, there might be some issues related to the implementation, particularly on the government's capacity to fairly and adequately compensate individuals whose land have been taken, especially in those areas that are near cities. These issues are linked to the substantial financial difficulties that could arise from finding alternative land and giving corresponding compensation for displacement as requested in the Proclamation. Thus also it is related with the undervaluing of these peri-urban lands.

Nevertheless, considering the aforementioned national and regional land law frameworks, it's important to see how the practice on the ground unfolds in the study area. Unlike the judicial systems of other countries, Ethiopia centralizes most of decision-making power on compensation within its land administration structure (Ambaye, 2013). Accordingly, during the interview the Rural Land Management and Utilization Office of Kombolcha Town (RLMUO) emphasize the importance of providing timely compensation for affected landholders based on existing land proclamations. To achieve this, the valuation committee conducted a proper valuation, which was later reviewed by the compensation committee. As the office stated, the unit rate for affected assets was determined collaboratively with the impacted communities, based on the prevailing market value at the time of expropriation takes.

Despite the mandate of proclamation favoring cash compensation, the RLMUO is still encountering some obstacles in its way. Although there are some advantages in using cash payment however it arises some particular concerns especially when fruit trees are considered as argued by the office. These trees require several years to mature and generate income, and compensating based on their current value does not taking into account the potential income that is lost by cutting down the mature tree. As mentioned earlier, Council of Ministers Regulation No. 135/2007, Article 13, Sub-Article 3, outlines the formula for compensating unripe perennial crops: $\text{number of plants (legs)} \times \text{cost to grow an individual plant} + \text{cost of permanent land improvements}$. The challenge lies in determining the cost to grow different kind of plants, because each kind of plant requires different timeframe and cost to reach maturity. This matter

has been recognized by the office that explains its approach – agriculture and rural development offices use unique formula considering ‘the major income gap’ resulting from this long period before a new tree becomes mature and starts producing fruits.

Accordingly, the office has developed a valuation system that estimates the cost based on the level of growth by making surveys. Therefore, the compensation is calculated as: number of plants + estimated cost per plant (based on office valuation) + cost of permanent land improvements (10 years). Previously, fruit tree compensation cost of permanent land improvements multiplied by ten. The recent Proclamation 1161/2019 revised the method, using the cost of permanent land improvements multiplied by fifteen. Nonetheless, the above example depicts the shortcomings of cash payment in certain situations which are addressed through customized valuation methods.

The legal framework of Ethiopia as contained in FDRE Proclamation No. 455/2005, 1161/2019 and related legislations makes it mandatory for compensation to be paid following expropriation of land. However, the implementation by the town planning office didn’t take into account those things although RLMUO of the town asserting the importance of community involvement in compensation process. Through its ongoing community engagement, it may provide valuable insights into the local context, features of the land and assets that are available, and lastly promote fair and accountable compensation process. However, relying on reports from displaced individuals, as suggested by the office, is insufficient to ensure this happens in practice. In their opinion, some people in the outskirts who participated in interviews and focus group indicated that there was no uniformity in compensation, it’s not transparent, and hence farmers whose lands are grabbed leaving them vulnerable and their livelihoods in jeopardy. According to informant I’8, many affected families often have no say in such situations as who said,

“I would be interested in participating in the valuation of my land. However, I learned about the little compensation later on when they had already seized my farm land. This was no discussion; there was just they sent their experts, their appraisers, who spent way too little time on my land that lasted so many years. They measured fields and counted trees. They don’t see what this land means to me. Its value is more than source of income. After a few days, the offer

of compensation was delivered in a sealed letter with a stamp, and I received money. However, I fail to see how they came to that figure, and they tell me that they do not want to go into detail.” (Interview at 07 Kebele, January 27, 2024)

The informant's testimony highlights the broader concerns surrounding low community involvement and limitations of existing compensation frameworks. The appraisers' brief assessment, which focused on quantifiable metrics such as field measurement and tree counting, did not take into account the subjective value of land for the informant. This discrepancy demonstrates the necessity to adopt more balanced approach that recognizes subjective value of land as opposed to just monetary value. This can gives a chance for affected communities to be actively involved in the valuation and compensation processes.

The FGD’2 participants also showed a great deal of concern about perceived lack of involvement in land valuation process and lack of clarity of the payment process. They point out that they shall not be involved in the valuation process itself. Even though the proclamation officially mandates compensation based on the average annual income from the land over past five years, the above FGD’2 participants stated that experts only considered their income once a year during the winter (Bega/Meher) season. The valuation method possibly doesn’t incorporate the income which is generated during the autumn (Belg) seasons. This valuation system potentially undervalues their land and results inadequate compensation.

Thus, the above practice may raises question about transparency in expropriation process till the compensation is its part. Previous research reveals the deficiencies when property is considered for compensation payment. Among this legitimate claims when it rejected due to lack of formal land titles. In the study area, however, as above mentioned, the compensation scheme possibly fails to encompass all income generated during the mandated timeframe that stipulated by relevant legislation. For this is why the evaluation process may calls the evaluation to be comprehensive as possible that include year-round income, covering winter and autumn seasons. This may help to provide affected communities with fair compensation to rebuild their lives and livelihoods.

Additionally, inconsistent payment of compensation was identified as another critical issue at study area. The rate of compensation was varied significantly; the land closer to the town center

got more noticeably high compensation than the land further away. This inconstancy exemplifies the fact that the impacted are subject to different approaches, which is not fair and equitable. In fact, such kinds of compensation discrepancies possibly due to different land types, as established compensation guidelines offer varying rates depending on the kind of land. However, as noted from the FGD'3 participants, the landholdings closest to town received more compensation than those away from town. For instance, Discussants 3 and 5 of this FGD'3, who both own 0.75 hectares of land, received different compensation amounts. They argue that there is no discrepancy in their compensation amounts due to the proximity of their land to cities, based on the responses they received from valuation committee. Similarly, Yirsaw (2012) reveals that the level of compensation in Gondar City varies depending on the property's distance from downtown. Properties closer to downtown received higher compensation. This might cause bias and the lack of a clear way of valuing practice of the land. The existing proclamation does not recommend anything regarding compensation should be different due to its geographical proximity.

Nevertheless, if the system for determining compensation based solely on proximity to the town center may highly problematic, as it disregards essential factors such as agricultural potential, infrastructure access, equity concerns, and future development possibilities. The implication is therefore that the current system perpetuates that unequal treatment and leaves individuals residing further away from the town center at a significant disadvantage. Despite the fact that land which they occupy is more fertile, closer to crucial resources or having immense future value, these individuals receive drastic lower compensation, leading to an inherently unequal and morally contentious situation. Belachew (2013) points out that the law governing land expropriation is not applied uniformly and consistently to all affected people. This variation emanates from problems with property valuation & compensation practices, including legal technical institutional financial aspects involved. This flawed system not only does not provide fair compensation. It also runs the risk of exacerbating people's resentment and social unrest, indicating the pressing urgency of reforming it in order to ensure that there is just and equal treatment for the victims.

Additionally, there is an inconsistency in the requirement of advance compensation payments is blatantly disregarded. For instance, the informant I'16 responded that he had been paid his

remained payment year after their land had been taken away without the advance payment as was promised. Likewise, the people who took part in focus group shared experiences of their eviction narratives over a period before they could receive any compensation, which made them economically vulnerable and hard to rebuild their lives. Additionally, Alamerew (2020) states that the compensation is not instantly paid. The process of expropriation mostly impacts on pre-urban farmers who stand to receive inadequate compensation payments which are often paid after a year or more after they have been displaced.

According to Alemineh (2018), land expropriation process was found to have varying returns in different communities. Payments were not only postponed, but also the payments were distributed in installments over different periods, making it even harder for families to survive. This practice is not only violation of law but also places extra burden on those that lack land and other valuables. In addition, the government does not cover the inflation loss due to delay payment (Ambaye, 2013). Thus, the options of quicker compensation process and giving support to local communities that are affected during the waiting period will be key elements in the fight to achieve fairness and alleviate land acquisition's negative impacts.

4.2. PERCEPTIONS OF DISPLACED COMMUNITY TOWARDS LAND EXPROPRIATION

Undertakings relating to urban expansion, which frequently involve land expropriation, have a profound impact on peri-urban communities especially in developing countries (Talema & Nigusie, 2023). These impacts are particularly pronounced for evicted individuals who are relinquishing their land. Such communities those are depend on lands for survive, frequently experience displacement. As compensation they receive inadequate payment, may leading to resentment and jeopardize project success (Alamineh & Eneyew, 2021; Fitawok et al. 2023). Thus, understand the attitudes of those directly affected by expropriation, towards land expropriation may have positive influence on the process itself as well as broader urban development. Try to address their concerns and integrate their perspectives into planning process may lead to inclusive development (Alemu, 2015). As a result, it benefits both communities and cities.

Despite the purported advantages of urban expansion, land expropriation often disrupts the lives

and livelihoods of communities residing on outskirts of cities (Utami et al., 2021). This study examines the perceptions of evicted communities towards land expropriation, focusing on their experiences, concerns, and aspirations. The evicted farmers in study area harbored deep-seated resentment stemming from devastating loss of their land. They also perceived injustices of expropriation process. Measurement errors and exploitative valuations created a sense of being injustice. "They measured our fields, and then offered us a sum that couldn't cover half a harvest, where is the fairness in that?" Discussant 3 of FGD'2 pointed out. Such widespread discontent may lead to a wave of complaints and appeals. As a result, it calls into questions not only the urban expansion project but also legitimacy of land expropriation system as a whole. Evicted community voiced their frustration over the lack of transparency states they have no say in the situation. The study by Ambaye (2013) somehow highlights similar points. As he reveals most complaints and appeals in urban areas stem from improper land measurement. This underscores the need for greater transparency and accountability in decision-making process.

Informant I'15 reveals during the interview, their lack of either participation or consultation negatively influences their perception toward expropriation. They also assert that needs of just compensation as well as sustainable solutions that prioritize well-being of evicted individuals when expropriation practices. As informant I'15 said,

"...Crucial decisions impacting my land were made without any opportunity for me to express my interests. I would also like to discuss the valuation of my land and the proposed compensation. An absence of suitable engagement with the issue is unreasonable. I aim at the taking part in all stages of decision making, starting from the initial phase. However, the question remains: how can we live after taking our land without us having a say in the process of making decisions?"(Interview at Mutigrar/06 Kebele, January 20, 2024)

As above indicated, perceptions surrounding land expropriation are highly influenced by their level of consultation when the project implements. They expressed deep anxiety and irritation at the ignoring and failure to consult during expropriation including the mode of valuation and compensation which apparently have repercussions on their livelihood. The people centered approach needs genuine stakeholders involvement in all the dynamic stages of process. As a

result, this would safeguard their meaningful contribution in critical decision-making stage. Similarly, informant I'4 also raised somehow similar point.

“Development, urbanization it is well! However, is it should be coming at the devastating cost of our livelihoods and without having any voice in the matter? This lack of involvement in the decision-making process and repercussions breeds us for deep distrust and resentment for the project what they doing on our land. This forcibly dispossessed of our land without enough consideration of us destroys our present livelihoods. This also threatens our entire family future. Our ignorance on the valuation of our land and the compensation make us to feels like a betrayal, leaving us with a profound sense of injustice.” (Interview at 07 Kebele, January 25, 2024)

As indicated by above mentioned informant, there is a clear desire for greater agency and participation by affected communities in urban expansion projects. This lack of participation concerns the consideration of balancing progress with protecting individual rights and livelihoods. Unless this may significantly undermines the legitimacy of expropriation projects and consequently eroding public acceptance. A study by Talema & Nigusie (2023) conducted in Burayu, Ethiopia, revealed that the lack of community participation in determining compensation amounts was a major source of dissatisfaction among expropriation affected landholders.

However, this kind of dissatisfactions on evicted community may lead to trigger resistance to land expropriation projects. The studies by Ambaye (2013) and Mohammed et al., (2017) founds that land expropriation for urbanization disregards both community involvement and farmer support. However, this proper consultations practice ignores leads into community resistance ultimately. Fitawok et al. (2023) also identified in addition to inadequate compensation, lack of good governance as key factors for driving farmers' resistance to land expropriation at city fringes. As mentioned above, ignoring the community in decision making of expropriation process including urban expansions may fail to address the long-term needs of those evicted groups. Additionally, the compensation and relocation practice need systematic changes which takes into account the long-term well-being of evicted groups, as informant I'16 said,

“Woreda administrations takeovers our whole lands often fall woefully short.

They fail to adequately compensate for our lost land and livelihoods. They leave our families to face the financial problem after we lost our livelihoods. Now we are left worse off than before. As possible, we are trying to struggle to rebuild our lives without adequate resources and considerations. Treated us like objects to be moved around for someone else's progress. However, we are stripped of our livelihoods and our homes. We are people that deserve enough consideration as family leaders. We need fair compensation, transparent and genuine opportunities on how they valued our land. We need also supports to rebuild our lives." (Interview at 07 Kebele, February 4, 2024)

As above indicated expropriation without sufficient compensation and less consideration matters their perception towards land expropriation. They assumes the practice benefited others by expense them. Additionally, monetary compensation might be offered, it often fails to adequately account for what they losses of primary capital assets. This strong sense of dissatisfaction inevitably leads into resistance among displaced landholders. Because they just argued that the process mistreated, undercompensated, and deprived of their stable future. Regarding this, least compensated feeling of deprived livelihood and welfare was the main driving force behind the acts of resistance taken by the villagers (Gou, 2001; Alamineh & Eneyew, 2021). From this aspect, perceptions towards expropriation are significantly influenced by impact it has on the livelihoods of displaced communities as well as its way of practicing. Additionally, according to Guo et al. (2019), Ogwang & Vanclay (2019), and Yan et al. (2021), farmers are reluctant to transfer their land. Because they assume land expropriation may reduce and fragment their land resources as well as less compensated. Thus, individuals feel deprived of their means of survival due to inadequate compensation payments may negatively influences their attitude. And finally may leads to resistance against expropriation process.

Effectiveness of current land proclamations especially way of processing negatively matters community attitudes at the study area. The FGD'1 participants revealed concerns that the proclamation does not adequately protect their rights, particularly after expropriations. The mandates of landholders to surrender their land for expropriate authority bodies before they submit appeals. As a result, this creates a significant power imbalance. They argue this severely weakens their effectiveness on complaint process. Thus, the legislation by itself hinders

procedural fairness of expropriation as well as overall legitimacy of the expropriation.

The above complaint reveals crucial issue where legal framework designed to protect communities may perceived as an injustice for flawlessly. Because this way procedures may hinders access to fair resolutions even if their rights may violate. However, the proclamation 455/2005, article 11, establishes an argumentative precondition for complaints. This allows appeals against expropriation order can only submitted after the land has been surrendered to authorities. The reason for this requirement intended to prevent delays in development projects. However, as mentioned above, this way of implementation clearly matters for disadvantageous of expropriation evicted landholders.

Displacement of individuals from their lands leads to a deepened sense of grievance and abandonment. During the interview informant I'5 express her frustration especially the compensation process, "They took our land with little compensation (167, 000 ETB) just they want". This feeling may share by many who have been displaced from their livelihoods and land and forcing them to search for new source of livelihoods. The seizure of land from its rightful owners has devastating consequences, cutting off vital economic lifelines and severing cultural ties (Moreda, 2017). It's no wonder that such actions ignite resistance. From this aspect expropriation projects possibly needs prioritize the concerns of affected communities that ultimately may help to ensure fair and meaningful compensation.

While acknowledging the complexities and potential negative impacts of land acquisition, it is important to foster greater understanding and potentially improve acceptance of such projects. However, this manly achieve through transparent dialogues and incorporation of community perspectives into planning process. For instance, participants of FGD'3 reveal conditional support for land expropriation including urban expansion projects. Their pre-conditionality is expropriation conducts on non-irrigable land and adheres to strict principles of fair and meaningful compensation. Non-irrigable land chosen for reasons may relate to natural resources that serve as a primary source of livelihood. Nevertheless, this calls prioritizing community concerns and ensuring just and equitable process is essential. Thus, evicted community attitudes toward expropriation including urban expansion context can influence by more than just compensation system, as some previous arguments solely focused on. According to Ma et al.

(2020) reveals rural residents' attitudes toward expropriation are dynamic. It changes depending on their involvement in the process as well as their level of understanding.

As discussed above, in this section the study discloses a collective narrative of complain of evicted community. As participant's reveals expropriation process, characterized with insufficient compensation, exclusion from decision-making process, and unclear transparency eroded their trust in expropriation project. This creates profound resentments on their perceptions towards land expropriation. Thus, even though such projects have potential advantages, evicted community felt alienated and silenced, with their voices disregarded in process. However, this disregarding of evicted individual voices may not only unjust. It may also threat the achievement of sustainability of designed expropriation projects. Thus, it is important to ensure that urban planning practices truly benefit everyone involved by promoting more equitable and just future.

4.3. SOCIOECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF LAND EXPROPRIATION ON LOCAL COMMUNITY

Urban expansion practice widely prevailing in developing countries including Ethiopia. It often fills its land requirement through expropriation. However, despite this process have societal benefits like infrastructure development; it comes at a significant cost to evicted communities. This subsection discusses economic and social ramifications of land expropriation in urban expansion context. Thus, understand the challenges and concerns that come from land expropriation helps to argue that evicted communities can be better supported during and after the process.

4.3.1. Economic Challenges

When urban sprawl intensifies, cities often encroach upon surrounding peri-urban areas where communities that rely on agriculture are displaced. Even though these areas traditionally used for farming, expropriation highly practice for urban expansion projects through cash compensation. However, in these nascent industrial zones, opportunities for evicted community remain limited. Because these area lack of established infrastructure, skills, and job markets compared to center of town. Thus, residents face economic displacement, losing their land, livelihoods, and income sources, which plunges them into vulnerability. This disproportionately impacts on historically marginalized groups who lack resources and access to navigate the rapidly changing landscape.

Urban expansion often leads to economic displacement of peri-urban landholders. When their land is acquired for development, they become lose their primary source of livelihoods. To alleviate these challenges, provide fair compensation to re-establish their lost livelihoods may crucial. However, while cash compensation is a common method for income restoration, it raises concern its effectiveness and acknowledge the limitations. For instance, the calculation of compensation may not capture the full range of income fluctuations. The reason may include unpredictable factors like weather patterns, market shifts, or individual farming practices. This can be seen from different perspectives. For instance, weather patterns significantly impacts the agricultural yields. A farmer who had a few bad years in the past years might be undervalued based on their income amount, even though their land has potential for much higher productivity. Fluctuations in commodity prices can also leave people undercompensated. For instance, a farmer who benefitted from high prices in recent years might be stuck with lower payout if prices fall after displacement or land taken. From these aspects, the compensation possible raises concerns about potential discrepancies between calculated compensation and actual lost income on some landholders.

In study area, evicted community was largely dependent on farming activities as a means of livelihood. However, expropriation negatively affect their lives as a result of displaces from their sources of income. This not only affected their ability to produce crops and vegetables, but also had a ripple effect on their entire life. As observed during the field visit, most of expropriated land in 07 and Meja Kebele is used for farming. In Mutigrar/06 Kebele, expropriated land includes some relative hilly areas in addition to farming areas. In this area some formerly relative hilly and forested areas have been leveled for residential building. Even though they receive compensation for replacement their properties, it is not sufficient, because they only received monetary compensation either only for the past ten or fifteen years of productivity. This payment system ignores full replacement value and future value of the land. As result, this leads to widespread complains among the farmers regarding its adequacy in terms of land expropriation impact on their lives. This clearly states by informant I'8;

"I received 123,500 ETB as compensation for the expropriation of my irrigable farmland. This amount is absolutely inadequate. This payment is simply one or two years of my typical farm productivity. Because my farm land was highly

productive area if there is good farming conditions. At this rate, the payment wouldn't even cover my family's food expenses for the years; look the disruption due to losing my property land. When they come and estimate my land, they fail to consider what the economic activities taking place in my farm land. If the officials consider and incorporate my established productivity and future earning potential from the land, the compensation would be better. However, they didn't consider.”(Interview at 07 Kebele, January 27, 2024)

Article 40, sub-article 8 of Ethiopian Constitution emphasizes the principle of commensurate compensation when land is taken for public purposes through expropriations. It reveals "Without prejudice to the right to private property, the government may expropriate private property for public purposes subject to payment in advance of compensation commensurate to the value of the property." This principle may help to against arbitrary land seizure and to pay fair compensation as enshrined in the statement. Additionally, this sub-article clearly ensures two key concerns. Firstly, pre-payment mandate: compensation must be paid before expropriation occurs. As a result, it prevents individuals from lose their land without immediate financial support. Secondly, it mandates commensurate value. Because it asserts compensation amount must be fair and proportional for the true value of expropriated properties.

However, according to above point, two key concerns are remains. Firstly, how is commensurate compensation calculated in practice? Secondly, how does current calculation ensure truly commensurate compensation, considering all relevant factors? In study area, for instance, the compensation for irrigable farmland is calculated by 77.80 ETB per care meter. The compensation for trees depends on their level of growth. According to Proclamation No. 455/2005, which includes 10 years of displacement compensation, if one farmer losing 500 care meters of irrigable land, the compensation would be calculated as, 500 care meters x 77.80 ETB x 10 years. From the two points mentioned above, this calculation may not fit commensurate compensation. Comparisons to other countries reveal that equitable compensation often aligns with market value of expropriated property and factoring in inflation. In this case, this approach can incorporate true economic value of what the evicted individuals has lost.

Nevertheless, as mentioned in previous section, Ethiopian Proclamation No. 455/2005 presents a stark contrast, defining compensation as ten times the average annual income from previous five

years. Or Proclamation 1161/2019 presents the compensation is calculated as fifteen times the highest annual income from the past three years if suitable land is unavailable. These calculations possibly fall short of reflecting the true value of land. At the stud area, expropriation severely impacted the economic and financial well-being of individuals due to loss of livelihoods and incomes. As previously relies on land for subsistence, the challenge is multidimensional. During the interview, informant I'1 said,

"The compensation we received as replace our land is pittance when compared with value of we lost lands. During lifetime we nurtured our land. In this case, we transform it from a dusty wasteland to fertile land. For instance, we built irrigation canals, planted flourishing fruit like apple, papaya and others fruits. However, the payment we received won't buy another farm for us. This as a result let alone secure my family's future. Moreover, the payment not only just about the crops we produce, it also the rich soil and fertility that we inherited, we preserved. Nevertheless, our land has been our livelihood as a farmer. The concerned authorities should recognize the true worth of our land in addition to the impact it has on our lives." (Interview at Meja Kebele, December 27, 2023)

As above indicated, insufficiency of financial compensation and undervaluation of land are mentioned as primary challenges. The received compensation payment doesn't truly values the land worth, because of land values encompasses more than monetary value. In this case, it exacerbates their economic hardship and their inadequate compensation due to underestimate the value of land. Thus, it calls practical consideration that payment system extends beyond land's economic function. In other word, the payment acknowledges land significance as nurtured inheritance and multifaceted value of land in addition to its economic function. This helps to provide more equitable and comprehensive compensation package. It also indirectly helps to minimize economic challenges of evicted community. From the amount perspectives, Dires et al. (2021) reveals the compensation often fall short of the true value of expropriated land. As a result, he argues it leaves affected communities struggling to rebuild their lives with less compensation payment.

The FGD'3 data also reveals urban expansion projects detrimentally challenged evicted

individuals mainly due to inadequate compensation. The discussant asserts how they were once self-sufficient by growing their own food product on cherished land. However, since through expropriation lost their lands for urban expansion project, they couldn't access as usual. They pushed to depend on market for sustenance which resulting increase in their daily expenses. Additionally, what they received compensation falls woefully short of what is necessary to rebuild and continue their lives. It hardly covers cost of relocation or restarts their livelihood. It fails to purchase a decent plot of land in the city. These challenges lead them to severing more from previous one. Alemu (2015) also points out, the payments are insufficient to sustain and restore livelihoods when once displaced. In other word, they loss of their existing assets or income calls commensurate compensation. As discussed, at peri urban area including study area, many people are inevitably to relocate into cities after they loss their land. For those peoples farming is not only source of food or raw materials, but also jobs. From this aspect, expropriation practices possibly needs consideration of comprehensive approach which may addresses displacement with less suffering.

The FGD'2 discussants reveal incomplete income assessment was there. While inadequate compensation is clear problem as previous studies indicate, however the challenges extend beyond mere monetary shortcomings. Incomplete income assessments possibly further exacerbates economic challenges of evicted individuals in addition to less compensation amount. These assessments fail to capture full value of land's production this exacerbates the existing insufficient compensation. As a result, this challenges their ability to rebuild after expropriation. As discussed previously, the official land expropriation proclamation mandates compensation based on the average or highest annual income from the land over past five or three years. However, in practice as FGD'2 discussants noted valuation experts only considered their income once a year, during the winter (Meher) season that excludes income generated during crucial autumn (Belg) season, a substantial contributor to their livelihoods. This narrow assessment clearly undervalues their land as well as exacerbates the existing inadequate compensation problems. Ultimately, it jeopardizes their economic stability after they displace.

Moreover, as discussed previous section financial compensation is crucial aspect for evicted individuals as proclamation mandated. However, the payment without enough accompanying entrepreneurial training made extremely difficult for affected individuals to successfully

transition from rural to urban settings. This possibly exacerbates the economic challenges of expropriation which results from inadequate compensation. Because traditional means of making living are no longer viable when leaves individual without necessary skills to navigate new urban environment. However, in practice concerned bodies possibly fail to include sustainable rehabilitation programs that go beyond basic compensation for instance accompanying entrepreneurial training. For instance, the RLMU office acknowledged their responsibility to train people who gave up land for development projects and help them find alternative income sources. However, they admitted that their efforts haven't been sufficient beyond ensuring compensation compliance and organizing a few young people to get into animal fattening and block or hollow masonry unit production. I also noted these activities in Meja and 07 Kebeles when engaging these activities. Even though some efforts there, carefully plan and consult with affected communities may require considerations. This not only for ensure livelihood restoration, but also to improve pre-displacement living standards as possible. This may require granted sufficient time to explore and identify realistic livelihood alternatives and potential employment opportunities. Unless, it can lead to individuals resorting to desperate coping mechanisms which eventually exacerbates land expropriation consequences. Regarding this point, informant 1'3 clearly reveals below the difficulties of inadequate restoration:

“If development is being discussed, without access to replaced land and opportunities or adequate compensation, how we can possibly benefit from it as displaced community group from their land? The struggle to find new jobs and restart livelihoods in unfamiliar urban environments is a daunting task and challenging us. When they take over our land we were promised new homes and jobs. However, we received were empty plots and shattered dreams than just little payment. Lack of relocation assistance and inadequate support programs for livelihoods has left us helpless and difficulties our life after we lost our livelihood lands. As evicted group to rebuild our lives we need adequate consideration and support as possible rather than rhetoric.” (Interview at Mutigrar/06 Kebele, January 14, 2024)

As above statement clearly implies displaced individuals exposed for formidable challenges. To get employment opportunities and restart livelihoods in unfamiliar urban settings essential skills

and networks are often lacking for them. As a result, it challenges them and declines their standard of living when compared to the pre-project situation. Thus, the existing practice call more comprehensive relocation assistance programs that going beyond simply provides some financial compensation. Alemineh (2018) found in his study area that expropriated farmers received no training on how to use their compensation effectively and to rebuild their livelihoods. This lack of concerned bodies support, combined with the farmers' skills being solely focused on cultivation, has caused considerable suffering as they adjust to a sudden urban lifestyle. Additionally, Alemu (2015) asserts that land expropriation encountered resistance from farmers. The reason was lack of training before and after compensation, in addition to unfair compensation.

Additionally, flexible and inclusive support programs tailored to specific needs and aspirations of displaced individuals are vital. This empowers them to rebuild their lives with security. In most case, for affected parties who have been paid cash compensation find difficulty to find new replacement land elsewhere (Ogwang & Vanclay, 2019). For instance, during the field I observed that some affected individuals established temporary market place as small scale traders on the streets and open space area where newly establishing village. Fruit and vegetable product are among the highly transaction items. However, this practice will no longer be possible once the road is fully functional. In this case, securing suitable alternative livelihoods may crucial. Even though individual choices and unavoidable circumstances, like lack of replacement land, might influence the options, proactive measures may help to addresses. Nevertheless, all lawful and measures must be appropriately taken to provide full and fair rehabilitation for affected peoples.

4.3.1.1. Socially Vulnerable Groups

Another crucial concern of economic challenges of expropriation is related historically vulnerable or marginalized group of society. Challenges faced specifically for these groups largely overlooked by previous studies. World Bank policy prioritizes fair treatment and support for these groups during such project includes training and proper rehabilitation measures. Such vulnerable groups may be more likely to be adversely affected by project impacts and may be more limited in their ability to take advantage of a project's benefits (IFC, 2023). They are vulnerable for the impacts of land acquisition and changes in land-use systems. In this case,

empowering and take under consideration these groups to minimize the challenges should be primary concern during land acquisition project. In contrast, the current Ethiopian legislation lacks provisions, this practically noted in study area.

According to IFC (2023), such vulnerable groups can include, but are not limited to, women-headed household, very poor, orphan, disabled individual, elderly, youth, informal settlers or squatters, marginalized minority groups and other often lack resources and social security to cope their losses property. Such groups often subject to discrimination and may be reluctant to self-identify or express their views and concerns openly. Cultural and socio-economic situation further exacerbate the challenges they face. Accordingly, this study defines these groups at increased risk of negative project impacts due to factors like gender, ethnicity, age, disability, or socioeconomic status. As a result the study selects elderly and women-headed households as specific examples due to the access and closer examination. In this study, large-scale projects especially land expropriation disproportionately impacts this segment of society. For instance, an elderly woman living alone and struggling with health issues asserts her challenges by the recent urban expansion project. After takeover their land replaces affected assets or generates income independently become difficult. The informant I'7 stated as below;

“Before some years urban expansion project came here into my life. They take over the land that my livelihoods had been relies for decades. I received cash payment compensation (133, 860 ETB) for replacement of my expropriated land. They assert me the payment is equivalent with market value of my land. However, this cash compensation is nothing compared to my lost harvests and incomes. Because replace these lost harvests by cash rather than in kinds becomes impossible to me. Due to my age and declining health status I couldn't re-invest my compensation in income-generating activities. My age and declining health had already forced me to rent my land for crop-sharing before my land takeover. For your surprise no one is come here to assist with rehabilitation or alternative livelihood options for me or others they faces similar displacement from their lands.” (Interview at Meja Kebele, January 6, 2024)

As above indicated, the challenge faced by socially vulnerable groups call inclusive and

equitable expropriation practice. Reliance on financial compensation alone can't sufficient to effectively rehabilitate affected individuals. This also more ineffective when comes to like above informant. Their sociocultural status limited income-generating potential as well as secure rehabilitation. Nevertheless, if the project not inclusive and equitable approach, it exacerbates the existing socio-economic disadvantageous. This may occur in unfair compensation, inadequate relocation support, and exclusion from decision-making processes that directly their life. During the interview, I'10 illustrate this situation clearly;

"Authorities come and informed our land need for development. Then they assured that we had to leave in just few weeks. We wouldn't say in the decision. They take over our land as they planned. My vegetable garden taken and destroyed after expropriation commenced. Now, I'm struggling to feed my children without life partnership. I already faced challenges in finding decent work and accessing resources. As household leader losing all land makes more complex. Even though I received compensation, it doesn't sufficient to start new job and supports my family. In addition to that, there was also insufficient assistance with rebuilding our lives. Nevertheless, we need special support. We also deserve fair compensation for our lost land as well as proper relocation assistance." (Interview at 07 Kebele, February 1, 2024)

Above statement asserts expropriation practice further exacerbates women vulnerabilities. They already hold less advantageous and limited opportunities due to their socio-economic positions. Accordingly, in new urban settlements loss of land without adequate consideration, it limits their income options. During my interview, an informant I'21 from Women, Children, and Youth Office assert that socially vulnerable group doesn't get enough support and consideration after losses their land. Even though they take some activities as the office, the Federal and TPLF conflicts and the recent tensions rise as reasons that hindered to provide effective support. Additionally, informant asserts that their cooperative organization doesn't longer fully engaging now. Nevertheless, this lack of enough response and consideration from concerned government and other official's plays significant role for continue of these groups vulnerability. Thus, to provide proper support specifically for these affected groups, the compensation need comprehensive resettlement and rehabilitation programs extends from one-time payment.

4.3.1.2. Informal Landholders

This study reveals related issues with the payment disregard for land users particularly those have not formal land titles. During the interview with municipality office interviewee, asserts they face considerable challenges during compensation for those lack of formal land titles. These individuals mostly conduct land transactions in the fringes of the city without any documentation. I also noted that a numerous houses are built especially at 07 Kebele little far from expropriated land and newly established villages. Consequently, these houses possibly become squatter settlement. In this case, they may pose the complex challenges due to this lack of formal land titles and potential for manipulation of the system. The informant from Municipality office has identified two key concerns. The first thing is most of the houses within the expropriation zone seem as if they were built only in order to claim compensation when the area is declared for development. The second issue is that some farmers allegedly have sold their lands informally to various people also for the same purpose. So far no compensation has been provided, but the Mayor's office recognizes the issues and has been in search of possible remedies. However, it is essential to consider the reasons underlying informal land transactions.

Concerns the refusal to compensate property owners who lacks formal land titles, proving their landholding are raised as key reason for complaints (Ambaye, 2013). However, until now Ethiopian legal frameworks do not provide clear provisions for addressing land entitlement and compensation of squatters and settlers who lacks formal landholding document. The absence of clear provisions possibly leaves vulnerable populations without compensation for land they rely on due to only lacking formal titles. Accordingly, as informant I'12 reveals individuals has denied compensation for their land due to formal landholding certificate. Interviewee I'20 from municipality office also asserts by pointed out; "Those without formal landholding titles are simply left behind. They receive no compensation despite being affected by expropriation for resident buildings." However, in contrast to Ethiopian land legislations, World Bank policies reveals the importance of considering land rights for all affected individuals including squatters under specific conditions.

Lacks of legal entitlement have possibility to preclude compensation for their dwellings and land itself as above informant implies. It may also raises substantial ethical concerns that extend from

inherent vulnerability and displacement of evicted individuals to exacerbate the economic impacts of such expropriation projects. As noted from informant I'12, the practice pushed them to continue without compensation and made vulnerable:

“For many years since I bought and officially claimed landholding, I cultivated this land to sustaining my family and generating multidimensional income. I have invested countless times of labor and dedication on this land. However, with impending urban expansion project, I displaced like surrounding peoples. The point is I and some others have displaced without either any compensation payment or recourse when other displaced compensated. When we ask payment they demonstrate legal landholding right as a reason. In fact, I possess no formal documentation yet due to the complex bureaucracy. Even though, now as family leader I under the economic difficulty, all income are stopped since they take over our land.” (Interview at Meja Kebele, January 10, 2024)

As indicated above, expropriation practice at the peri urban study area only prioritizes to formal land landholding individuals. In contrast, the sacrifice of individuals who lacks formal land title doesn't take under consideration. As discuss above, higher number of people resides at peri-urban area without formal landholding rights than other areas. According to the informant from municipality office, as a town, due to the growing population of the city, one strategy to solve the housing problem is build housing by organizing cooperative societies. In this way, attempts have been made to organize and benefit 2,289 different sections of society, 368 members of the defense forces, and 1,052 teachers, for a total of 3,709 people in last five years. However, even though this is seen as a positive effort by the authorities, the informant claims that there are hundreds of houses that still lack formal landholding certificates. Nevertheless, in one way, lack of formal landholding weakens their legal claim to compensation. On other hand, they displaced, they left their income source land and even their home with noting compensation. Another interviewee, who inherited his grandfather's land, also argued that the urban expansion project displaced him without compensation. Despite the lack of official landholding documentation, informant I'9 emphasizes the familial connection with his land.

“Even though I lack formal landholding title such as landholding book or

certificate due to the bureaucratic delays, this land has belonged to me as everyone knows. Everyone here can witness for that. My grandfather assigned me to inherit his land. After taking the land I controlled it till the project come here. Now they take over my inherited land without any compensation due to only lack of formal land titles. How can I start over because I have no savings, no skills for another job to start overnight even thou the access is difficult. I recognize that this urban expansion project can supposed to bring development for others. However, to me it only just means of poverty.” (Interview at 07 Kebele, January 28, 2024)

As mentioned above, informant possibly indicates a financial loss and lack of support for rebuilding his life after the land is takeover. This may shows potential of expropriation projects may create new forms of poverty and hardship if the practice may prioritizes documented property rights over well-being of marginalized communities. Additionally, denying compensation to those without formal land landholding possibly goes beyond legality. It can exposes deeper social inequalities as possible by concentrating wealth and opportunities amongst hand of few.

However, the compensation practices regarding informal land settlers have revealed inconsistencies across different towns, as evidenced by Yirsaw (2012) study. For instance, he found different practices in Gonder and Bahir Dar cities. In Gonder, like Kombolcha town, strict adherence to the policy of requiring titled land holdings for compensation appears to be enforced, potentially leaving informal occupants without compensation. Conversely, in Bahir Dar, the inconsistency in applying the same policy has resulted in some residents without formal titles, even those residing for shorter periods, receiving compensation, while others, like a woman who lived for over ten years, were excluded. This possibly creates inequity and hardship, potentially exacerbating the challenges and dispossession communities who often rely on informal land use for their livelihoods. The proclamation's failure to address this issue may raise serious ethical concerns regarding treated affected people uniformly. Thus, it demands urgent attention to ensure inclusive and just outcomes for all affected individuals, regardless of their formal land landholding status.

Nevertheless, the practice underscores complex reality of land landholding and limitations of relying only on formal land titles. Thus, it clearly calls to find balance between designed projects and protecting the livelihoods of those who haven't formal landholding titles due to numerous peoples couldn't get legal coverage. In response to the challenges posed by informal land landholding, the government of Southwest Ethiopia's People's Regional State has enacted Proclamation No. 012/2023. This legislation, titled "A Regulation Issued to regulate and Prevent Urban Land Holding and Land Holding Expansion without Approval," offers certain positive measures that may benefit and offering some relief to minimize expropriation suffering on these groups. For instance, Article 4, Subsection 1 of the proclamation addresses instances in which land is occupied and a structure has been constructed without approval. It provides some hope by stating that "constructions that are not inconsistent with the city's master plan and meet parceling standards may be approved." This shows that individuals who have built unauthorized structures may be able to retroactively obtain legal landholding if their construction complies with city planning regulations and adheres to the minimum yard size requirements. Such kind of measurement may have positive impact on implementing successful provisions. Thus, adopting this kind of approach either by federal level or other regions may significantly reduce economic and social repercussions faced by individuals dealing with informal land landholding.

Land expropriation at study area leave evicted communities to faces devastating economic challenges. Inadequate compensation rate, arbitrary income assessments, and insufficient training how to accompany compensation payment exacerbate the challenges. Leaves individual ill-equipped to rebuild their new livelihoods. Similarly, this occurs on socially vulnerable groups. Lack of consideration for informal land users due to landholding titles also another noted challenge. Nevertheless, expropriation practices call adequate rehabilitation and holistic approach that prioritize well-being of affected groups.

4.3.2. Social Challenges

Land expropriation, whereby governments or another entity takes possession of land often occurs alongside advancements including urban expansion. While these projects can bring societal benefits, it has also severe consequences particularly for directly evicted communities. The consequence is not only economical; it also inevitably leads to complex social repercussions. An

expropriated land is not only just a space of dwelling or utilities for land lost communities, but it is more than just a means of subsistence. In other word, it is a political, social, cultural, and psychological asset (Alemu, 2015). In this case, its true value can't be measured in monetary terms due to their deep attachments with the land, which has often been passed down for generations (Hsu, 2017; & Qu et al., 2018). Thus, the study examines the multifaceted social consequences of this ongoing expropriation process in urban expansion context.

Land expropriation has potentially disrupts the long-standing social networks and support system. At study area, established social network and support systems are deteriorates after they displace from their land where they have been standing for long times. As a result, these evicted communities often face challenges when integrating into new areas such as social isolation and sense of loss of belonging what they were. During the interview, informant I'17 shares her experience as follow;

"Before our land taken, our lives revolved around bonds of each other. However, after our land handover and changes our villages, we scattered and forgotten each other. The fields where we worked together, shared meals under the old tree, the slaughter practice during festivals are all gone and stopped. We had strong community ties where everyone helped each other either good or bad time. Even children miss their friends and their familiar surroundings where they were. They sense of belonging they once had. Nevertheless, after our land takeover, we're scattered and continues alone. We are struggling to rebuild our lives in unfamiliar places. Adjusting and adapting new environment is difficult, to smooth this takes time. The customary practices tied to land call home feel lost in this new circumstance. Expropriation feels like part of us has been ripped away. It leaves us with deep sense of loss and makes our futures uncertain." (Interview at Mutigrar/06 Kebele, January 21, 2024)

As above informant indicated, evicted communities experienced sense of loss and disconnection from each other since expropriation affects them. Before the project reach into them, their interaction was like close-knit family where their interacted, shared, and support each other. This as a result challenges their new adaptation to new surrounding and rebuilding without support

and connection they once had. People who are forced to relocate due to land expropriation often lose their connection to their existing social network includes friends, family, and neighbors who provide different forms of assistances each other. As noted from FGD'3 participants at 07 Kebele, land expropriation which taken for urban expansion eroded their strong interaction. They pointed out after expropriation taken, loses their social interaction that came with shared work and daily routines.

For instance, the Discussant D'2 of above FGD'3 emphasizes frustration by starting his criticize the way of expropriation taken. He pointed out that the expropriation authorities should conduct an assessment and discussion on what the social life was there, “even bad neighbors make miss home, ok!” From this aspect, expropriation can scatter families and friends who lived close together. This consequently may disrupt that established social networks and making it difficult to maintain the existed support systems and hindering the formation of new ones. According to Talema & Nigusie (2023), fully expropriated and relocated households not quickly integrated into new localities. It takes long time to join local associations at their new relocated area. Additionally, project-induced separation likely also eroded the strong community mutual working custom, as informant I'13 states,

" ... During planting, weeding, and harvesting, we worked cooperatively under Jige association. Jige were not just about productivity. It was pillar where we build strong bond, trust, and sense of shared responsibility. It was a network of support that extended beyond the field like we shares slaughter and meals. Thus, it wasn't just our fields and crops that disappeared; it was the very foundation of our life. Nevertheless, after our land taken away, everything we built was gone with it. Most of us in this new district lost everything. Those few fortunate retain some land are forced to work it alone, a stark contrast to the joyful collaboration we once knew." (Interview at 07 Kebele, February 3, 2024)

As above indicated, land is not just source of income. It is a space where their shared identity played out and wellspring support systems are established. However, project caused displacement shatters close-knit community. It severs their social ties and cooperative institution like Jige. Joyful communal work system has been replaced by solitary labor. Yesuf (2021) also

argues that development projects disrupt farmworker associations by eliminating agricultural land where their collaboration is formed. Another social supporting mechanism called Iddir or Kere is also affected by land expropriation. This social association functions as essential mutual support systems during times of sickness, death, funerals, and wedding ceremonies by facilitating the sharing of expenses. However, after expropriation taken, affected communities couldn't perform this association. Regarding this, Informant I'8 stating;

"We had an association called Iddir that supports the whole members when family member or other close relatives pass away. When one person passes away, the whole members of this Iddir association should attend the funeral ceremony, share the grief with deceased person family members, and provides some money dues. Moreover, the members also prepare food for deceased family for few days. However, this Iddir not only for funeral issue. It also serves to help members to accomplish when they have serious social issues such as wedding. Even when conflicts are occur among the members, it solves through this association. Now, however, our Iddir association is stopped and the members are scattered when our land is taken and shifted into new established village. We struggle now to establish new Iddir association where a lot of new peoples surrounded."
(Interview at 07 Kebele, January 27, 2023)

Informants also reveal their social upheaval caused by potential land expropriation. For them, land is bedrock of their social security, link to their cultural heritage, and legacy they aspired to pass on. According to FGD'3 discussants, expropriation disrupts the community ties with land and potentially erodes. Additionally, land serves as repository of history, traditions, and physical embodiment with their ancestors. However, their displacement from their home and lands threatened their spiritual connection with their sacred land, and jeopardize the very essence of their cultural practices and customs. Discussant D'5 of above FGD'3 states below,

"They come here and talks about urbanization, development... However they seem blind to the deeper significance this land holds for us. It's not only just soil for crops and dwelling. It is altar to our ancestors, and foundations for our custom and practices. It is part of our life, it is more than property. Every grain and fruit

harvests carries the whispers of our past habit. The ties with our lands are far from either property or monetary values. However, they see numbers; we see the tapestry of our lives entwine into this land." (a group discussion at 07 Kebele, February 6, 2024)

As indicated above, the profound socio-cultural impact of land expropriation extends well beyond the realm of income loss. It deteriorates custom and practice what they performs in their land. Additionally, the practice disturbs their spiritual connection with the ancestral lands where foundation of their cultural identity. Other point here is neglects communal assets such as cultural and religious sites as discusses in next section. These assets have essential role in sustaining community life even though the previous studies often overlooked. In practice also these sites doesn't get enough consideration either protecting or even paying proper compensation. This highlights the socio-cultural dimensions of expropriation project needs serious consideration like economic aspects. As a result this may help to minimize detrimental expropriation effects on community and their cherished heritage.

Landholders potentially facing expropriation are highly involving in selling land informally to settlers. The reason is due to perceived quick and better financial gain compared to the often lengthy and uncertain government compensation. Although this practice are fraught with legal and social risks as evident in study area. New housing construction triggered conflicts between authorities and informal settlers as noted from informants during interview. The focus group discussants also reveal inadequate official compensation leads them to seek immediate income through informal sales their threatened land by expropriation. However, this transaction often exposes for unforeseen problems later. For instance, some discussants have experienced conflicts with their buyers after expropriation occurs.

The study by Efrem & Tesfaunegn (2017) reveals that economic factor drive informal land transactions at peri-urban area, creating a stark divide in motivations. Accordingly, wealthier individuals are primarily interested in acquiring larger, more strategically located plots in peri-urban areas potentially for future investment or development. In contrast, low-income residents are drawn to the cheaper options available in rural communities as informal land purchases to securing basic shelter. These areas, as a result have become sphere of unauthorized land

transactions where dominated by conflicts over access and control. Nevertheless, even though legal procedure may difficult, exploring legal avenues for land transaction is better for involved individuals. On other hand, the government officials should address all factors behind such wide-ranging practice and take inclusive measurements.

Another noted social ramification of land expropriation is related with creating social class among community member. It can see in two ways. The first way is related to losing landholding status, and the second way is directly related with compensation payment. The customary urbanization processes were largely based on voluntarism, individuals move to urban areas when they could find their own housing and employment. In contrast, recent urbanization programs have been driven by infrastructure improvements. It mainly fills through expropriation by local authorities to ensure timely and efficient project completion. However, as a result, this creates detrimental effect of long-term inequality within society through snatching landholding status. In the north part of the country, including study area, landholding is among key factors which determine wealth status. From this aspect, expropriation can play significant role to exacerbate existing social class.

Another aspect is related with offered payment as compensation when expropriation projects affects. As noted from some informants, the evicted individual can use their compensation to start new businesses or changed in to other income sources are likely to better off in the long run. Bakery and Bajaj vehicles work are among the newly started business on some affected individuals. In contrast, individuals who lack skills or resources to leverage their compensation face greater difficulty on rebuilding their livelihood. Thus, to restrain exacerbating social class due to above reasons needs attention. Inclusiveness and support evicted groups to devote their compensation effectively on other income generating activities as possible can be possible measurement.

4.3.2.1. Communal Assets

Properly managing communal assets during expropriation is a critical yet often overlooked issue. These assets, particularly cultural and religious sites, are essential in sustaining the fabric of each society. However, failing to address them sensitively within expropriation process may lead to threaten the community well-being. Thus, it is essential to prioritize community engagement

throughout the process, from determining methods of expropriation to assessing fair compensation. Communal assets particularly cultural and religious sites hold a value that extends beyond mere land; they embody the community's history, beliefs, and sense of belonging. It also depicts present and future ways of life, as well as the cultural values of a society (Mekonnen, et al., 2022). This fosters solidarity and social integration of a society. Its value, a legacy passed down through generations, transcends mere monetary worth.

For instance, in study area, communal assets particularly cultural and religious sites, such as Wujibe, Harima, and Zawya, played a crucial role. These sites sustained the community's livelihoods, preserved cultural practices, and fostered social cohesion. However, the FGD'1 participants revealed a concerning trend during land acquisition in Meja Kebele. They point out inadequate consideration of these assets regarding their importance for community's well-being. As they argue this sites was religious teaching center including for their children's. Notably, these sites were expropriated without adequate consideration and compensation. Only Zawya receives some form of reimbursement. This show obvious disregard for the value the sites hold, from their historical significance to fostering the community's cultural identity, social cohesion, and livelihood practices. Mekonnen et al. (2022) in their studies revealed that the cultural site conservation is affected by a lack of funds and stakeholder involvement, urbanization, and settlement programs.

The existing proclamations have lack of clear provisions regarding the valuation, compensation, and overall handling of these cultural and religious communal assets when expropriation practices. This likely contributes for inadequate consideration during expropriation. Additionally, this legal framework gap neglects the profound value these assets hold for communities, further exacerbating the impacts of land expropriation. The Amhara regional state's compensation and rehabilitation for public purpose expropriated land regulations No. 44/2021 (Article 11) acknowledges specific exemptions from expropriation, including registered heritage sites and lands designated for conservation. Even though, this legislation doesn't explicitly address those communal cultural or religious sites which is lack of formal heritage registration. Thus, to ensure that affected communities receive just and equitable outcomes with protecting their assets, it is vital to revise the existing legal framework. The revisions should incorporate clear guidelines towards assessing and compensating communal assets for those without official heritage status.

In addition, consults local community towards the location and characteristics of communal assets, as well as the way of replacement structures may beneficial.

4.4. ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF LAND EXPROPRIATION

Diverse land uses offer various ecosystem services which are vital for either human well-being or environmental sustainability (Admasu et al., 2020). These services cover wide range from ethereal regulating services like climate regulation to physical providing services like food, water, and lumber. However, rapid urban expansion project through expropriation has often impacts on these services, leading to unintended ecological problems. While the previous studies emphasize the broader environmental impacts of urbanization, they overlooked the specific environmental consequences of land expropriation at peri-urban area, particularly on provisioning services. Significant portion of global population particularly developing countries like Africa heavily relies on these services due to food, agriculture, and income sources. In Ethiopia also large portion of population directly engages in agricultural activities and other ecological related fields.

Accordingly, this study examines industrial town of Kombolcha where rapid urban expansion raise concerns about its impact on food production, water availability, access to raw materials, and energy. The interviews and discussions with expropriation evicted community revealed that prior land used for food and irrigated crops through extensive farming activities. However, the ongoing land expropriation for urban expansion negatively impacts the essential ecosystem services particularly provisioning services such as food production, water availability, access to raw materials, and energy. Consequently, this disruption becomes the expropriation evicted community to be vulnerable.

At the study area, observed significant environmental impacts of expropriation includes clearing of vegetation previously that used for food procurement, depletion of water resources, and reduced the access of raw materials either for housing or firewood. The vulnerability of this provisioning service worsens the challenges faced by the evicted community, further disrupting the ecosystem. This exacerbates the strain on vital ecosystem services that underpin food production and the supply of other essential goods. For instance, according to Municipality office data, in the study area the built-up area increased by 6.8% or 844.2 hectares in 2008 to

13.1% or 1631.0 hectares in 2018. In other words, it increased by 6.3% or 786.8 hectares. Whereas, the agricultural farmland was cover 87.1% or 10856.9 hectares in 2008. However, it reduced to 78.2% or 9745.1 hectares in 2018. In other words, it decreased by 1111.8 hectares or 8.9%. This conversion of land previously used for agriculture and irrigation for other purposes heightens anxieties about food security and the potential for reduced food production and livelihood loss. These negative impacts on the natural environment and livelihoods in peri-urban areas could be attributed to changes occurring in land use, water resources management, and increasing competition between agricultural and residential use of natural resources (Bah et al., 2003 cited Weldesilassie & Assefa, 2020). During the interview, the informants I'1 states;

“The land they took for the urban expansion used to be a lush vegetation area with fertile soil. We used our land extensively to access various crop, fruits, and vegetables. Among them such as some berries and fruits are always available that we access simply without constant nurturing. However, since our land taken, getting enough access has becomes difficult. We just forced to depend on the market which wasn't we takes from the market previously.” (Interview at Meja Kebele, December 27, 2023)

As indicated above, expropriation possibly reduce the livelihood options by restricts access to readily available natural resources. This limits options for people who rely on these resources for income generation, such as collecting firewood or non-timber forest products. As a result, expropriation diminishes access to resources, forcibly transforming evicted communities to dependence, placing a heavy financial burden on purchasing previously accessible livelihood potions or other natural resources. Thus, disappearance of lands, along with perennial and annual crops, matter the evicted community's food or income alternatives. Studies by Mohammed et al. (2017) reveal that land expropriation for urbanization purpose diminishes available natural resources to poor people, thereby exacerbating their vulnerability.

The Council of Ministers Regulation No. 135/2007, Article 15, which mandates that individuals whose land used for growing crops is expropriated for public purposes should, whenever possible, be provided with alternative land suitable for the same purpose. If this mandate properly practiced, it play significant role in minimizes the vulnerability comes from losing

essential ecosystem services like provisioning services. However, as discussed in previous section, displaced farm holders often receive only monetary compensation rather than in kind such as replacement land as indicated above legislation.

Expropriation practice leads to the loss of plantations and naturally growing trees. This reduction not only impacts biodiversity and ecological balance but also poses significant additional challenges for the community. It disrupts access to essential resources like wood, a primary fuel source for cooking and construction. As noted from informants, previously they readily obtain wood from their own land. However, after expropriation occurs eucalyptus and other valuable timber trees are being highly reduced. For instance, informant I'14 pointed out that due to expropriation project loses nearly one hectare forest land. From this aspect land expropriation at peri-urban possibly has not only affect food security but also hinder access the primary source of energy such as wood. Consequently, limited access to energy often forces women to turn to expensive non-wood forest products like charcoal from the market to meet their daily needs for cooking and food. Poor electricity infrastructure worsens these problems. Informant I'11 stating;

“After our land has been taken, as previously simply accessing wood for cooking and maintaining our homes is becoming difficult. We used to collect firewood ourselves surrounding homes. However, now we are buying it. It puts additional strain on our already struggling financial burden for other expenditures. Additionally, the cost of buying wood has been steadily increasing. It becomes difficult to afford enough for our daily needs.” (Interview at Meja Kebele, January 9, 2024)

It can be also argued that concentrating large population in this area through expropriation further increase higher energy demands for buildings. The conversion of natural areas to urban landscapes threatens the variety of plant life that existed and simply accessed by local communities. This disruption also affects vital medicinal resource for local community. These readily available medicinal plants deeply ingrained in community traditional healthcare system. It offers natural remedies for various ailments and contributes to sustainable and self-sufficient approach to healthcare. However, after expropriation of natural areas with diverse plant life conversion to urban landscapes significantly limits local community access for medicinal plant

resources. During interview, informant I'14 states;

"We were relied on cultural medicinal plants which are just available on our land and surrounding. We had deep knowledge towards these plants as well as experience how to uses, passed down through generations. These plants had essential role in our habitual daily healthcare practices through provide remedies for various ailments. Now, after these areas had been drained when expropriation comes leaves us without easy access to those precious essential resources. Finding alternative sources is difficult and often expensive, but no choice. Nevertheless, many of us who relied on these plants either for own or our family well-being, now haven't chance access as previous." (Interview at Mutigrar/06 Kebele, January 18, 2024)

As above indicated expropriation practice makes difficult accessing the traditional remedies and pushes the evicted community into external healthcare options. From economical aspect, this leads to increase the financial burdens through by growing dependence on external solutions. Additionally, it threatens transmission of indigenous medicinal knowledge and practices which may have long-term consequences on community cultural legacy in healthcare. The study by Arjona-García et al., (2021) revealed that urbanization can lead to a decline in the knowledge of local medicinal plants.

At the ongoing expropriation peri-urban area, development of infrastructure specifically road and water access are greatly varies. As observed the existing infrastructure such as water taps or conduits are non-functional even if the gravel roads are there. The 2020 report of Kombolcha city administration's structural study report on government office configuration, points out gaps in coordinating infrastructure works, particularly regarding equity and access. Consequently, it worsens depletion of remain water resources after expropriation implemented. A remain water resources was previously relied upon solely by the local communities residing in these peri-urban areas. However, as informants reveal currently access to piped water becomes unavailable. Burden falls entirely on remain water resources and leads to overexploitation and depletion which strain household water needs.

To response water scarcity challenges, young people from expropriation evicted community

groups are taking commendable initiative by delivering water from center of the town through carts and Bajaj transportation. This delivery service can be seen as temporary business opportunity or income source for those expropriation impacted individuals. However, it is essential to recognize limitation of this approach from its role on permanent rehabilitation mechanism aspects. Thus, focusing on long-term solution such as functionalize water infrastructure or establish community-based water service would provide more sustainable and equitable path on existing rehabilitation.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

In the study area, to accommodate unprecedented urban population growth, local governments are actively acquiring land through expropriation, primarily targeting peri-urban areas. The rising demand for land driven by urbanization is leading to a rapid conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural purposes in the peri-urban areas surrounding Kombolcha town. This study explored how this ongoing practice has been carried to meet growing demand of urban land at Kombolcha. Besides, the study explored perceptions of evicted community towards expropriation and its impacts on local peri-urban community.

The study revealed that the acquisition of land for urban expansion project was carried out without timely notification, inadequate prior public consultation, and exclusion of evicted community from decision-making regarding valuation and compensation. Even though affected individuals needs participation and ask compensation in kind, government officials only informed them by simply appeared in Kebele or meeting solely for pronouncement. Additionally, affected communities did not receive proper written notification regarding handover period, even for about the measurements, till less than two months. Lately just some information posted on notice board potentially leaving them uninformed and intensifies the existing problem of delayed notification. As a result, it undermines the potential benefits of affected communities. This is because it limits the time available for affected communities to effectively prepare, implement their own rehabilitation approaches, organize, and advocate for their rights.

The compensation process also does not provide a clear sequence of procedures. The study reveals that there was lack of affected individuals' involvement in valuation, lack of transparency or unclear valuation, as well as insufficiency and delay payment extends a year. This was found to be a real cause of concern, especially regarding amount and timeframe required for awarding compensation. The study reveals also the valuation only considered the income of Meher than Belg season, possibly fails to cover all income generated on mandated timeframe. Additionally, there was more compensation for closest land to the town than the land further away.

The study regarding the perceptions of displaced community towards land expropriation found that their attitudes are influenced by more than just compensation mechanism, in contrast to some previous study arguments. Accordingly, in addition to the devastating loss of their land, lack of participation and consultation, measurement errors, and exploitative assessments have contributed to negative perception for expropriation that ultimately resulted in surge of complaints and appeals. Moreover, the efficiency of present land proclamations which do not sufficiently safeguard their rights following expropriation has negatively matters their attitudes. In contrast, the study reveals affected communities conditionally support land expropriation, which can be seen as a positive influence. Their precondition is that expropriation should be carried out on non-irrigable land and ensures fair and adequate compensation.

The study regarding the impacts of land expropriation reveals that expropriation leaves evicted community faces devastating social and economic challenges. Displacement from their livelihoods, loss of job and incomes that severely impacted their economic and financial well-being is among the economic challenges. It transforms from once self-sufficient by food product to depend on market with less amount of compensation. This also disproportionately affects socially vulnerable groups who rely on other supports to use their land. They couldn't replaces affected assets and generates income independently after expropriation. The study found that inadequate compensation, delay compensation payment, and incomplete income assessment worsens this economic challenges. The compensation system also fails to account for informal land users leaves individuals without compensation made them economically vulnerable. The study also founds absence of comprehensive entrepreneurial training is more worsens the challenges and made extremely difficult to successfully transition in to urban settings.

In addition to the economic impacts mentioned above, these practices also have social consequences. The study reveals land expropriation has potentially disrupts long-standing social networks in the local community. They lose their social interaction that came with shared work and daily routines, and becomes scatter each other. It jeopardize the very essence of their customs that tied to their lands such as shared meals under the old tree, slaughter practice during festivals & harvesting. The study also found that expropriation eroded mutual working custom or social supporting institution of the community like Jige, Iddir or Kere association where everyone helped each other during either good or bad time. Additionally, even though communal

assets such as cultural and religious sites have essential role in sustaining community life and fosters their solidarity, in practice they doesn't get enough consideration either protecting or even paying proper compensation. The study also found that land expropriation creating or exacerbating social class among community through two ways. Firstly, through losing or snatching landholding status as an area where land amount is highly influence the status of wealth. Secondly, due to offered payment as compensation helps some evicted individual to some restart, but disadvantages those without skills, resources, or non-compensated individuals leaving them worse off. The study reveals landholders potentially facing expropriation are highly involving in selling land informally to settlers due to fear the often lengthy and uncertain compensation. As a result, it fraught with legal and social risks such as triggered conflicts of informal settlers with authorities, and with their sellers after expropriation occurs.

Finally, the study reveals that land expropriation affects environment, particularly its ability to provide provisioning services as the study concerned to analyze its indirect economic effects. Clearing of vegetation used for food procurement, depletion of water resources and reduced access of raw materials and source of energy are among the impacts. This worsens the challenges of affected community, in addition to disrupting ecosystem. It negatively affects their food or income alternatives by reduce livelihood options of available natural resources. It also leads to loss of plantations and naturally growing trees that limits access to essential resources like wood which is a primary source for cooking and construction, and other vital medicinal resources.

Land expropriation necessitates adherence to various proclamations established at different times. These proclamations stipulate several conditions such as power to expropriate land, advanced compensation, notification and public participation or consultation. However, concerns have been raised about its effectiveness in practical implementation, as indicated above. Additionally, the widening impacts of land expropriation on evicted communities raise serious questions about why cannot minimize these challenges. Therefore, ensuring procedural fairness and mitigating negative expropriation consequences, especially in peri-urban areas, is crucial.

5.2. Recommendations

Rapid urbanization is a global phenomenon. Often, governments are actively acquiring land through expropriation, primarily from peri-urban areas. Despite unlocking undeniable societal

benefits, this process comes at a cost. In light of these considerations, this study recommends the following issues.

- It is important to mandate extensive public consultation and proper notification before undertaking land expropriation projects. Additionally, the study revealed till the Proclamation No. 1161/2019 enacted, land expropriation lacked explicit legal requirements for public consultation, creating an ongoing gap in clear guidelines. While this Proclamation theoretically promotes public participation, its impact is uncertain due to the previous absence of legal mandate. On this basis, future researches make comparative analysis of consultation practices before and after the above proclamation would be particularly insightful, potentially reveal its effectiveness.
- Current laws often restrict the right to appeal beyond narrow issues of valuation and compensation, invoking the concept of ‘public purpose’ as a justification. However, this limited scope raises concerns about the potential for abuse of expropriation powers and disproportionate social costs borne by evicted societies. Thus, the true impact of expropriation legislation on affected communities deserves more rigorous empirical analysis, particularly what expropriation legislation really means for evicted society.
- Cash compensation often fails to capture full complexity of income loss due to unpredictable factors like weather, market fluctuations, and individual farming practices. As a result, this lead to discrepancies between the calculated compensation and actual lost income for some landholders. Thus, if future compensation packages for displaced farmers move beyond solely cash-based models such as land to land, partial monetary and land compensation, and sustainable job opportunity may address limitations of this approach. Moreover, Ethiopian Constitution in Article 40, sub-article 8, emphasizes the principle of commensurate compensation to expropriated property for public purposes. Thus, future researches can examine how commensurate compensation is calculated in practice, and how current calculation ensures truly commensurate compensation, considering all relevant factors.
- The study revealed that compensation possibly disregards value of communal asset particularly cultural and religious sites. Even though the recent ANRS Proclamation No.

44/2021 offers some protection for registered heritage sites, the fate of unregistered communal assets remains uncertain. Thus, social and cultural impact assessments that analyze role of communal assets, and conduct comprehensive investigation into how the above proclamation being incorporate the unregistered communal assets are important.

- The study revealed during expropriation socially vulnerable groups doesn't get enough consideration that requires prioritize supporting these groups' participation in planning, decision-making, and implementation of such projects. Additionally, the Ethiopian legal frameworks are silent on informal land users during expropriation that necessitates harmonization to ensure fair treatment for all affected individuals. Thus, a comprehensive legal review is needed to assess the feasibility of incorporating these groups.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Interview and FGD Guidelines

*Hawassa University College of Social Sciences and Humanities
Department of Social Anthropology*

Title of the Study: Urban land expropriation and its impacts on local community: the case of peri-urban area of Kombolcha, Northeast Ethiopia

Guiding Questions for Semi-Structured Interview	
Objectives	Questions
To describe how land expropriation and compensation procedures are implemented.	<u>For Affected Landholders:</u> - What is your job? What type of land and how many hectares were expropriated? - How were you consulted or informed about the expropriation of your land? - Have you received compensation? If so, what kind of compensation and its amount? - Did you have any say in the expropriation or compensation process? It was fair and transparent? Have you observed discriminatory practices? What do you recommend? <u>For Government Officials such as RLMU and Municipality Office</u> - Criteria for expropriating rural land? Can you walk me through the steps involved in a land expropriation process? - Local population consultation and participation? - Is there strict follow up during the process? Transparency and fairness measures? - Land valuation methods? Compensation types and amounts? Adequacy? Timing of compensation payment? - Common implementation challenges? - Social risk management strategies? - Post-expropriation needs and support including vulnerable groups? - What are the best practices for land expropriation and compensation? Is there alternative approaches? <u>For women, children, and youth office:</u> - As the office what was your role or support vulnerable groups such as women, orphans, divorced, elderly etc.? - Was effective on your activities? - What do you face on your journey? How overcome? What do you recommend?
To explore the perceptions of displaced	<u>For Affected Landholders:</u> - How did you learn about expropriation and compensation process explained to you? - Do you believe the reasons given for the land expropriation were legitimate and in the public interest? Was the process more fair and accountable?

community towards land expropriation.	- What are your expectations from the authorities regarding community engagement and future support? - Which mode of compensation is better for the farmers to successfully rehabilitate? - Imagine you could have a direct conversation with the decision-makers responsible for the expropriation. What would you tell them?
To explore the socio-economic challenges of land expropriation on peri-urban communities.	<u>For Affected Landholders:</u> Regarding economic consequences - Did you have another income sources additional from agriculture before expropriation taken? - How do you evaluate the compensation paid during expropriation? - Discuss the economic challenges you faced after your land taken? - Explain your economic performance before the expropriation and after? - Did you get job opportunities after losing the land? Would you planned to start new jobs? - Did you try to invest your compensation payment on other income generating activities? - Were there supports from government bodies to help you to rebuild livelihoods? What was it? <u>For Affected Landholders:</u> Regarding social ramifications - How has displacement affected social cohesion, and cultural practices? - Describe changes in social relationships and community dynamics since the expropriation. - How has losing land, home, or traditions impacted your family, community ties, and sense of belonging? - Share your experience how expropriation affects your socioeconomic status or role? - Share your experience how did land expropriation disproportionately affect women, orphans, or other vulnerable groups? <u>For Marginalized Groups</u> - Did you have access information and participation in the process? - Was there discrimination based on gender, age, or social status during compensation? - Did traditional land rights or practices get undermined, impacting vulnerable groups? - What challenges have you faced in securing new livelihoods or rebuilding your life? - What coping mechanisms have you used to address these challenges? - Are there NGOs you rely on for support? - If you could design a more inclusive expropriation process, what would you prioritize? - What recommendations do you have for protecting marginalized groups?
To explore the environmental impacts of land expropriation.	<u>For Affected Landholders:</u> - How expropriation has affects your access of food, water, firewood, or other resources? - Have you noticed changes in the quality or availability of these resources since the expropriation, and what coping mechanisms? - Could you share any cultural knowledge that could help mitigate the negative impacts of land expropriation on provisioning services? - Would you like to add anything not covered above?

Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussion	
Objectives	Questions; Note, the below all question was for affected landholders:
To describe how land expropriation and compensation procedures are implemented.	- How do you involve in expropriation and compensation process? - In your experience, what are the most important factors in a fair and just land expropriation process? - What were some practical strategies for supporting livelihoods and ensuring social safety to you as affected communities?
To explore the perceptions of displaced community towards land expropriation.	- Share your thoughts and feelings about land expropriation/ the experience of being displaced from your land. - Do you think community's voice was heard and considered in the process? - What recommendations do you have for improving the way land is expropriated? And displacements are handles?
To explore the socio-economic challenges of land expropriation on peri-urban communities.	- Discuss about the economic impacts of land expropriation on the community. - Share your experiences and perspectives on the diverse social ramifications of land expropriation on the community. Discuss the impacts on social cohesion, livelihoods, cultural practices etc. within the community. - Discuss the challenges faced by different subgroups within the community, such as poor's, and vulnerable groups. - Share your experiences and perspectives on how expropriation process has impacted the socioeconomic status of the community. - If you have an opportunity to design land expropriation, what are the key principles and safeguards would you prioritize and used? What recommends?
To explore the environmental impacts of land expropriation.	- Share your experiences and concerns about the environmental consequences of land expropriation on access to food, water, firewood, or other essential resources. - If you have an opportunity to design land expropriation, what are the key environmental considerations and community resource needs would you prioritize? - Would you like to add anything not covered above?

Appendix 2: Data Collection Activities

Name of Interviewee/ FGD participants.....

Role and Affiliation:

Date and Time of Interview/FGD:/...../.....

Place of Interview/Discussion:

Introduction; First, with an expression of my gratitude, I said, “Thank you very much for agreeing to talk to me about land expropriation in the context of urban expansion and its effect on the peri-urban community in Kombolcha. I am a student at Hawassa University and this is in partial fulfillment of my course demand whereby I am required to conduct study on above topic.”

Explained purpose of the research; "The reason I am conducting this research is in order to gather primary information about the problem in question." All the questions will be only for academic reasoning's. Your personal replies will be treated as the strictest confidential information. Therefore, do not hesitate to provide the most accurate response you can. Your full dedication is a key factor behind success of this study that can produce a good piece of work.

Giving participants a chance for questions; "I also gave you the privilege to ask for clarification on anything before we began the interview or discussion."

Taking notes and recordings; "I explained that during the interview and discussion, I would be taking notes. I sought the approval to use a recording device for the interview/discussion if that was what you were okay with. Even though, there was some reluctance to record the sessions among the participants, consequently I recorded the key points of the discussion/interview in my notes."

Question 1:

Response and Discussion:

Probe question: Continue Question 2

Thank you very much! Is there anything else that we haven't covered in the discussion then.....Finally, I verified that credit will be given to your contribution in the final research document. Thank you once again!

Observation of the Research Site

Date of Observation:/...../.....

Time of Observation:

Place Observation:

Observation Check List

For instance:

Land use changes.....

Changes in livelihoods

Employment opportunities.....

Infrastructural pattern.....

Reflection.....

.....

.....

Appendix 3: List of Informants

Description of informants						
Interviewee code	Sex	Age	Role/Jobs	Place of Interview	Date of Interview	Remarks
I'1	M	48	Farmer	Meja Kebele	December, 27	
I'2	M	53	„	„	December, 30	
I'3	M	46	„	Mutigrar/06 Kebele	January, 14	
I'4	M	56	„	07 Kebele	January, 25	
I'5	F	37	FHH	Meja Kebele	January, 2	
I'6	M	50	Farmer	Mutigrar/06 Kebele	January, 16	
I'7	F	49	Elderly	Meja Kebele	January, 6	
I'8	M	47	Farmer	07 Kebele	January, 27	
I'9	M	36	„	„	January, 28	
I'10	F	42	FHH	„	February, 1	
I'11	M	46	Farmer	Meja Kebele	January, 9	
I'12	M	43	„	„	January, 10	
I'13	M	45	„	07 Kebele	February, 3	
I'14	M	47	„	Mutigrar/06 Kebele	January, 18	
I'15	M	38	„	„	January, 20	
I'16	M	49	„	07 Kebele	February, 4	
I'17	F	40	FHH	Mutigrar/06 Kebele	January, 21	
I'18	M	39	Officer in RLMUO	Town Administration	February, 8	
I'19	M	43	Municipality Officer	„	February, 9	
I'20	M	37	„	„	February, 11	
I'21	F	41	Officer in WCYO	„	February, 14	

Description of Discussants							
Discussants group & code		Sex	Age	Role/Jobs	Place of Discussion	Date of Discussion	Remarks
FGD 1	D1	M	43	Farmer	Meja Kebele	January, 12	
	D2	M	52	„			
	D3	M	46	„			
	D4	M	47	„			
	D5	M	53	„			
	D6	M	49	„			
FGD2	D1	M	55	„	Mutigrar/06 Kebele	January, 23	
	D2	M	52	„			
	D3	M	45	„			
	D4	M	49	„			
	D5	M	50	„			
	D6	M	47	„			
FGD3	D1	M	56	„	07 Kebele	February, 6	
	D2	M	48	„			
	D3	M	47	„			
	D4	M	54	„			
	D5	M	48	„			
	D6	M	51	„			