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የፖሊሲ ፍሬ ሀሳቦች Policy Briefings

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The research was carried out under the auspices of Forum for Social Studies in 11 sites in four Regions by graduate students and staff from five Addis Ababa University departments, programmes and centres: The Departments of Sociology and Anthropology, Political Science and International Relations, Geography and Environmental Science, the Regional and Local **Development Studies Pro**gramme, and the Demographic Training and Research Centre.

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The fieldwork was carried out from January to March 2005, and the initial results were presented at a workshop in December 2005.

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UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMICS OF RESETTLEMENT IN ETHIOPIA

Summary Briefing Paper

Background

From 2003 to the end of 2005 over half a million people were resettled in four regional states: Oromia, Amhara, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples and Tigray. Further resettlement is planned in two of these regions in early 2006. Most costs have been borne by the federal and regional governments, who have been major stakeholders with resettlers and local communities. Direct involvement of donors and international organisations so far has been mainly in monitoring, with limited indirect support for food aid and health provisions through regional and sectoral programmes.

Past problems

During the Derg period, about 600,000 people were resettled from 1984 to 1986. Problems included hasty site selection, limited land, poor infrastructure, difficult access, over-stretched services, and serious human and animal diseases. Recruitment involved coercion, propaganda and inducements; implementation on a campaign basis led to poor planning, family separation, high morbidity, mortality and suffering in transit shelters and on arrival. Imposed collectivisation, villagisation and mechanisation were resented.

Rights of local people were overlooked and their land was expropriated. Resource-based conflicts between resettlers and local people were common, and lowland groups were marginalised. Environmental effects included forest destruction for land clearing, fuel and construction. Most resettlers left, notably after the Derg's defeat in 1991, and the experiment was a costly failure with tragic human consequences.

Current planning

Having earlier opposed resettlement, the EPRDF government came to consider it as a vital component of food security and poverty reduction strategies. To avoid excesses and failures of the Derg resettlement the government and its donor, and international organisation partners, established the New Coalition for Food Security in 2003 which proposed a major resettlement component involving resettling 2.2 million people in three years.

Research objectives

To date there have been limited indepth site level studies of the recent resettlement and little is known about issues such as site preparation, settler selection, stakeholder participation and decision-making, progress towards food security, settler adaptations, relations with local people, impact on environment, and prospects for sustainability. Why some resettlers are more successful and rapidly become self-sufficient whereas others remain food insecure or leave settlement sites has not been explained.

Findings summary

The findings are presented following the key guidelines of the New Coalition for Food Security, which proposed four pillars and 13 principles and approaches. The following section reviews the four pillars: that resettlement must be 1) voluntary, 2) on underutilised land, 3) in consultation with host communities, and 4) carried out with proper preparations.

Voluntary resettlement.

A major improvement in principle of the current resettlement is its aspirations to be voluntary. The findings confirm that the resettlement has not involved direct coercion as occurred during the Derg resettlement. However, the extent of voluntariness and ability to make real choices was found to have been constrained by three factors: 1) desperation resulting from increasing land shortage, drought and destitution; 2) the idyllic picture presented of the resettlement sites and exaggerated promises of support, and 3) warnings, in some areas, that food aid would not continue in drought-prone highland areas. The resettlement can therefore be characterised as having elements of indirect compulsion and inducement if not outright coercion.

Underutilised land

Resettlement planning started at a Federal level, and involved Regional and Wereda administrations. Sites were selected based on initial surveying by regional and zonal experts in consultation with local administrators and community representatives. However, limited time and resources hindered careful planning and assessment of land availability and existing uses. In some cases sites were selected hastily, new or alternative sites were added, such as Qwara in Amhara Region, or much greater numbers were resettled than proposed by study teams, as happened in some sites in Oromia and Amhara.

The case studies therefore suggest that widespread availability of under-utilised land is questionable. In most cases the land selected was either used by local groups as fallow areas, for grazing and forest resources, or by earlier resettlers or self-organised resettlers. In other cases settlements have been established at the expense of rapidly dwindling forest reserves, which are often used by local communities particularly for coffee and honey production.

Consultation with locals

Consultation with local peoples took place at a local level to obtain their consent. However, this was generally restricted to convincing local communities to accept the resettlement and mobilise them to prepare for the resettlers' arrival by building shelters. Apart from one case where local people wanted resettlers as a buffer against wildlife, local people were generally not in favour of the resettlement. In some cases they argued that the proposed settlement area was on land they used for grazing and nontimber forest products, or that their landless young should be given priority. In one case in Tigray local people asked for land to be first distributed to them. This was done prior to the resettlers' arrival; however the land was later taken and redistributed to resettlers.

Meetings were sometimes held mainly with Kebele leaders, elders, or only with a section of the community. In some cases certain groups, such as the Gumuz in Oromia and Sidama in SNNPR, were not consulted. In three sites in Oromia resettlers on former state farms were evicted on the grounds that they were illegal resettlers. In the three sites in SNNPR consent was either not requested, not obtained or only a section of the population agreed under pressure. The Sidama in Bilate they complained in vain, and in Salamago only elders among Bodi pastoralists reluctantly gave consent feeling they had no option. Where objections were voiced, such as in Qwara in Amhara and Qeto in Oromia, these were overruled and the resettlement went ahead regardless.

In some sites in each of the Regions displacement of local people occurred on the grounds that they were not sedentary cultivators, or were illegal resettlers or migrants. In several cases, sites were located on land left fallow or used for grazing by pastoralist groups, notably in SNNPR, close to or in forest reserves with wildlife particularly in Tigray and Amhara, or in previous state farms or earlier settlement areas, notably in Oromia. In no cases was compensation provided. Broader dislocatory effects included limiting access to water points and forest products notably coffee and bee-hives. In almost all the sites tensions developed over use of land, water. forests and grazing resources, and conflicts have occurred in eight out of the eleven sites resulting in incidents leading to deaths in two sites.

Preparations

The guidelines emphasise the need for proper preparations. These can be considered regarding recruitment and briefings in sending areas, and preparations in resettlement areas, notably of roads and access, shelter and housing, food and other provisions, water and sanitation, allocation of land and oxen, and health and education services.

Briefings

Meetings were held in sending areas to inform communities about the resettlement. The sites tended to be portrayed in ideal terms. Promises included two hectares of fertile land, a pair of oxen, standard housing, adequate health and education services, in some cases up to three years of relief aid, agricultural inputs and in some cases irrigation. Some such promises were not in the resettlement guidelines or had been misinterpreted at a local level by administrators or resettlers.

Nonetheless, differences between expectations and actual conditions were a major factor leading to resettlers leaving shortly after arrival and dissatisfaction among those who remained. Complaints included in some sites land-shortage and claims by

locals, provision of at best one hectare of land rather than two and one ox per household or between two households, either temporary shelters or hastily built and poor quality houses, lowland diseases notably malaria and trypanosomiasis rendering ox-plough cultivation precarious, being cut-off during the rainy season with serious consequences for provisions of rations and heath care, limited schooling in often crowded conditions, rations restricted to grain, with oil and supplementary feeding either not available or reduced after a short period, delays in rations initially and during the rains, and stoppage after eight months prior to many resettlers becoming food secure.

Roads and access

Feeder roads existed or were cleared to all the sites. However, some are only dry-weather and these sites are cut off during the rains with serious implications particularly in the first rainy season, for providing timely rations, and health care referral.

Shelter and housing

Local people were mobilised to build shelters or houses for resettlers. In several cases resettlers were dismayed to find, contrary to their expectations, that they had to build houses after their arrival. Even where houses had been built these were often of poor quality and had to be rebuilt.

Food rations

Food aid was distributed in the form of 15-20 kg of grain/person month (wheat, maize or sorghum) and in some cases 0.5 kg of cooking oil. In a few sites additional rations included beans, sweet potatoes. peppers, salt and soap. In other sites 20-50 birr cash was provided. However, in some cases food had not been pre-positioned prior to the resettlers arrival. and the local population had to be mobilised to provide food for up to a week. There were also cases of interruptions during the rainy season due to roads being cut off, leading to serious malnutrition, since supplementary feeding was either lacking or interrupted in most sites. There was some variation in type, amounts and duration of rations even within regions. In most sites rations were stopped after eight months. However, one site rations continued for two years. In some cases food types were different from staples to which resettlers were used, and they often sold some rations to purchase other basic foods to vary and spice the diet.

Other provisions

Resettlers were provided utensils such as jerry cans, pots, plates and cups, clothing mainly in the form of blankets, and in one case locally-made shoes, bednets against mosquitoes, and farm tools including hoes, sickles, and axes, and in some cases seed

and fertiliser. There was variation in amounts, and complaints were voiced about distribution on a household basis, irrespective of family size, especially of a single blanket and bed-net for the entire family, and about the quality of some of the utensils which were said to wear out quickly.

Water and sanitation

Water sources include rivers, springs, and wells. In several sites distance to rivers and reduced flow in the dry season are constraints, and use of water by animals as well as humans for drinking and washing present potential health risks. Where there are pumps several of these have not been repaired or have fallen into disuse leading to queues and forcing people to walk further to rivers.

Land allocation

Resettlers had been told about being allocated two hectares of cleared farmland. In fact in some cases they had to clear new land, and households generally obtained a maximum of one hectare due to land scarcity. In other cases there were complaints about water-logging and that land distribution did not take account of family size or land quality.

Oxen

Settlers were either provided an ox for one or two households or given credit to buy an ox. There were complaints particularly where only one ox was provided for two households since four households had then to form a team to plough, leading to delays and constraints on productivity. Livestock diseases notably trypanosomiasis present serious challenges to effective cultivation; some settlers fearing loosing cattle sold oxen after the harvest and bought them at higher cost the following ploughing season.

Health and nutrition

Health posts are available in the sites, and were either already in place or built by local people. However, in the initial period relatively high child malnutrition was reported in some sites, particularly where and when supplementary feeding was not available, interrupted during the rains, or withdrawn. Health posts suffer from limited facilities, staff, rooms, equipment and medicine, and lowland diseases particularly malaria and kalazar present serious challenges. Reaching clinics and hospitals for referral is a problem in sites cut off during the rains. In one SNNPR site the health post was withdrawn after most resettlers left. Services are free of charge for resettlers. In one Oromia site local people were not allowed access to health services provided to settlers. There has not been any significant attention to family planning issues or the threat of HIV/AIDS in any of the sites.

Schools and education

Schools are available in most sites. However, in a few cases these are distant, in one case SNNPR case 8 kms away involving walking four hours daily. In many cases schools are crowded with high student-teacher ratios; up to 150 students per class in one Oromia site. In a few sites students still learn under trees or in temporary shelters. In one case host community children do not attend the school for settlers, and in another schools for local children have become crowded due to resettlers children.

Key principles

In addition to the four pillars, the New Coalition for Food Security document outlines 12 further key principles and approaches, the three most important of which were intra-regional resettlement, environmental concern, and development process.

Intra-regional resettlement

A major principle has been to undertake only intraregional resettlement to avoid linguistic/ethnic differences between settler and host populations. The findings confirm that resettlement has been intraregional which has reduced ethnic variation. However, in all four regions some ethnic, cultural and/or religious differences exist between the highlands and lowlands. Among the case studies in Amhara Region there are Gumuz and Agew populations as well as Amhara, in Oromia Region Gumuz and Amhara as well as Oromo, in Tigray Amhara and Kunama as well as Tigraway. The most obvious cases of completely different ethnicities are in SNNPR where Wolayta and Konso highlanders were resettled among Sidama and Bodi pastoralists respectively. In religions terms Muslims Oromo from Harerge were resettled among Christian Oromo in Wellega.

More significantly the somewhat greater ethnic/religious homogeneity of the current resettlement has not *in itself* avoided tensions and conflicts since these are largely over resources, notably agricultural and grazing land, forests, and water points. Indeed conflicts with recent resettlers from the same ethnic group are sometimes more serious than those with earlier settlers of different ethnicities. The current intra-regional resettlement has therefore not avoided tensions and the eruption of conflicts between settler and local communities, and the process has resulted in further marginalisation of lowland pastoralist groups, as well as earlier migrants and resettlers.

Environmental concern

The need for environmental conservation associated with resettlement is clear. The resettlement has led to considerable deforestation for land clearing, construction, and firewood, resulting in soil erosion, re-

duction of bio-diversity and potentially climate change. Some sites were selected in or very near to some of the few remaining forest areas, resulting in virtual disappearance of certain indigenous tree species and wildlife. Riverine forests in many areas have been decimated. Local people have expressed serious worries about the tendency for resettlers to cut large trees and produce charcoal as a survival or business strategy. Uses of forest areas by local people for non-timber forest products such as coffee and bee-hives have not been respected and these resources were often handed over to settlers without compensation. Where indigenous natural resource management systems exist they have been undermined. No natural resource conservation measures or joint management systems between resettlers and hosts exist nor have forest and wildlife protection measures been instituted.

Development process

The guidelines advocate promoting not just food security but marketable surpluses to improve livelihoods. The findings suggest that in the first year a significant proportion of settler households had difficulty in achieving food security. Female headed households, the elderly, weak, disabled and those suffering from chronic and/or lowland diseases have faced particular difficulties. The stoppage of rations after eight months had a detrimental effect on confidence, and placed a stress on the more food secure households that had to support those who had not attained food security.

However, certain households have been able to succeed much better than others, and have attained food security faster than in previous resettlements. This has been mainly due to resources brought from home areas, notably in the case of settlers from Harerge in Oromia. Some have been able to invest in increasing production through share-cropping and focused on cash crops, notably sesame. The more successful are generally male-headed households, with good social capital and linkages with the community through informal associations, as well as with administrators and with local people and investors. They have been able to purchase livestock, especially oxen to plough with, and some have been involved in additional agricultural production through share-cropping or rental of land or tractors and/or trade. Many have improved their quality of life and wellbeing, through purchasing livestock, consumer goods, household equipment, better clothing and being able to afford better medical care and education. A few have even been able to group together to purchase grinding mills.

Approaches

The New Coalition for Food Security further outlined the following nine approaches: partnership; self-help and cost sharing; transparency; iterative process; capacity building; self reliance; income and employment creation; community management; and minimum infrastructure.

Partnership

Partnership between government, donors, NGOs, private enterprise, hosts and resettlers was advocated. However, partnership was found to be limited. Most resettlement costs were borne by the government. International organisations, donors and NGOs have played a rather limited role. A few agencies such as WFP and UNICEF have provided support through regional and sectoral programmes. Some donors such as USAID and the EU have also been involved in monitoring. The only NGO actively involved was MSF-Holland in health care in one region. There seems to have been a mutual lack of trust on both sides. The government's partners have not been forthcoming in providing funding, and their access to resettlement sites has been relatively restricted. A recent UNDP project to provide support for food security including an important resettlement component is currently under consideration.

Partnership with investors has also been advocated, and in some areas settlers have been working as labourers on large farms. However, there have been tensions over land due to unclear demarcation. Complaints were also voiced by administrators about settlers working as labourers rather than on land allocated to them.

Partnership with local communities has also been rather limited. Local communities were mobilised to build houses for resettlers and in some cases provided them with food for up to a week after their arrival. Some resettlers work for local people or are involved in share-cropping with them. Market exchanges are also common and have benefited local communities, notably due to livestock price increases. There have been some improvements in infrastructure and services. However, local health and education services have been stretched in some cases, and access to locals has been restricted in others. The most serious problems are, however, over land and other resources, notably forests, grazing areas, water points, coffee and bee-hives. This has led to tensions in all sites, conflicts in many sites, and clashes in a few. Social and cultural relations and integration between local and settlers at individual, household and community levels are still fairly limited.

Self-help and cost sharing

The guidelines suggest the need for the resettlers to avoid dependency and participate in the process through their labour. This was clearly evidenced in the fact that resettlers have had to build or rebuild their houses, often have had to clear land, although in some cases tractor services were provided, and

many have shown determination to rebuild their lives in the resettlement areas.

Resettlement costs have been borne largely by the government, local communities and the settlers themselves with limited donor and external agency involvement. Some resources were diverted from existing programmes with reallocations from sending to receiving areas. The programme relied on a campaign approach risking absorbing and deflecting energies and resources from ongoing and planned activities.

Transparency

The guidelines stress the need for adherence to rules and for active information to be available to partners. In fact the haste and campaign approach rendered sticking to some of the rules set out in the guidelines difficult if not impossible.

An important provision in the current resettlement and an improvement on previous practice was to allow for delegations to visit selected resettlement areas. However, delegates tended to be taken to model sites which were not necessarily those to which their communities were sent, resulting in complaints; in some cases resettlers were moved without visits and in one case even before delegates returned.

Consent and involvement of host communities tended to nominal, minimal, and in some cases non-existent. Genuine participation was hampered by serious concerns about resource alienation and competition, leading to conflict and even clashes.

Relations between the government and its partners have been characterised by a degree of mutual mistrust which has hampered collaboration and potential resourcing of the resettlement process.

An iterative process

The need to learn and adapt resettlement practice on the basis of learning from experience was emphasised. The resettlement was carried out on a large-scale with a fairly standardised design rather than on an experimental basis with flexible and regionally and locally differentiated approaches. However, unlike in the other regions in Tigray and SNNP men were resettled first and their families joined them later.

The government carried out reviews after the first year. Significant changes to the resettlement planning and implementation do not seem to have been introduced in the second year. However, there was a reduction in scale, particularly in Amhara Region which may be due to high rates of return and limited interest of volunteers. Most departures took place in the initial weeks. Factors included mismatches be-

tween expectations and site conditions; high initial morbidity and mortality; harshness of the lowland environment; conflicts with locals and security concerns; relocation to other resettlement sites due to insufficient or poor quality land; and unfavourable comparison with home areas. Departures ranged from 5 percent to 87 percent. In seven sites they were above a fifth, in five sites above a fourth, including all three sites in SNNPR and the one in Amhara Region, and in three sites they represented above 40 percent. Although a few of those who left returned later, the majority did not.

However, currently most of those who have stayed seem committed to remain, as evidenced by hard work on farmland, investment in livestock, construction of better houses, and moving families to settlements where the men had moved first. However, fears of conflict with local people is a serious concern, notably in SNNPR sites.

Self reliance

Breaking the "dependency syndrome" and fostering self-reliance have been major aims. Most resettlers who have remained are on the path to self-reliance and may no longer need support unless they are faced with successive drought years, which can happen in the lowland environment. However, there are sections of the communities that remain vulnerable and longer-term self-reliance will depend on the ability to keep oxen for cultivation, which requires better veterinary support, given the trypanosomiasis threat. Moreover, sustainable self-reliance will require resolving conflicts with local populations where these exist and developing positive political, economic, social and cultural relations between resettlers and hosts.

Income and employment

The guidelines suggest the need to promote not just agricultural production but off-farm activities and small businesses. Success cases show that a number of resettlers have been able to engage in trade and become relatively prosperous in a short time. Some invested in productive assets, notably livestock, and a few have even purchased grinding mills, and have built houses with iron sheet roofs and shops not just in settlements but also in local towns. They have also gained access to more land and increased their production and productivity through hiring labour or sharecropping, and have improved their wellbeing notably through sale of cash crops.

This positive development was enabled mainly by settlers bringing capital with them or obtaining finance from produce on farms in their home areas particularly in the case of settlers from Harerge in Oromia, suggesting that linkages between areas of origin and resettlement had a positive impact.

Community management

The guidelines suggest that settler communities should be "in the driver's seat", actively involved in planning, implementation and monitoring. However, to date the resettlement has been characterised by a campaign approach and decision-making has tended to come from above. There has been limited community management. Resettlers are under local administrations run by locals and are therefore not adequately represented in political processes.

Limited community participation was exacerbated because settlers even within the same site came from different areas and from a surprisingly large number of different weredas and kebele administrations within the same zones. They therefore need time to get to know each other and develop trust before they can work together effectively. Furthermore, mistrust and tensions with local populations have also hampered effective joint community management, particularly of natural resources.

Minimum infrastructure

The guidelines suggest that infrastructure should be similar to those in areas of origin and that there should not be a deterioration in service delivery. There is some variation in comparisons between areas of origin and resettlement partly since some resettlers even within the same site come from more remote areas than others. However, in many cases the resettlement areas are fairly remote and infrastructure in term of roads and communications is less developed than in home areas; inaccessibility during the rainy season is a major constraint, particularly for health referral.

The guidelines also suggest that infrastructure and service provision for host populations should not be worse or affected detrimentally by the arrival of settlers, and that local population should be able to take advantage of facilities established for resettlers in order to avoid conflict from the start. In a few cases the arrival of settlers has put a strain on existing health and education services, increasing student-teacher ratios and patient-health worker ratios. Local people have been denied access to health posts, schools and mills established for resettlers in some cases. Access to certain resources, notably forests, rivers and water points, and grazing areas has also been restricted for local people in some sites.

Recommendations

Existing settlements

Roads and access

 Improving access to settlements that are still cutoff during the rainy seasons.

Rations and provisions

 Where sections of the population are still food insecure resuming rations and/or supplementary feeding for those in need and/or during the hunger season.

Water and sanitation

 Where water pumps are in disrepair, instituting sustainable systems of repair and maintenance.

Land allocation

- Where land is available without confiscation from local communities allocating a second hectare to resettlers with only one.
- As far as possible considering land quality and family size in allocations.
- Given land shortage promoting off-farm incomegenerating activities.

Oxen

- Given the threat from trypanosomiasis strengthening veterinary services.
- Providing additional oxen on credit to allow for at least one ox for two households.

Health and nutrition

- Improving supply of bed-nets to reduce the threat from malaria.
- Improving staffing, equipment and drugs supply of integrated health services accessible to both settlers and local people.
- Increasing emphasis on family planning and anti-HIV/AIDS initiatives.

Schools and education

- Improving school buildings, staffing and provisions.
- Making joint school facilities accessible to both settler and local children.

Relations with local people

- Promoting joint administration, service provision and development initiatives to create harmonious relations between local people and resettlers.
- Promoting economic, social and cultural interactions between local and resettlers.
- Promoting joint informal and formal disputeresolution mechanisms and processes.

Environmental concerns

- Protecting the rights of local communities to management of resources they have been using.
- Promoting joint natural resource management, protection, conservation and tree-planting initiatives between local and settler communities.

Partnership

 Developing a better climate of trust and cooperation between the government and its partners in resettlement activities.

Planned resettlement

Whereas Tigray and Oromia are reportedly consolidating, Amhara Region and SNNPR are planning considerable further resettlement.

- Emphasising consolidating existing sites in 2006 rather than new resettlement. Reducing the scale envisaged in 2006 in two regions:
- SNNPR where conflicts with pastoralist groups have been serious and departures from settlements fairly high, and
- Amhara where problems of access and health concerns have been serious and departures rates from settlements have also been high.

Insofar as resettlement goes ahead ensuring that:

Site selection

- Enough fertile land that does not involve dispossession is available
- Sites are not located in or too close to prime forest and wildlife reserves

Local peoples' rights

- Genuine consent is secured from all groups already living in the areas.
- Rights of local people to agricultural, grazing, and forest land are respected
- Insofar as resources are alienated compensation or alternatives are provided

Resettler recruitment

- Prospective resettlers are not induced to move by unrealistic promises
- Prospective resettlers are not intimidated by threats of food aid stoppages
- Desperate landless people do not resettle for lack of choice
- Motivated and enterprising volunteers are among those recruited
- Visits of potential resettlement areas are guaranteed prior to relocation.

Resettlers' land rights in areas of origin are guaranteed for the promised three years

Prior preparation

- Sites are made accessible during the rainy season through improving roads
- Provisions of food are pre-positioned prior to resettlers' arrival
- Adequate clean water sources have been identified or made available
- Acceptable levels of health, veterinary and education services are in place

Moving of resettlers

- Resettlers are moved in time to prepare land for cultivation.
- Resettlers from one community/area are kept as far as possible together
- Transit and arrival facilities have adequate shelter and health care

Provisions

- Rations for a balanced diet and supplementary feeding are provided
- Support is continued over a two year period with a mid-term review
- Sufficient oxen are available for a least one ox per household.
- Sufficient bed-nets are available to reduce the threat from malaria.

Reviewing policy

- Considering resettlement policy within a wider migration framework
- Promoting linkages between areas of origin and resettlement and more widely between highlands and lowlands to foster investment and development.
- Considering resettlement as a potential tool for lowlands development rather than merely reha-

- bilitation of land-short and food-insecure high-landers.
- Providing clearers regulatory frameworks and enforceable measures to protect rights of lowlanders to resources and promote joint conservation and development with potential settlers.
- Reviewing linkages between resettlement and investors in ways that promote development while protecting resettlers rights to minimum wages etc.
- Devising support packages, incentives and credits for resettlers based on a two-year cycle with a mid-term review.
- Establishing minimum acceptable standards for resettlement processes that consider the rights and needs of both resettler and local populations.
- Establishing a phased monitoring framework over a longer time frame including economic wellbeing and social integration indicators.

Donors and international agencies

- Advocating and supporting the consolidation of existing resettlements rather than the establishment of new ones.
- Developing and implementing an effective phased monitoring system that includes economic indicators of wellbeing and social indicators of integration.
- Considering a greater involvement in select aspects of resettlement including: veterinary and health care, family planning and HIV/AIDS, environmental protection and reforestation.
- Working with regional governments to promote dispute resolution and joint development between local and resettler communities.
- Promoting development of a broader migration framework in which urban-rural linkages and highland-lowland linkages are engines of balanced development, with emphasis on infrastructure, incentives and credits, and protection of resource rights and the environment.

Pariel Kassahun. Towards the Development of Differential Land Taxation System in Ethiopia. Paper presented at the Conference on Land and the Challenge of Sustainable Development in Ethiopia, August 2005, Addis Ababa.

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