

INNOVATIONS

The Impacts of Development-Induced Displacement of Persons in Ethiopia: The Dark Side of Addis Ababa's Expansion

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Abstract

The internal displacement of persons in the context of development and urbanization is an ever increasing global phenomenon which displaces people from their homes, lands and livelihoods. This article examines the impacts of development-induced displacements of persons with the continual expansion of Addis Ababa. It also investigates the adequacy of the legal redresses available for the victims of the urbanization. Drawing on qualitative methods, the article doctrinally investigates into the problem from legal, policy and historical perspective. It finds that successive Ethiopian governments have been abusing power, law and policy to displace the Oromo nation from the country's capital city. It adds that the displaced persons lost their homes, family, language, culture, identity and livelihoods. The study urges the Ethiopian government to uphold its international and national obligations of refraining from causing arbitrary displacement of persons and redress the victims.

Keywords: 1. Development 2. Development-induced displacement 3. Ethiopia 4. Oromo 5. Finfinnee
(Addis Ababa)

I. Introduction

Development-induced displacement has become one of the pressing human rights concern in Africa with large number of peoples displaced by development projects across the continent each year.ⁱ While much of the emphasis on internal displacement has centered primarily on conflict,ⁱⁱ the issue of development-induced displacement has gained less prominence, however, its impacts in Africa date back to the early 1950s.ⁱⁱⁱ The magnitude of population displacement by development projects in developing countries has increased particularly since the 1960s and 1970s.^{iv} In Ethiopia, there were and are planned, massive movements of people within the country as part of development resettlement programmes run nationally and regionally.^v For a significantly large number of people in the country, the subject of state-directed, often mandatory people's movements involves painful personal and collective experience.^{vi}

The concept of development-induced displacement has not been defined anywhere under Ethiopian laws. However, the new Expropriation Law defines 'displaced people' as 'a person, households, firms, or public or private institutions who has been living in occupied land, including tenants, employed and self-employed persons on the land for public benefit.'^{vii} The development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) consists of an analysis of the social-legal aspects of displacement and resettlement including the analysis of resettlement policy frameworks, power struggles between different actors, the institutional agencies implementing policy frameworks, the

level of participation in decision-making processes and the political motivations driving the displacement and resettlement exercises.^{viii}

'Development-induced displaced people' as 'persons or groups of persons who are forced to leave their lands or homes or their possessions as a result of a development process that undermines, excludes or ignores their full participation in development and puts their livelihoods in danger without protection, in a given national territory.'^{ix} Development-induced displacement in Ethiopia has become the most significant type of movement replacing earlier concerns with resettlement, refugees, returnees and demobilization. Involuntary displacement of people in the context of development projects often causes damage to livelihood of displaced people.^x The level of livelihood risks and impoverishments is often far reaching when the displaced people are relocated to unaccustomed livelihood setting.

In Ethiopia, very little attention has been accorded to displacement- a social process that disrupts social order. This is mainly because this kind of displacements conducted by the ruling classes as part of the state building project but always under the pretext of development. Successive Ethiopian governments have used land grabbing as one of their many strategies to economically and politically marginalize the Oromo and other oppressed people in the empire. Millions of Oromo farmers have been evicted from their ancestral lands and reduced to being subservient to the ruling classes. As the demands of the urbanizing population increases, it is inevitable that the need for infrastructure development will grow enormously and displacement from inner cities is likely to occur on massive scale.^{xi} From the total of development-induced displacement, 60% (6 million displaced people) in the world are caused by urban related projects.^{xii} Development-Induced-Displacement has serious human rights and socio-economic impacts. It breaks up entire communities and families, making it difficult for them to cope with the uncertainty of resettlement. There are eight principal risks that lead to the impoverishment of displaced community. These are: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property, and community disarticulation.

Following the introduction, part II presents the status of Addis Ababa in historical and legal context with a view to establish that the displacement of the Oromos from the city is a state-sponsored project. Part III draws on how the special interest scheme recognized under the Ethiopian constitution failed to address the interests of the large number of the Oromos displaced from Addis Ababa. Part IV contextualizes the notions of development and expropriation of land for public purpose so as not to use them as a pretext for development. Part V concludes the paper and offers some recommendations.

II. The Status of Addis Ababa and the Right to the City

Addis Ababa, also known as Finfinnee in its original Oromo name, has been expanding rapidly over the last two decades. This is due to the increasing need for condominium houses, investment projects which necessitate expropriation of rural lands in the suburbs to urban lands. An estimated hundreds of thousands are being adversely affected by this-development-induced displacement. The question for Addis Ababa was of ownership and the right to the city^{xiii} since the city's subjugation to imperial order. The capital city, which is also the capital for the Oromia Regional State and located at the heart of the Region, is the land of the Oromos controlled by displacing the indigenous Oromos from their lands.^{xiv} Entotto was chosen as a strategic site defensible against the surrounding Oromo who were not yet subjugated. By mid 1880s, the subjugation of the Oromo in this area was completed, and

Emperor Menelik was able to descend from Entotto, build his capital over the ruins of villages and farms in Finfinnee in 1887, and renamed it *Addis Ababa*.^{xv} Emperor Haileselassie and MengistuHailemariam also used the policy of evicting the Oromos from their ancestral land to establish a unitary system in the country.

In Ethiopia, following the downfall of the unitary MengistuHailemariam, a national conference in July 1991 established a transitional government which adopted a Transitional Charter. This Charter served as the law of the land until December 1994 when the then political forces ratified the current Ethiopian constitution. In January 1992, the national self-government was established constituting 12 member States along major ethnic lines and two self-governing cities- Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa.^{xvi} Article 3(4) of the transitional law reserved the special interest and political right of the Oromo^{xvii} over Region 13 (Harari) and Region 14 (Addis Ababa) since both are located within the State of Oromia. The 1995 Constitution which came into force shortly after the establishment of the Transitional Charter dropped the provision on political rights but kept the special interest clause in place with vague clauses, not without intention.^{xviii}

The capital Addis has three directions of displacement and occupation.^{xix} The first is the loss of land, identity, culture and livelihoods for Oromo farmers around the capital.^{xx} Second, long-time residents in the capital were uprooted and relocated to the outskirts of the capital on the lands taken away from the Oromos. Third, regime supporters take over the center of the capital in the name of investment and development. On one occasion, a writer noted the following on how the Oromos are evicted from their livelihoods:

Oromo farmers in a locality around Finfinne (Addis Ababa) are videotaped observing the mushrooming “building structures” taking over their land and evicting them from their livelihoods in the name of *development*. The Ethiopian Federal government uses “development” as a means to evict and dispossess Oromos from their ancestral land in and around major towns in Oromia, especially around Finfinne. These “building structures” are being used to make it look like the land is being taken over by the government for “development,” but they’re a way of staking claims of Oromo farmers’ land in order to push them out of the region; consequently, destroying the Oromo ethnic population and the Oromo identity in the region.^{xxi}

Strategic policy of eviction and displacement of Oromo from their ancestral land is unabated. In fact, the current Ethiopian Constitution provides that the right to ownership of rural and urban land as well as of all natural resources is exclusively vested in the State and in the peoples of Ethiopia and that land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia. Article 40(4) of the same Constitution recognizes that landholders have the protection against eviction from their possession. As an attempt to strike the balance between the need to protect land possessors from unlawful eviction and the need to expropriate land for public purpose, Article 40(8) of the Constitution states that the government may expropriate private property for public purposes subject to payment in advance of compensation commensurate to the value of the property.

BetruDibaba in his recent study noted the following:

In the absence of active, free and meaningful participation, to claim an equitable share of benefits of development is rhetoric. One senior farmer who declined to tell his name from Bole Arrabsa described the irreversibility of the harm. He furiously said, “*Ergabineensi*

darbeesareendutte” to mean, “After the passing of the hyena, the dog barked.” Farmers from Bole Arrabsa also uphold the same; whatever comes to rehabilitate them will not reverse the harm they have sustained as the result of the implementation of the programme. Large discrepancies exist between publicly stated platforms and what is materialized on the ground to rehabilitate the victims of the programme.^{xxii}

III. The Special Interest of Oromia in Addis Ababa: Unfulfilled Promises

The issue of the special interest of the Region in the City traces back to the old days of the transitional period and the adoption of the FDRE Constitution (the Constitution). Article 49 (5) of the Constitution reads:

The special interest of the State of Oromia in Addis Ababa, regarding the provision of social services or the utilization of natural resources and other similar matters, as well as joint administrative matters arising from the location of Addis Ababa within the State of Oromia, shall be respected. Particulars shall be determined by law.

To start with, the way the Constitutional provision was crafted hesitates to acknowledge the natural fact that the City is part and parcel of the Region. It treats the City as an autonomous entity located in the region. Nonetheless, it was not easy to determine the particulars of the special interest even as recognized under the Constitution let alone as it would have been from the perspective of the strong attachment between the City and the peoples of the Region. With respect to the claim of the Oromos on the capital city Adem and Amen noted the following:

The Oromo claim to ownership of Addis Ababa is principally based on historical accounts. The core of the argument is that at the time of the emergence of Addis Ababa as the capital of modern Ethiopia at the end of the 19th century, it was exclusively or principally populated by Oromos, who called the place *Finfinnee*. The place is seen as the first victim of the southward expansion of the founder of modern Ethiopia: Emperor Menelik II.^{xxiii}

It is only recently, after the loss of thousands of lives, liberty and property, that the government came up with a draft proclamation. It has to be noted from the very outset that the draft is not backed by adequate public discussion. From the definitional provisions of the draft, two sub-provisions are significant, i.e. Articles 2(5) and 2(6). The former makes a reference to the “Oromo residents of Finfinnee.” This is contrary to the spirit of Article 49(5) of the Constitution which is about the special interest of Oromia rather than that of the Oromo residents of the City. Of course it is not my position that such reference is irrelevant at all. Instead, my view is that it reduced the broad interest of the Region in to the interest of few individuals. The latter *proviso* deals with the border issues between the Region and the City. It implies that the boundary is to be determined by the agreement to be reached upon between the two. In my opinion, this provision is inserted to legalize the unlawful expansion of the City to the Region and to facilitate further displacement and extension. In this regard, the author believes, no further agreement is needed but only a proper implementation of prior dealings. All unlawful expansions made beyond the conventionally known area of the City and without the express consent of the Region and its peoples should not be recognized.

Coming to its scope of application, Art. 3 of the Proclamation illustrates that the Proclamation applies within “the City” and the “Oromia Special Zone surrounding Finfinnee.” Here, it has to be underlined that any such irregular union between the City and the Special Zone could trigger other problems.

Thus, it needs to be avoided. Art. 4 of the draft states that the Oromo residents of the City will have the opportunity to learn in Afaan Oromo. However, this right is to be made possible with the establishment of educational institutions at the expense of the City. Accordingly, it is about the construction of new schools not about requiring the new schools to recognize and teach in Afaan Oromo. Unsurprisingly, access to health service facilities in the City just like other residents is also considered as a special interest (Art. 5). I started to search for a phrase which goes "...for free" but I couldn't find. Therefore, one may ask how come Finfinnee used to deny the surrounding farmers access to health services for the mere fact that they were born Oromo? With respect to the nomenclature of the City, Art. 6(6) of the draft provides that the name "Finfinnee" shall have equal status with "Addis Ababa" concerning the relationship between the Region and the City. Thus, there is no room for "Finfinnee" to be the proper name of the City except for local usage.

Furthermore, it is not a special interest to provide land free of lease for the Region's governmental activities and other public services. This is an inherent power of the Region. The same is true with the provision of water services. Let alone offering to the Region, the City has none for itself. By the same token, transport services and job opportunities related to waste and sewerage systems as provided for in the draft are special to nothing. Remember that our youth also fits for various positions in the Ethiopian Airlines and the Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority etc.

Art. 13(1) authorizes the City to displace farmers in the name of "development." For me, any further displacement without responding to the just cause of the Oromo farmers is no development at all. Similarly, the right to clean environment and not to receive the wastes of the City labeled as a special interest is also futile. The Region has full autonomy not to serve as a waste disposal. Finfinnee being the center and the political capital of Oromia, the City must be accountable to the Region for all intents and purposes. There is no special interest in the absence of the power to levy and collect taxes on economic transactions of the City and without full administrative power over it.

The fact that the City serves as the seat of the federal government and of different international organizations and diplomatic missions will not be affected. The City can also be home to different nations and nationalities under the administration of Oromia. It is to be noted that many cities, towns and villages of the Region have a good record of hosting Ethiopians and foreigners coming from all corners. In the interest of task division, however, the City should be given special interest concerning administrative and other matters.

Over the last two decades, as Addis Ababa grew by leaps and bounds – gobbling up more Oromo land and displacing millions of Oromo farmers – Oromia's only discernable benefits were having its seat in the city and tax immunity for its employees.^{xxiv} Addis Ababa is both the capital city of Ethiopia and Oromia regional state. Not only is the capital a historical Oromo land, by virtue of its location at the heart of Oromia, the city is an integral part of the state – one among other cities in the region. Though Oromia has legal, administrative and territorial jurisdiction over Addis Ababa, the city kept displacing the native landholders and expanded rapidly at the detriment of the Oromos.^{xxv}

The unlawful expansion of Addis Ababa pushed out many Oromo farmers from their ancestral land and they were forced to become homeless, jobless, lost their identity and cultural values. The culture, identity, and language of the Oromo became the constitutive outside of the cultural life in the city.^{xxvi} From 1997 to 2001, "54 percent of the total private investment applications submitted in the country requested to invest in and around Addis Ababa." In order to meet the demand, city administration converted large tracts of forest and farmland in surrounding villages and towns into

swelling urban dwellings, displacing local Oromo residents.^{xxvii} In 2004, the Ethiopian government adopted an investment policy that resulted in the eviction of indigenous peoples from their lands and all types of livelihoods. Since 2006, thousands of Oromo, Gambela, and Benishangul nationals and others have been forcefully evicted from their lands without consultation or compensation. Those who attempted to oppose or resist were murdered and/or jailed by the government. The current Ethiopian government has dispossessed and leased about 2.5 million hectares of lands to elites and global investors, for terms as long as 50 years, to international investors.^{xxviii}

The Ethiopian government always uses “development” as an excuse for the displacement and land grabbing. The Oakland Institute refutes Ethiopian government’s denial of land grabbing stating “through our own research and on-the-ground fieldwork, we have witnessed the extent to which this so-called development is destroying the lives, culture, traditions, and livelihoods of many of Ethiopia's own indigenous^{xxix} and pastoralist populations.”^{xxx}With its acts and omissions, the Ethiopian government has done all this against its own Constitution, particularly article 40 (3), which states that “*The right to ownership of rural and urban land, as well as of all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the State and in the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange*”. These acts were also against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 17 (1 & 2), which says, “*1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. 2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.*” Thus, the Oromos are being displaced not only from their lands but also are being forced to accept a new language and culture. Though the law provides for the need to demarcate a boundary between the capital city and the Oromia, the government did not put that into practice. Taking advantage of the undefined territorial boundary of the city, the administration continued to expand its competence over the suburbs surrounding Addis Ababa.

The growth of the population of Addis Ababa from about 2.1 million in 1994 to about 2.7 in 2007 (or 2.1% annually) has been occurring mainly in horizontal growth in peripheral areas.^{xxxi} Addis Ababa's 2020 population is now estimated at 4,793,699.^{xxxii} In 1950, the population of Addis Ababa was 392,000 and it has grown by 922,914 since 2015, which represents a 4.37% annual change.^{xxxiii} Many farmers in the peri-urban periphery have been dispossessed of their agricultural lands, the basis of their livelihoods. Currently, the capital city holds 527 square kilometers of area in Ethiopia and the annual population growth rate of the city has been estimated in recent years to be 3.8%. In order to meet the ever increasing demand, currently, the city government of Addis Ababa is undertaking huge displacement program aiming to provide decent houses for its dwellers and to change the image of the city through inner city slum rehabilitation.

IV. Rethinking the Notion of Development and Policy Options

a) *Alternative Approach to Understanding Development*

It has not been easy to come up with a comprehensive definition for the concept of “development.” One of the simplest definitions of development can be considered as the objective of moving towards a state relatively better than what previously existed.^{xxxiv} In this regard, development could mean any positive change in life or “an improvement- qualitative, quantitative or both - in the use of available resources.”^{xxxv} Accordingly, the term “development” can be regarded as relative, since its meaning differs from one person to another. For instance, the development needs of a starving population must be different from those where there is sufficient nutrition. The Declaration on the Right to Development^{xxxvi} proclaims the right to development of peoples. It defined right to development as

'inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.' The basic requirements of right to development under the declaration includes putting people at center of development, public participation, non-discrimination, fair distribution of benefits of development, self-determination and sovereignty over natural resources, and the creation of favorable conditions for enjoyment of other civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. This indicates that no plan or amount of money can develop an economy if it leaves out culture, language and identity which govern the attitudes and the ways of thinking of the people who would be managing the proposed development strategies and programs.^{xxxvii} Under Articles 3 and 10 of the Declaration, States have the right and the duty to formulate appropriate national development policies, legislative and other steps that aim at the constant improvement and realization of the right to development.

According to international human rights law, everyone has the right to adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living. Adequate housing has been recognized as a distinct human right since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. Article 25(1) states that "[e]veryone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control." Likewise, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) perhaps contains the most significant foundation of the right to housing found in international human rights law. Article 11(1) of the ICESCR provides that "State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The right to adequate housing includes, inter alia, the right to protection against arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy, family, home, and to legal security of tenure."^{xxxviii} Similarly, States must ensure that protection against forced evictions, and the human right to adequate housing and secure tenure, are guaranteed without discrimination of any kind on the basis of race, color, sex, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, legal or social status, age, disability, property, birth or other status. Article 17 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (the ICCPR) protects the right to adequate housing implicitly by, affirming that "1. [n]o one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with" inter alia, "his privacy" and that, "2. [e]veryone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks." As affirmed by the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (the CRC) in Article 27.3, the right to adequate housing is integral to the realization of other basic rights of children. Ethiopia is a signatory to the UDHR and has ratified the major international and regional human rights instruments including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the African Charter on Human and peoples' Rights.

In spite of the measures taken by the government and other forces, the housing need of the persons displaced as a result of developmental projects is not addressed as the government takes no measure to give their land back or to provide them with housing services.^{xxxix} Contrary to this, Addis Ababa municipal Authorities have demolished dozens of Homes belonging to day laborers over the past three weeks, rendering at least 1,000 people homeless amid the COVID-19 pandemic.^{xl} In fact, the

measures are aimed controlling the land grabbing in the outskirts of the capital city following the pandemic.

The 'International Bill of Rights' which constitute UDHR, ICCPR, and ICESCR contain a variety of civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. Art. 1 of both the ICCPR^{xli} and ICESCR^{xlii} provide that all peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources and that in no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence. Related rights include the right to life, freedom from slavery and torture, right to privacy, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of assembly and association, right to property, right to health, right to self-determination, right to social security, right to work, right to rest and leisure, right to an adequate standard of living, right to education, right to participate in the cultural life and others.^{xliii} The obligation of States to refrain from, and protect against, forced evictions from home(s) and land arises from several international legal instruments that protect the human right to adequate housing and other related human rights. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (art. 11, para. 1), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (art. 27, para. 3), the non-discrimination provisions found in article 14, paragraph 2 (h), of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and article 5 (e) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.^{xliv}

"The right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health includes an obligation to ensure that health facilities, goods and services are accessible to everyone, especially the most vulnerable or marginalized sections of the population, without discrimination. The right also extends to the underlying determinants of health, such as access to potable water and adequate sanitation. Displacement without appropriate rehabilitation, including access to adequate housing, water, sanitation, medical and other services, would represent a serious health risk to those displaced and jeopardizes their right to the highest attainable standard of health."^{xlv} The aforementioned substantive rights are supported by the right to access information, right to public participation in decision-making, and right to access to justice and effective remedy for rights violations.^{xlvi}

It has to be stressed that one of the successes of Ethiopia in her move towards protecting displaced persons is the ratification of the African Union (AU) Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Africa, known as the Kampala Convention. The Convention, a key regional legal instrument aimed at protecting, assisting and resolving the plight of IDPs, was unanimously passed by Ethiopia's parliament on 13 February 2020.^{xlvii} Though the Convention does not explicitly prohibit internal displacement, it subjects the form of displacement to the test of arbitrariness. However, the Kampala Convention refers to the grounds listed in article 4(4)(a) to (h) as a reference point for assessing the arbitrariness of a given form of displacement.^{xlviii} Accordingly, it is possible to characterize the displacement of the Oromos from their landholdings as arbitrary displacement, which is unlawful.

The Convention provides, with respect to displacement induced by projects, that States Parties, as much as possible, shall prevent displacement caused by projects carried out by public or private actors and that they shall ensure that the stakeholders concerned will explore feasible alternatives,^{xlix} with full information and consultation of persons likely to be displaced by projects.¹ While this provision seeks to prevent development-induced displacement, the Convention does not set a yardstick for what 'as much as possible' entails. By the same token, the Ethiopian constitution states

that nationals have the right to participate in national development and, in particular, to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting their community and that the basic aim of development activities shall be to enhance the capacity of citizens for development and to meet their basic needs. Though the Oromos are known for their Gada system which is known for its dispute settlement, successive Ethiopian rulers did not want to consult the displaced population.^{li}

Likewise, the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement requires that the ‘free and informed consent of those to be displaced shall be sought.’^{liii} More importantly, Article 4(5) of the Kampala Convention provides that States Parties shall endeavor to protect communities with special attachment to, and dependency, on land due to their particular culture and spiritual values from being displaced from such lands. And in Ethiopia, the Oromos have a strong and a special cultural and spiritual tie with land and other natural resources. This is expressed, for instance, through their popular saying which goes “*Laftikeenyalafeekeeny*” to mean “Our land is our life.” If it is established that there is no other alternative than causing the displacement of persons, the States parties are duty bound to carry out a socio-economic and environmental impact assessment of a proposed development project prior to undertaking such a project.

Moreover, Article 11 of the Convention imposes on State parties’ obligations of sustainable return, local integration or relocation.^{liiii} Accordingly, it is possible to contextualize the case of development-induced displaced persons thereby ensuring their return to their lands after the completion of the developmental projects in case of temporary investment projects or by integrating the persons vulnerable to this type of displacement to be integrated in the projects in case of planned urban expansion or relocate them at a place conducive for their livelihoods. Furthermore, Article 12 of the Convention obliges States Parties to provide displaced persons with effective remedies including just and fair compensation and other forms of reparations. This coincides with Article 44(2) of Ethiopia’s Constitution which stipulates that all persons who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of State programmes have the right to commensurate monetary or alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate State assistance.

While some initial steps have been taken to tackle the problem faced by internally displaced persons, the measures are not yet seen as sufficient given the magnitude of the displacement in the country. In 2019, Ethiopia launched a national Durable Solutions Initiative (DSI) with the view to promote conducive conditions for internally displaced persons (IDPs) to rebuild their lives. The Initiative, developed by the Government of Ethiopia, the United Nations, international and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and donors, seeks to ensure internally displaced communities in the country are supported to return, integrate or relocate voluntarily.^{liv} The DSI is hoped to facilitate interventions across national development policy, legislative reform, institutional strengthening and mainstreaming of IDP-friendly solutions in spatial and town planning. It also aimed at supporting area-based, government-led and community driven programmes in areas of voluntary return, relocation or local integration, additionally ensuring that internally displaced households and individuals have access to livelihoods.

b) Contextualizing Ethiopia’s Expropriation Law

As noted earlier, successive Ethiopian rulers have attempted to justify their act of mass eviction of the Oromos from the capital by legislative acts. One of such acts is the Expropriation Law. This act of land expropriation from the Oromo people is not only immoral, but also a crime against humanity that undermines the very existence of Oromia as a state and the Oromo as a people. Contrary to the myths

of the Ethiopian rulers which they introduced to take away the lands of the Oromos, the Oromos sense of property ownership gives due concern for the indigenous peoples and early occupiers. How successive Ethiopian rulers have been dispossessing and displacing the Oromos from their ownership of the capital city and sidelined is best described in the following paragraph:

As property right over the land of Finfine and its surroundings is concerned, the area historically and legally belongs to the Oromo people. Before the conquest of emperor Minilk, the present land on which the city of Finfine is erected had been the ritual, political and economic center of the Tulama branch of the Oromo society.^{lv} A cousin of Minilk, DajzmachMashashaSeifu, led the invading army and occupied Finfinne and its vicinity. The traditional owners of the land were mainly the Oromo clans of Gulalle, Eka and Galan. These clans were forcefully evicted from their ancestral land. Their villages and crops burnt down, and their farm land and pasture lands were confiscated. The occupied lands of Finfine were distributed among the ruling families of emperor Minilk, DajzmachMashashaSiefu, RasBirru and others. The former name of the area Finfinne was replaced by Amharic name that came to be known as Addis Ababa.^{lvi}

An attempt had been in place to reform expropriation laws in Ethiopia. For instance, the Oromia Region adopted long years back a law which requires compensation to be estimated in accordance with the law for persons whose land is expropriated; and the compensation to be paid before their displacement.^{lvii} It also demands working in coordination with the concerned body to rehabilitate persons whose land is expropriated; support; follow up and control. Likewise, peasant farmers, semi pastoralist and pastoralist who are given holding certificates can lease to other farmers or investors land from their holding of a size sufficient for, the intended development in a manner that shall not displace them, for a period of time to be determined by rural land administration laws of regions based on particular local conditions.^{lviii} Art 54(2) of the Investment Proclamation states “All investors shall give due regard to social and environmental sustainability values including environmental protection standards and social inclusion objectives in carrying out their investment projects.”^{lix}

In September 2019, the House of Representatives adopted the new Expropriation law. Literally, the Proclamation aims at determining expropriation of landholdings for public purpose along with the manners and methods of valuation of compensation and the resettlement of persons displaced as a result of the expropriation. In so doing, it addresses various substantive and procedural issues related to how the government can expropriate landholdings of persons and the protections available to the displaced. In its preamble, it reiterates that the government needs land for developmental projects needed to quench the thirsty of public services. The Proclamation, which applies to the taking of urban and rural lands, justifies expropriation from the perspective of the steadily growing urban population and developmental activities in rural areas. In the following paragraphs, a brief discussion of the new developments in the new Proclamation will be in order.

The concept of ‘public purpose’ is one of the abused terminologies in the history of expropriation. The old Proclamation defines public purpose as:

...the use of land defined as such by the decision of the appropriate body in conformity with urban structure plan or development plan in order to ensure the interest of the peoples to acquire direct or indirect benefits from the use of the land and to consolidate sustainable socio- economic development;^{lx}

Pursuant to its Art. 3, the new Expropriation Proclamation applies throughout the country in rural and urban centers in matters relating to land expropriation; payment of compensation; and resettlement of landholders whose land is expropriated for public purpose. Article 2(1) of the new Proclamation introduced a slight change with respect to what constitutes public purpose by providing the following:

“Public purpose means decision that is made by the cabinet of a Regional State, Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa or the appropriate Federal Authority on the basis of approved land use plan or; development plan or; structural plan under the belief that the land use will directly or indirectly bring better economic and social development to the public.”

c) The Guiding Principles in Expropriation of Landholdings

The new Proclamation adopts the guiding principles for expropriation, compensation and resettlement of displaced persons. The first principle states that expropriation of land for public purposes shall be made only on the basis of approved land use plan; urban structural plan; or developmental master plan. The second principle stipulates that compensation and resettlement assistance compensation for the expropriated land shall sustainably restore and improve the livelihood of displaced people. It goes on saying that the amount of compensation to be paid at federal, or regional or the two federal city administrations of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa level for similar properties and economic losses in the same areas shall be similar. The final principle stresses that where land is expropriated for public purpose, the procedure shall be transparent, participatory, fair and accountable. In this article, attempt will be made to assess the major reforms introduced by the new expropriation law and their effectiveness in light of the aforementioned guiding principles.

However, history teaches us that the Oromo peasants around the capital are evicted often with meager or no compensation at all. As a result, most of the evicted families are migrating to cities like Finfinnee and are becoming beggars while some of them are leaving the country for unknown destination and found being refugees and in exile.^{1xi}Millions of Oromo who have lost their economic resources and those who are targeted for their political views have immigrated to the Middle East, Australia, Europe, and North America and to different countries in Africa. They have been mistreated in some African countries and the Middle East, and they have been denied the right to be refugees. Others remain on the sold land and become daily labourers, earning less than half dollar a day while farm lands that had been producing sufficient grains of various types are now turned to produce non-edible flowers and toxic chemicals that contaminate rivers and lakes.

V. Conclusion and the Way Forward

Displacement as the result of urban expansion and developmental projects has been increasing rapidly worldwide. Displacement of the Oromos from Addis Ababa and its outskirts under the pretext of development and urbanization has brought about homelessness, landlessness, socio-cultural confusion, cultural estrangement and loss of social identity because most displaced farmers can no longer uphold deep-rooted values, norms, and social institutions. It causes family disintegration and streetism. Deprived of decent housing, a balanced diet, and education or training opportunities, the displaced persons have faced with a miserable future. Streetism results in vulnerability to the COVID-19 pandemic, drug addiction, unemployment, child labor and violence. Due to displacement, civilian people are subject to loss of life, injury, loss of productive assets, loss of productivity and dignity, and are forced to guard the condominium houses and investments constructed on their lands; children

discontinue their school; displaced women with little or no income engage in prostitution and face psychological trauma. Development-induced displacement amounted to the gross violations of human rights of displaced persons because the displaced people were not compensated and remedied adequately, and consulted and participated in the development project. The article also uncovered that people have been evicted arbitrary from their homes without due process of law.

Accordingly, it recommends that future state building paradigm should not rest on displacing the indigenous community and in the name of development and urbanization programs will need to be more comprehensive and participatory to ensure a transition to more stable and improved livelihoods. It further suggests that displaced people by lawful development project should be informed before displacement, participates and contributed to the development project which displaced them. The displaced people should be compensated and remedied adequately and take rehabilitation assistances after their resettlement.

Endnotes

ⁱRomola Adeola, The Legal Protection of Development-Induced Displaced Persons in Africa, *African Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 10, Issue 1, published online 18 August, 2017

ⁱⁱWagari Kebeta Djigsa, The Protection of Internally Displaced Persons in Ethiopia: Leave No One Behind, *Journal of Internal Displacement*, Volume 9, Issue 1, January 2019, pages 36-50

ⁱⁱⁱAdeola, *supra* note 1. This article, however, argues that the displacement of persons in the name of development in Ethiopia traces back to the final quarter of 19th Century with mass eviction of the Oromo ethnic group from their ancestral land of Finfinnee, later renamed Addis Ababa, the country's capital, by the then ruler Emperor Minilik II.

^{iv}Getu Ambaye and Assefa Abeliene, Development-Induced Displacement and Its Impacts on the Livelihoods of Poor Urban Households in Bahir Dar, North Western Ethiopia, *AHMR*, Vol.1 No3, September- December, 2015, 310-331, at 311.

^vMehari Taddele Maru, Causes, Dynamics, and Consequences of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia, *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, Working Paper FG 8, May 2017, at 10.

^{vi}Alula Pankhurst and Francois Piguet, eds. *Moving People in Ethiopia: Development, Displacement, and the State*. Oxford: James Currey, 2009.

^{vii}Expropriation of Landholdings for Public Purposes, Payments of Compensation and Resettlement Proclamation, No. 1161/2019, *Negarit Gazette*, 25th Year No. 90, September 23rd 2019, Addis Ababa. (New Expropriation Proclamation), Art.2(16).

^{viii}Kangave Jalia, ATwail Analysis of Foreign Investment and Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: Lessons from Uganda's Bujagali Hydroelectric Project (2013). *Ottawa Law Review*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2013.

^{ix}This coincides with the widely recognized definition of internally displaced persons which goes "Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border." The UN Refugee Agency, the UNHCR, 2007, distinguishes between refugees and internally displaced persons as follows: "Both groups often leave their homes for similar reasons. Civilians are recognized as 'refugees' when they cross an international frontier to seek sanctuary in another country. The internally displaced, for whatever reason, remain in their own states."

^xBikila Ayele Suyum, Relocating Households to Unaccustomed Livelihood: The Impacts of Development-Induced Displacement in Urban Vicinity of Dukem Town, Central Ethiopia, *Journal of Agricultural Studies*, 7(3): 122, August 2019.

^{xi}Abduselam K H and Belay T K. Perceived Effects of Development-Induced Displacement on Low-Income Households in Addis Ababa. *Sch J Psychol&Behav Sci*. 1(2)-2018, at 34.

^{xii}TesfaTeferiGebreEgziabher, The Effect of Development Induced Displacement on Relocated Household: The Case of Addis Ababa, A Research Paper presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of MA in Development Studies, International Institute of Social Studies, 2014.

^{xiii}Henri Lefebvre is the French philosopher and sociologist who laid base for the concept of the “right to the city” late in 1960s for the first time as part of the social movement on anticommodification and privatization of urban lands and struggled for fair distribution of urban resources. According to him, the right to the city is a broad idea which constitutes the right to information, the rights to use of multiple services, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in urban areas; it would also cover the right to the use of the center.

^{xiv}MekuriaBulcha, A Decade After the Aborted Oromo Eviction From Finfinnee: A Persistent Story of Expropriation, Humiliation and Displacement, January 10, 2013

^{xv}*Id.* The Oromos usually present their dissatisfaction in the following terms literally translated from Afaan Oromo:

No more standing on Intottoo, to look on meadows blow,

No more taking cattle to Finfinnee, to water at the mineral springs.

No more gathering on Daalattii, where the Gullallee assembly used to meet

No more going beyond Gafarsaa, to chop firewood.

No more pasturing calves, on the meadows of HurufaBombi.

The year the enemy came our cattle were consumed.

Since Mashasha came, freedom has vanished.

^{xvi}Proclamation No. 7/1992, A proclamation to provide for the establishment of National/ Regional Self Governments, *NegaritGazeta*, 51st year No. 2 Addis Ababa, 14th January 1992.

^{xvii}The Oromos are the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia and their language is Afaan Oromo, the most widely spoken language in the country and the third most widely language in Africa.

^{xviii}The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE Constitution), Proclamation No. 1/1995, Fed. Negarit Gazette, 1st Year No. 1, 1995, Art. 49 of the constitution provides:

(2) The residents of Addis Ababa shall have a full measure of self-government.

(3) The Administration of Addis Ababa shall be responsible for the Federal Government.

(4) Residents of Addis Ababa shall in accordance with the provisions of this constitution, be represented in the House of Peoples’ Representatives.

(5) The special interest of the State of Oromia in Addis Ababa, regarding the provision of social services or the utilization of natural resources and other similar matters, as well as joint administrative matters arising from the location of Addis Ababa within the State of Oromia, shall be respected.

^{xix}Finfinnee was the seat of a local Oromo leader, Tufa Muna, before Emperor Menilek II of Ethiopia conquered the region and turned it into a garrison in 1886. Menilek removed the Oromo from their land and erected his palace on the site of Tufa Muna’s seat. The city emerged as one of a series of garrison towns that Menilek created in Oromiya. Hence, before the founding of Finfinnee as a political and economic capital of the king, all the areas within the present Finfinnee and the surround areas was free like any other Oromia lands. See GetahunBenti, *FinfinneeMaccaaTuulamaa*, December 8, 2018

^{xx}The Oromo people live mainly in Oromia region which is one of the nine regional states in Ethiopia. In a consecutive Ethiopian regimes Oromos are always oppressed, alienated from their ancestral native lands, deprived of their property and treated as a second citizen in their home land.

^{xxi}Gadaa.com, Video: Oromo farmers observe building structures taking over their land, December 30, 2015

^{xxii}BetruDibabaEntellie, Violating the Right to Development in the Name of Development in Ethiopia: The Case of Integrated Housing Development Program of Addis Ababa City, Masters Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 2020.

^{xxiii}Adem K Abebe and Amen Taye, One Capital for a Plurination: Building an Autonomous and Inclusive Addis Ababa, At 112.

^{xxiv}Opride, Oromia Special Interest Law: Who Owns Addis Ababa? July 1, 2017.

^{xxv}In this regard, Mohammed Ademo wrote the following in 2014:

“The Oromo, original inhabitants of the land, have social, economic and historical ties to Addis Ababa. The city, which they call Finfinnee, was conquered through invasion in 19th century. Addis Ababa’s expansion since its founding in 1886 came at the expense of local farmers whose livelihoods and culture was uprooted in the process.” See Opride, Oromia Special Interest Law: Who Owns Addis Ababa? July 1, 2017.

^{xxvi}Tsegaye R. Ararssa, Commentary: The Interest That Is Not So Special: Addis Ababa, Oromia, and Ethiopia, Addis Standar, January 18, 2017.

^{xxvii}*Id.*

^{xxviii}AsafaJalata, The Oromo Movement: The Effects of State Terrorism and Globalization in Oromia and Ethiopia, Paper presented at the Conference on New Directions in Critical Criminology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee, May 6-7, 2006, JSTOR, Vol. 44, No. 4 (150), 2017, at 83-106.

^{xxix}The United Nations has developed a modern understanding of the term “indigenous” based on:

- Self- identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic or political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of society

Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities. See United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Voices, Who are indigenous peoples?, Factsheet

^{xxx}HabtamuDugo and Joanne Eisen, The Politics of Genocide Denial in Ethiopia, *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 4, March 2018, at 77.

^{xxxi}FeyeraAbdissa and TerefeDegefa, Urbanization and Changing Livelihoods: The Case of Farmers’ Displacement in the Expansion of Addis Ababa, Book Chapter in “The Demographic Transition and Development in Africa: The Unique Case of Ethiopia, January 2011, at 215-235.

^{xxxii}World Population Review, Addis Ababa Population 2020.

^{xxxiii}*Id.*

^{xxxiv}Robert Chambers, *Responsible Well-being: A Personal Agenda for Development*, World Development, 1997.

^{xxxv}ReemAbuiyada, Traditional Development Theories have failed to Address the Needs of the majority of People at Grassroots Levels with Reference to GAD, *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol. 9 No. 9, September 2018

^{xxxvi}Declaration on the Right to Development, (adopted by the United Nations General Assembly resolution 41/128 of 4 December 1986).

^{xxxvii}Mohamed Rabie, *A Theory of Sustainable Socio-cultural and Economic Development*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

^{xxxviii}United Nations, Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement, Annex 1 of the report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living A/HRC/4/18, II,B,13.

^{xxxix}Article 41(3) of the current Ethiopia constitution stipulates that every Ethiopian national has the right to equal access to publicly funded social services and article 41(4) of the same imposes the obligation on the Ethiopian government to allocate its ever increasing resources to provide to the public social services. Likewise, article 41(5) of the Constitution obliges the state, within the available means, to allocate resources to provide assistance to the physically and mentally disabled, the aged and the children who are left without parents or guardians. Moreover, article 90(1) of the constitution provides housing as one of the guiding policy principles. Accordingly, it goes without saying that, under article 41(3) and (4), the publicly funded social services to which all Ethiopian nationals have the right to equal access and which the government is obligated to provide can be interpreted to include housing services. The term assistance under Article 41(5) the Ethiopian constitution can be interpreted to include housing provisions if the categories of people mentioned are in need of them while under article 90(1) of the constitution, housing itself is expressly mentioned. Art. 13 (2) of the Constitution reads “*The fundamental rights and freedoms specified in this Chapter(Chapter Three) shall be interpreted in a manner conforming to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenants on Human Rights and International instruments adopted by Ethiopia.*” The provision demands the interpretation of the third chapter of the Constitution to be in line with the ‘principles’ of international human rights instruments like the UDHR and other international instruments. Thus, courts at all levels and the HoF shall take international instruments to which Ethiopia is a Party in the course of constitutional interpretation. Also see GhetnetMetikuWoldegiorgis, Responses to Homelessness and its Impacts in Ethiopia, *AbyssiniaLaw*, 9 June, 2015.

^{xli}Bernabas Shiferaw, Ethiopia: Amnesty International, Ethiopian Human Rights Commission Condemn Forced Eviction in Addis Ababa, April 29, 2020.

^{xlii}International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, entry into force 23 March 1976, Art. 1(2).

^{xliii}International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966 entry into force 3 January 1976.

^{xliiii}See list of civil and political rights and freedoms under Articles 3-21 of UDHR, and social and cultural rights listed under Articles 22 to 27 of UDHR. These rights are also listed and detailed under the corresponding provisions of ICCPR and ISESCR.

^{xliiv}United Nations, Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement, Annex 1 of the report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living A/HRC/4/18, I, 1.

^{xliiv}United Nations Economic and Social Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, Paul Hunt, Ethiopia, E/CN.4/2005/51/Add.1, pp 13-14, at para. 36.

^{xliiv}See Art 19 of UDHR & Art 19 of ICCPR; Art 21 of UDHR & Art 25 ICCPR, and Art 8 of UDHR respectively.

^{xliiv}Semonegna Ethiopia, Ethiopia ratifies the Kampala Convention, February 15, 2010.

^{xliiii}Art. 4(4) of the Convention reads:

All persons have a right to be protected against arbitrary displacement. The prohibited categories of arbitrary displacement include but are not limited to: a) Displacement based on policies of racial discrimination or other similar practices aimed at/or resulting in altering the ethnic, religious or racial composition of the population; b) Individual or mass displacement of civilians in situations of armed conflict, unless the security of the civilians involved or imperative military reasons so demand, in accordance with international humanitarian law; c) Displacement intentionally used as a method of warfare or due to other violations of international humanitarian law in situations of armed conflict; d) Displacement caused by generalized violence or violations of human rights; e) Displacement as a result of harmful practices; f) Forced evacuations in cases of natural or human made disasters or other causes if the evacuations are not required by the safety and health of those affected; g) Displacement used as a collective punishment; h) Displacement caused by any act, event, factor, or phenomenon of comparable gravity to all of the above and which is not justified under international law, including human rights and international humanitarian law.

^{xlix}This indicates that if there exists feasible alternatives to the development project, no displacement shall occur. In other words, displacement has to happen only as a last resort. However, the trend at the outskirts of the capital city Addis Ababa evidences that authorities displace local communities from their land even when there exist plenty of lands within the territory of the city. A good example in this regard is the construction of condominium houses by the capital city within the Oromia region, far away from the capital.

^lAfrican Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), adopted by the Special Summit of the African Union held in Kampala, Uganda, on 22nd October 2009, Article 10.

^{li}Gada, an intangible heritage registered at the UNESCO, is a traditional system of governance of the Oromo people in Ethiopia developed from knowledge gained over generations. It regulates political, economic, social and religious activity serving as a mechanism for enforcing moral conduct, building community cohesion, and expressing culture. Gada is organized into five classes taught by oral historians, with each having to progress through a series of grades before it can take the leadership. Men, whose fathers are members, participate. Transmission occurs within families and at school. See UNESCO, Gada System: an indigenous democratic socio-political system of the Oromo.

^{lii}UN Commission on Human Rights, Addendum, 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' *Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Francis M. Deng, submitted pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 1997/39*, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 (11 February 1998) (the Guiding Principles), art 7(2)(c).

^{liii}The full provisions read:

1. States Parties shall seek lasting solutions to the problem of displacement by promoting and creating satisfactory conditions for voluntary return, local integration or relocation on a sustainable basis and in circumstances of safety and dignity.

2. 2. States Parties shall enable internally displaced persons to make a free and informed choice on whether to return, integrate locally or relocate by consulting them on these and other options and ensuring their participation in finding sustainable solutions.
3. 3. States Parties shall cooperate, where appropriate, with the African Union and international organizations or humanitarian agencies and civil society organizations, in providing protection and assistance in the course of finding and implementing solutions for sustainable return, local integration or relocation and long-term reconstruction.
4. States Parties shall establish appropriate mechanisms providing for simplified procedures where necessary, for resolving disputes relating to the property of internally displaced persons.

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, whenever possible, to restore the lands of communities with special dependency and attachment to such lands upon the communities' return, reintegration, and reinsertion

^{liv}IOM, Ethiopia Launches National Durable Solutions Initiative for Internally Displaced Persons, reliefweb, published 6 December 2019.

^{lv}Among the major Oromo descent groups, the Matcha-Tulama group has got one of the largest populations, stretching on vast area of land in central and western Oromia. As we are able to learn from our fathers, Matcha and Tulama are Borana brothers, being Tulama *angafa* (first born) and Matcha *qixisuu* (second born son). As common to all Oromo ethno-history, the tradition that governs the social role of "*angafa and qixisuu*", which begins right from the immediate family unit, has a deep genealogical meaning and social role in re-invigorating the solidarity of the nation. See BulbulaaTufaa, The Expansion of the Amorphous Addis Ababa, The Endless Persecution and Eviction of TulamaOromoo, MaddaWalaabuu Press, April 07, 2014

^{lvi}*Id.*

^{lvii}A Proclamation to Establish Urban Land Development and Management Agency, No. 179/2013, MegeletaOromia, 21st Year, No. 5/2013, Art. 8(13).

^{lviii}Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation, No. 456/2005, Fed. Neg. Gaz., 11th Year No. 44, Addis Ababa, 15th July 2005, Art. 8(1).

^{lix}Investment Proclamation No. 1180/2020, Fed. Neg. Gaz., 26th Year No. 28, Addis Ababa, 2nd April, 2020.

^{lx}Expropriation of Landholdings for Public Purposes and Payment of Compensation Proclamation, No. 455/2005, Negarit Gazette, 11th Year No. 43, 15th July 2005, Addis Ababa, Art. 2(5).(Old Expropriation Proclamation).

^{lxi}BulbulaaTufaa, *supra* note 85. The Expansion of the Amorphous Addis Ababa, The Endless Persecution and Eviction of TulamaOromoo, MaddaWalaabuu Press, April 07, 2014

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