

Social Exclusion and Conflict in Benishangul Gumuz: Impact on Economies and Livelihoods

*Samuel Lule**, *Alemu Azmeraw***, and *Zerihun Berhane****

Abstract

The objective of this article is to elucidate the sequential effects of social exclusion-induced conflict and internal displacement in the Metekel Zone of Benishangul Gumuz Regional State. The study employed mixed methods with an exploratory sequential design. Qualitative tools were used initially, followed by quantitative data from 16 key informant interviews and 60 focus group discussions. Survey tools were then utilized for the quantitative method, employing probability sampling to select 359 households. Data from secondary sources were also relied upon. The study revealed that social exclusion has resulted in heightened conflict, displacement of people, loss of livelihoods including crops, land, livestock, houses, household materials, and human life. The scale and intensity of the conflict have escalated to violent levels, resulting in the destruction, and burning of 11,822 houses in the Metekel Zone, including 873 housing units belonging to the study participants, on average two housing units per household. The loss of housing units for survey responders amounted to ETB 29,261,704.63. Households lost agricultural produce worth ETB 45,910,369.82, agricultural tools worth ETB 406,535.55, household utensils, and livestock worth ETB 46,790,399.51. The average material loss combined for the study participants was ETB 122,369,009.50. In terms of household per capita income loss, the Metekel Zone lost \$68,328,865.30 based on the 2020 number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Above all, the conflict has claimed 979 human lives. The practice of social exclusion has intensified conflict, increased internal displacement, affected agricultural production and livestock, and led to the loss of human lives. Therefore, promoting social inclusion should be prioritized to foster a cohesive society through intra-household relationships, inter-group interactions and trust-building, and regaining trust in institutions in the Metekel Zone of Benishangul Gumuz Region.

*Corresponding author, Ph.D. Candidate, Addis Ababa University, College of Development Studies, Center for Rural Development Studies, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia., Email: samwoy2@gmail.com

** Assistant Professor, Addis Ababa University, College of Development Studies, Center for Rural Development Studies, Email: alemu.azmeraw@aau.edu.et

*** Associate Professor, Addis Ababa University, Center for African and Asian Studies, Email: zerihunb2006@gmail.com,

Keywords: Social exclusion, displacement, livelihood, agriculture, livestock, human lives, GDP loss

1. Introduction

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations (UN) 2015 committed to inclusive and sustainable development for all, leaving no one behind. The SDGs identified 'social inclusion' as integral part of sustainable development (UN, 2015). The UN Financing for Development for SDGs venture underscored that substantial number of people live in rural areas; therefore, it is important to support agriculture to achieve food security and advance other SDG goals (UN, 2015). Inclusive rural development could be achieved by utilising the abilities of rural people and seizing opportunities. Exclusion of some groups using ethnicity, race and status of displacement will make the efforts of rural transformation incomplete (IFAD, 2016). Joyeta et. al., (2015) examined the benefits of inclusive development in mitigating social conflict triggered because of access to resources and livelihoods. The benefits of inclusive development are generally undisputed.

The conceptualization of social exclusion is far from being antonym of social inclusion. These lines of structural exclusions are built in complex, multi-layered political, social, and economic considerations. These social exclusions are mediated by institutions, legislation processes and value systems. The structural failure of social network and relation in facilitating social inclusion in rural context creates groups, individuals and communities who are deprived (socially excluded) than those included. According to Abiy (2019), in Ethiopia, institutionalized and structured social exclusion stems from intersectionality of ethnicity, religion, centre, periphery, disability, urban, rural, class, gender, and age (De Haan 2012, Abiy 2019, Sen 2000, European Commission 2004, Kabeer 2000). For this study, social exclusion is understood as a process and practice of creating constraints for rural people to access and use livelihood resources and seize development opportunities (Levitas 2006, Allman 2013, World Bank 2013). The study examined the role of institution based social exclusion in assigning livelihood resources and opportunities leading to conflict induced internal displacement in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State (BGNRS), Ethiopia.

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) (1995) articulated fundamental rights of the Ethiopian people anchored on principles of fairness, equity, and non-discrimination. The Constitution underscores 'social development' as a key pillar for improved political, economic, and democratic society. It affirms respect for individual and group rights adhering to the principle of no denial based on sexual, religious, or cultural diversity. Article 89, sub article 2, states that the government has responsibility to avail equal opportunities that help realize enhanced economic condition and promote equitable distribution of wealth among its people. Sub article 4 declares 'special assistance' for 'nations, nationalities and peoples' who are disadvantaged in economic and social development. Article 89 (5), withholds the right to administer and avail land and other natural resources on behalf of the people, provide right to own property and recognize the right to access and use land for farmers and pastoralists (FDRE, 1995). The Benishangul Gumuz National Regional State (BGNRS) Constitution under article 2 identifies the Berta, Gumuz, Shinasha, Mao and Komo as 'indigenous nation nationalities' while excluding 'others' (those who are not identified as 'indigenous').

This study asserts that the loss of livelihood and assets due to redistribution or displacement and policy-based alienations lead to inequality. These have been instruments to unevenly distributed livelihood asset, power imbalances, and civil unrest. This study argues that global commitments and the empirical evidence on inclusive development infer that exclusion based on residence (rural, urban), livelihoods (farm, off-farm, and on-farm), is costly through hampering realization of aspirations or opportunity of people leading to undermining of the wellbeing of people and sustainability of development outcomes. Exclusion based on ethnicity, race, skin color, language, and displacement status affects the choices and outcomes of a households' livelihood. It also deprives households of economic, social, cultural, and political well-being. Institutions and administrative hierarchies at different levels facilitate the inclusion and exclusion of households based on different characteristics, ultimately benefiting those who are included while disadvantaging those who are excluded over time. This study explored the effects of social exclusion and conflict-induced internal displacement on

farming households' agricultural produce, livestock, residential housing, human lives, and overall well-being in the Metekel Zone of BGNRS.

1.1. Statement of the problem

The preamble of the FDRE Constitution refers to 'rectifying historically unjust relationships', but it does not identify these unbiased relationships, the victims, and redress mechanisms. The Constitution does not specify who requires special assistance, who are the least advantaged, and what type of aid is needed article 89(4) (FDRE, 1995). This lack of detail has resulted in social exclusion driven conflicts and displacement. Ethiopia experienced a rising trend in social exclusion-induced conflicts and displacement since 2016 based on ethnic and geographic domains. Despite being in effect for over three decades, the Constitution remains unamended, and these issues remain unaddressed.

This study argues that the BGNRS Constitution's division of people into 'indigenous nation nationalities' and 'others' has created fear among the latter and instigated conflicts leading to violence and internal displacement of various ethnic groups in Metekel Zone. Moreover, the BGNRS Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation No. 85/2010 does not provide land use rights to those who come to the region 'illegally,' even those who came before the issuance of the same legislation. The law does not define 'illegal' which is open for ambiguity. These contradict the FDRE Constitution's provisions supremacy when contradicting any law (article 9 (1), on freedom of movement (article 32), right to property, resource access (article 40), and choice of livelihood (article 41). This study argues that the BGNRS Constitution and other laws are discriminatory towards certain groups of people while benefiting indigenous nations. The Shinasha and Gumuz, though recognized by the BGNRS, were not immune from conflict-induced displacement. These laws have institutionalized social exclusion, compromised fundamental rights, and restricted movement and choice of residence.

Conflict and violence hinder Ethiopia's development, especially in rural areas being hit the hardest, which are crucial for economic growth (National

Planning Commission 2016, Office of the Prime Minister 2019). However, the national plans lacked risk mitigation measures for conflict and displacement. There are no military, political, social, and economic measures that abated the escalating trend in conflict induced displacement and effects on livelihood of people. The number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from conflict has started to rise from 56,000 in 2015 to 2.1, 3.6 and 3.9 million in 2018, 2021, and 2022 respectively (International Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) 2023). The Ministry of Peace (MoP) in 2019 revealed 2.9 million conflict induced IDPs that is almost 3% of the country's population (Central Statistics Agency, 2013) who lived six to twenty-four months in displacement.

Pankhurst and Piguet (2004), Feleke (2009), Maru (2017) focused on exploring the challenges of forced displacement, development induced displacement, natural disaster-induced displacement; human-made-disaster-induced-displacement; conflict-induced displacement; and pastoralism and displacement Buli (2006). In BGNRS conflict and displacement of people existed due to slave trade, trade in ivory and gold (Abdulsamad 1995), competition for political power and resources (Asnake 2009), and access to land and formalization of land use rights (Habtamu 2020). Mesfin (2011) identified ethnic federalism and conflict management, ethnic federalism, including practice of exclusion (Jon Abbink 2011), and ethnic federalism as a divisive tool Siraw (2015).

Conflict and displacement lead to destruction of houses, crops, livelihoods, agricultural produce, and tools (Ministry of Peace 2019) and costly rehabilitation of affected livelihoods and infrastructure. This study reviewed empirical evidence on economic effects of displacement due to earthquake in Mexico and Nepal (IDMC) 2018), and hurricane in Cuba (IDMC 2019). These studies focused on out of employment labour due to earthquake and hurricane using gross domestic production (GDP) per capita income. The short and long-term harm to productivity, income, food security, and livelihood security in Ethiopia is not yet fully understood. There is consensus, among scholars, on the difficulty of measuring the cost of social exclusion (Levitas 2006, World Bank 2013, Jean 2019). The objective of this study is to measure the impact of social exclusion and conflict-induced displacement on the economy and livelihoods of farming households and divided into three

sub-themes. First, it examines the loss of on-farm income outputs, measured in kilograms, and converted to the average Ethiopian Birr price, from participant households' own farm labor, sharecropping, and rented farms. Second, it explores losses in farm inputs such as farm implements and disruptions in extension services. Finally, the study assesses livestock losses including oxen, cows, heifers, bulls, sheep, goats, and pack animals such as donkeys, horses, and mules.

1.2. Theoretical review

There are different approaches for studying social inclusion and/or exclusion, rural livelihoods and forced displacement. The study synthesized relevant concepts from the Social Framework, the Social Inclusion Framework (SIF), and Structural Violence Theory.

1.2.1. The Social Framework

The Social Framework (SF) is developed by Eddy Smith and Frank Vanclay in 2017. This is a blend of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) and the Wellbeing Approach to analyse the livelihood impact of displacement induced by development projects. The SLF provides the basis for examining the rural livelihoods development context and help to understand the institutional and structural processes. The SF accounted for critics on SLF promoted by Frank Ellis (2000) and the Department for International Development (DFID) (1999). The SLF critic includes too many social variables in limited groupings losing sight of power relations, rigidity and complex to comprehend (Vanclay 2017, de Haan 2012). Feleke (2006) argued that the SLF does not provide the niche for analysing 'values' and 'meanings' among different migrants and its implication for their origin and host communities. Feleke alluded that the "Wellbeing Approach" provides space for analysing and understanding the qualitative aspects of migrant livelihoods and welfare (Feleke 2006). The SF in this study is contextualized to analyse the effect of conflict induced displacement using variables such as livelihoods, housing, land, and culture. The SF is fit for purpose to analyse displacement impacts at household level, while putting wellbeing at the centre (Hay 2019).

1.2.2. Structural Violence Theory

Barbara and Paul (2016) state that structural violence is the result of unjust inequality that is ingrained in institutional norms, ultimately leading to violence that results in loss of human life and damage to property. These institutional values are expressed at a macro level, but their impact is felt at the household and community levels (Barbara and Paul, 2016). There are different forms of violence which happen at structural (systematic institutionalized process) and personal level. It has intended and unintended effects creating physical harm, psychological violence, and trauma on people. The scientific inquiry in peace and violence shall be as broad not limited by the definition of violence and/or peace (Galtung 1969). Physiological and psychological violence is preventable. Scholars argue that there are other forms of violence, including cultural that corroborate to discourse by Galtung in 1969. Structural violence theory has been used to assess the role of institutions in creating barriers and customs for exclusion that systematically perpetuate unjust relationship and inequitable access to resources. This theory provides a lens to examine institutional layers of social exclusion, their role in conflict, and eventual effects on human lives, housing, livestock, agricultural production, and agricultural tools. The study deployed a multi response, ranking questions to garner perceptions and experience of study participant households.

1.2.3. Social Inclusion Framework

The Social Inclusion Framework (SIF) has been developed and used by the World Bank since 2013 (World Bank 2013). SIF uses three parameters for understanding social inclusion: markets (finance, land, and housing), services (health, education, transport, water, information) and spaces (physical, political, cultural, and social). It provides a model for the analysis of social inclusion and/or exclusion in legislation process, institutional systems, and policy implementation. The SIF has been used by the World Bank in project design and implementation in different countries (World Bank 2013), understand the social inclusion and exclusion context in Africa (Das and Espinoza 2019) and in policy study working paper (Das, 2016). The study articulated that, these form the basis for systems that function to determine household access to and use or exclusion to various spaces, markets, services,

and social networks which affect the rural livelihoods process and analyse the implications thereof on conflict induced displacement.

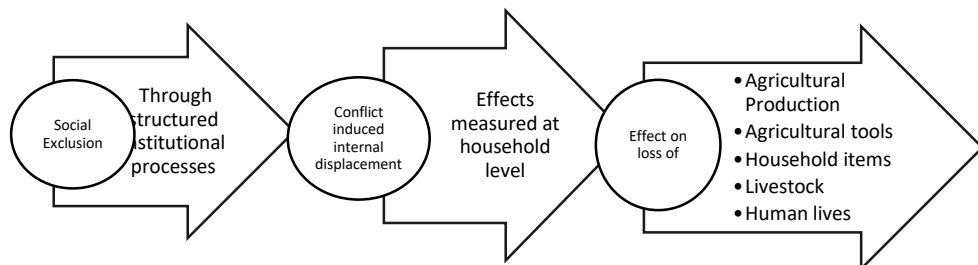


Figure 1. Social Exclusion, Conflict Induced Internal Displacement and Effects on Rural Livelihoods Conceptual Framework

Source: Galtung 1969, World Bank 2013, Vanclay 2017

The conceptual framework for this article explores the impact of social exclusion on institutional processes and systems. Feedback at different administrative levels shapes the extent and intensity of social inclusion and exclusion. Household and institutional interactions affect access to livelihood resources, which can lead to conflict, violence, and hatred. These effects on agricultural production, tools, housing, and livestock are measured at a household level. Data was collected to respond to the study objective, and the analysis is structured accordingly.

2. Methods

2.1. Study design

This study adopted mixed methods with an exploratory and descriptive designs -811and pragmatism as a knowledge acquisition philosophy. A sequential exploratory design has been used starting with the qualitative dimension and augmented with the quantitative data. Mixed methods have become a norm for their flexibility in the choice of tools, the opportunity for cross-checking, and complementing qualitative and quantitative tools that are sensible for the specific study (Bernard 2018). The sequential exploratory design allowed for flexibility to start with the qualitative investigation and augment with the quantitative data (Creswell 2009). The use of mixed method

provides space for explore themes in depth, triangulate findings, build evidence, make inferences, ensure objectivity and integrity (Creswell 2009; Neuman 2014; Bernard 2018). The qualitative approach deployed focus group discussion (FGD), key informant interview (KII), and observation. The study undertook a survey and review of secondary sources in relevant thematic areas to triangulate the findings from the KII and FGD tools. A survey is a tool to understand people's experience regarding social, economic, and political issues by taking a representative sample to make inferences about a population (Semones, 1990). The review focused on secondary sources and empirical evidence published in journals, book volumes, statistical reports, and published, and unpublished academic works. The study used video documentaries and interviews accessed at different times during the study.

Pragmatism as a guiding paradigm in mixed methods helps to understand reality as 'what works at the time' and its 'dynamism' in space (Creswell 2009, Morgan 2014, Rorty 1999). It focuses on the problem and tries to find practical solutions with the use of mixed methods to collect data and make inquiry into the social, economic, and political contexts (Creswell 2009, Morgan 2014, Bohman 2003). It provides flexibility to adopt more than a single method and theoretical perspective to open for new experience, interpretation, and knowledge (Bohman 2003, Bourgeois 1977, Giacobbi *et al.*, 2005, Bernard 2006). This study used pragmatism to explore nature of conflict, role of institutions in shaping conflict and conflict outcomes, and internal displacement in time and space. This study asserts that, pragmatism is a source of inquiry to learn about human experience in making meaning out of it through analysis and interpretation that avails flexibility for choice of tools, assumptions, and analysis.

2.2. Sample size and sampling technique

The respondents for this study consist of conflict affected internally displaced people with diverse sociocultural background and temporary shelter focal persons. The second segment were government representatives at different levels represented as part of the Amhara (Chagni) and Benishangul Gumuz (Gilgel Beles) National Regional State Emergency Coordination Centers. The third category consist of civil society organizations (CSOs) and non-

government organizations (NGOs) and other local institutions working at the origin of displacement and the Ranch IDP camp.

Despite the benefits of census, due to limitations of time, finance and logistics covering the whole population for a study is not possible (Kothari 2004). Accordingly, if the population is small, the use of sampling is not useful. Hence, a sampling should strike the right balance. The IDP population in Metekel Zone was 125,029 in February 2021 (BGNRS, Emergency Coordination Center 2021). For this study, covering the whole population through census is not possible due to limitations of resources (time, finance), insecurity to reach IDPs in proximity to the areas of origin and inaccessibility due to ongoing active conflict. Therefore, a sample of the IDP population for the survey was taken using probability sampling technique (Kothari 2004). Survey respondents were selected among non-overlapping 74 shelter tents, clustered at Ranch IDP camp. The 4,583 IDP households in 74 tents have been organized by the Emergency Coordination Centre (ECC) with a mix of households from different Woredas and villages. The tent organization has helped avoid biases of inclusion and exclusion in the survey sample. Simple random sampling technique was used to select 26 tents (35% of the total IDP tents). Then, a register of each tent was used to randomly select survey participants. The sampling process was iterative between sampling and analysis of data; such that, preliminary analytical findings shape subsequent sampling choices and data source, where the first round of data collection (February 2021) was complemented by the second round (June-July 2021).

Kothari's formula is feasible for this study because; (i) the affected population for the study has been more than 10,000 households of the IDP population, (ii) uses simple random sampling for selection of survey participants, and (iii) the formula has been scientifically tested and remain valid. Thus, the total conflict affected IDPs, N is 61,545 in 2018 and reached 125,099 in 2021, where in both cases is more than 5% of the BGNRS population and requires finite population correction. The 125,099 IDP population of the March 2021 has been used to draw sample for the study. Daniel (1995) indicated that, when the study population exceeds over 10,000 and the proportion exceeds 5% of the entire population, a more robust approach shall be adopted with a finite population correction.

$$n' = \frac{N Z^2 P (1-P)}{d^2} \dots\dots\dots (i)$$

Whereas,

- ✓ n'=sample size with finite population correction.
- ✓ N=population size at Ranch IDP camp (4583)
- ✓ Z= Z statistic for a level of confidence (95%), t value is 1.96.
- ✓ P=expected proportion of the population (at 50% to maximize sample representation, P=0.5)
- ✓ d= precision (the precision is set at 5%, then d=0.05)

The study adopted a cluster sampling targeting Ranch IDP camp which hosts 74 tents, sheltering 4,583 households with over 22,279 individuals from six woredas in one location. The number of IDPs at the Ranch camp is well over 17.8% of the total IDP population in Metekel Zone. After the selection of the Ranch IDP camp, the study adopted a simple random sampling to identify survey respondents.

$$= \frac{4,583 * (1.96*1.96) * 0.5 * (1-0.5)}{(0.05*0.05) (4583-1) + (1.96*1.96) * (0.5) (1-0.5)}$$

$$= \frac{4401.513}{12.4154}$$

The sample size is anticipated to be 354.52 households..... (ii) sample size

The final sample size of the study was calculated as follows:

Final Sample Size = Minimum sample size ... (iii) final sample size

$$= \frac{354.52}{0.93} \dots\dots 358.33 \text{ household. A final sample size is } 359.$$

FGD and KIIs participants, who are believed to have adequate knowledge/expert on the study objective were selected using non-probability

(purposive) sampling. Ten FGDs were conducted with 60 households (38 male and 22 female), 16 KIIs (10 male and 6 females). Observations have been conducted at the temporary shelter. Structured survey questions have been administered to 400 households. The perspectives and claims presented in ten videos were corroborated through interviews, focus group discussions, and literature. The video documentaries have been accessed at various stages of this study.

2.3. Data collection

The first-round fieldwork was conducted from February 15- March 15, 2021. A second round of data collection was made from June 21 to July 2, 2021, covering the same households to complement and collect data gaps based on preliminary data entry and analysis. The fieldwork covered IDPs from six Woredas of BGNRS sheltered at Chagni, Ranch IDP camp in ANRS. The origin of displacement was not accessible because, (i) Metekel Zone has been under a centralized military command post, (ii) there was ongoing active conflict, (iii) security concerns for the study team to collect data and travel, and (iv) entry and exit to the area of origin required military escorting. Efforts have been made to reach out the Gumuz ethnic group to explore their side of the story and conducted one FGD and five KIIs with Gumuz. The coverage of the Gumuz community was limited due to the inaccessibility reasons specified above and including the active conflict and violence. Further, the Gumuz were not returned to their villages at the origin as they retreated to the forest for their safety.

2.4. Method of data analysis

The interview and FGD notes were transcribed, thematically organized, and systematically sorted to answer the study objective. The quantitative survey data entry was processed using CSPro software, exported to STATA 14.1 for cleaning and making it ready for analysis. STATA was chosen for its flexibility and open source. Video contents were analysed along the study objective and thematic areas. The final data were analysed using descriptive statistics (such as mean and, frequency tables) to portray the characteristics of the respondents and measure key variables.

2.5. Research ethics, validity, and reliability of the data

This study involved and interacted with humans to collect data. Ethical considerations highlighted by Sarantakos (2005) cited by Creswell (2009) include a consent covering introduction, any sponsoring institution, how their participation is identified, purpose, benefits of participation, confidentiality, and assurance to withdraw at any time, and contact person to track the status and dissemination of the study results.

The tools and objective of the study were approved by Addis Ababa University, Center for Rural Development. Each set of tools included a paragraph to explain the purpose of the study, privacy of respondents, diversity (geography, ethnic background, sex, and age), and use of the research findings for academic purpose. As the study participants were in dire social, economic, and psychological trauma, the study demonstrated diligence and transparency to manage expectations on the benefits of participation and purpose of the study. The study secured clearance to interact and collect data for academic exercise from the Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) and BGNRS emergency coordination centres, Ranch Camp coordinators and tent focal persons before interacting with participant households.

This study passed through different measures of data validity and reliability test on the utility of data collected to make analysis, respond to the study questions and objective. The study tools were pretested to check consistency, confirm clarity, and get feedback from the testing. Four hundred printed survey questionnaires have been dispatched. From the 400 questionnaires 14 were not returned, 12 halves completed, 15 were unengaged resulting in 359, 93% clean data ready for analysis and interpretation.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Ranch IDP camp description

The study was conducted in BGNRS, Metekel Zone covering IDPs displaced from six woredas and sheltered in temporary IDP camp at Guangua Zuria Woreda, Chagni town, Ranch camp, ANRS. The Ranch IDP camp shelter has 74 tents with 4,583 households (22,279 people, 16,466 men and 5,813

women). The 71 tents were made from plastic sheets and galvanized iron bars with two access doors. Three shelters were made from wooden structure, plastic walls, and iron sheet roof. The shelter tent is managed by elected committee members among the residents of the tent to voice their needs, concerns, and vision. The tent committee has a register of the tent residents with their respective family members. The register is used to determine eligibility to distribute emergency household supplies.

According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the standard average shelter space per person is 45meter square, while the minimum standard is 30-meter square. It is evident from the shelter and IDP population at Ranch that the average number of persons per shelter tent exceeds 300. To meet the minimum UNHCR shelter standard, each tent should occupy almost a hectare of land, spread over 75 hectares. However, based on the current shelter tent setting, a typical tent measures 20m x 15m (300 square meters), indicating an overcrowded camp situation.

3.2. Socioeconomic and demographic profile of the respondents

The study used both qualitative and quantitative tools to reach out to 435 (92 females, 354 males) household heads, of which 359 through a survey (292 males and 67 females), 60 FGD (22 females, 38 males) and 16KII (10 males and 6 females). Slightly more than half of the respondents were in the age range of 29-39 (55.2%) and the average age was 36.6. Except the 13% who were in the age range of 62-71, 87% are in a productive age which signifies a loss in productive capacity and production in their main livelihood, farming. Among the survey participants women and girls account for 18.7%, FGD (63%) and KII (37.5%) respectively. Among the respondents who participated in the survey categorized themselves into Amhara ethnic group 263 (73.3%) while other 74 (20.6%) of the respondents belong to Agaw-Awi, the rest 22 (6.1%) of the respondents belong to Shinasha, Oromo and Gumuz. Nearly 85% knew how to read and write (Survey data 2021).

For the FGD, the average age has been 38.42, with an average family size of 4.14 households. The KII informants were taken from Amhara (eight), Agew (three), Shinasha (two) and Gumuz (three) households trying to strike a

balance and ensure adequate representation. The average age of KII respondents was 38.1 years with 4.1 family sizes.

The livelihoods of the study participants were dependent on agriculture and livestock rearing. Their agricultural production was guided by a balance between crops grown for personal consumption and those grown for sale as cash crops. Among the survey respondents, 352 households (98%) and 76 households (100%) of the KII and FGD participants were engaged in agriculture. The Gumuz engage in shifting cultivation and livestock husbandry, mainly looking after small ruminants (Wondim 2020, Keeley 2013). The study area is known for its production of maize, sorghum, millet, soybean, ground nuts, and sesame. Metekel is rich in marble and gold deposit and production (BGR DRMO and OCHA June 2020).

3.3. Manifestations of social exclusion: contribution to conflict-induced displacement

There are varied forms of social exclusion identifiers that lead to conflict, violence, loss of life, properties (housing units and agricultural equipment), agricultural produce, and displacement of people. Among others, ethnicity, skin color, ethnic federalism, and language have been identified as markers of exclusion (source?). This has been corroborated both in the qualitative and quantitative results. In a multiple response question on the manifestations of social exclusion, the survey respondents identified ethnicity with n=335 (94%), followed by skin color 216 (60.7%) as prominent sources of exclusion in their respective areas of origin. A male household head of eight family members, aged 73, who used to live in Dangur Woreda, narrated that,

'Ethnicity gives a chance to escape the first shooting until further probing to identify their ethnicity. However, a similar skin tone has boxed Amhara, Oromo, Agew, Shinasha, Tigre, Sidama in one corner. The Gumuz categorically use skin colour to violently attack all non Gumuz's. Skin color does not give a chance to tell your ethnicity. I am not appreciating ethnicity as identifier for exclusion, killing or violence. The severity of the impact of exclusion and its effect using skin colour has been devastating than ethnicity. This is my lifetime lived experience as someone born and raised in Dangur'.

The effect of skin colour and ethnicity is a double-edged sword, which put the Gumuz in a difficult situation. They cannot come to the market to purchase daily necessities such as pepper, salt, sugar, or clothing. The Gumuz do not send their children to school because either the schools have been destroyed or looted, teachers have fled due to the conflict, or the schools are not functioning. They do not go to health posts to seek medical services due to the destruction of the facility, lack of staff, or mistrust of non-Gumuz service providers. The Gumuz cannot freely move around their villages, and towns, or visit their clan members. They die from starvation since they are unable to make it to the market to buy what they need or engage in agricultural activity to produce their own food. They do not have enough food to meet their daily subsistence needs and depend on hunting and gathering for sustenance. Additionally, the Gumuz die from other diseases such as malaria and other chronic illnesses. They become easy targets for remnants of other ethnic groups who are prepared to retaliate in revenge for human fatalities and economic losses.

3.4. Agricultural production loss

Cereal crop production was practiced at household level at the origin of displacement. The study participants estimated the average production in kilograms and value in birr for each crop type prior to the conflict and displacement. Maize was produced by 52% (n=188) of the households for consumption and market with average 7,709.79kg produce, varying minimum 380kgs and the maximum was 150,000 kgs. The estimated birr value per household ranges from birr 3,200 to 1,000,000 respectively, setting an average maize sales income of Ethiopian Birr (ETB) 91, 247.98. Looking at the distribution of maize production among survey participants, clearing for outliers, the average production per hectare is 4,500kgs in Dangur and 6,000kgs in Pawe respectively (Emergency Coordination Center March 2021). These figures are consistent with the Metekel zone average maize production estimated by the Central Statistics Agency (CSA) Agricultural Survey 2019/2020, which is 4,231kgs per hectare (CSA 2020).

Millet has been produced by 168 households which recorded the minimum and maximum volume of 100 and 80,000 kgs with an estimated value of ETB5,000 to 625,000 respectively. For the study participant households,

taking the average production of millet at 3,762.80kg the estimated earning is ETB73,694.05. The average millet production in 2019/2020 has been 2,190kgs per hectare (CSA 2020). The region rapid assessment of agricultural losses has indicated 2,060kgs of millet production per hectare in Pawe and Dangur Woredas. The estimates by the study participant households are higher by 55%. Sorghum production was accounted by 105 households with average production of 7,324.29kg and minimum 500kgs. The estimated average earning from the sale of sorghum was ETB95,215.71. Because of social exclusion induced conflict and eventual displacement of people all agricultural practices including crop production have been halted among IDPs sheltered at the Ranch IDP camp. A woman aged 47 from Dangur recalled the effects of conflict on her agricultural produce, livestock, and other asset losses.

In 2019, I was displaced from my home, which had 10 hectares of land, three residential housing units, and other items. In 2020, I returned to the area, but found nothing, including two oxen, a cow, (ETB55,000), and two houses (ETB 100,000). I used to produce maize and millet on the land but lost 22,500kg of maize (ETB 266,175) and 10,950kg of millet (ETB 214,201). In October 2021, I had to leave everything on the farm and escape the targeted hunting of non-Gumuz people and took shelter in Chagni Ranch IDP shelter.

Oilseeds have been produced by 231 households. Peanut has been produced by n=231 respondents with average household production 4,876.41kg and estimated ETB171,356.06 sales value. Besides, n=213 households practiced production of other types of agricultural crops (sesame, niger and soybean) earning an average income of ETB235, 409.15 per household. The weather in most parts of Metekel Zone is conducive for perennial crop production, such as coffee, banana, mango, lemon, sugar cane, and other wild fruit and root crops. The Gumuz rely on hunting of animals and gathering of leaves, roots and fruits (Wondim Tiruneh, 2020). The vast land suitable for agriculture and the weather condition has become a centre of attraction for people from different parts of the country, government resettlement program and investors (Gebre, 2003, Alula and Piguët (2004). Households in the study area have been engaged in coffee (n=3), mango (n=22), and banana (n=21) production. However, everything was lost due to the conflict. For instance,

although the respondents to the coffee production were few the average earning was ETB90, 333.33 per annum.

The average land productivity per hectare of each crop based on the CSA estimate for 2017/18, 2019/20, 2020/21 revealed progressive increase in productivity per hectare. For example, maize production has increased from 24.6quintal (2017/18) to 42.31quintal per hectare (2019/20). The production of millet for the same period increased slightly from 26.8quintal to 29.63quintal per hectare. Some of the average production estimates by CSA (except maize which is closer to the 45quintal/hectare and 60quintal per hectare for Dangur and Pawe) has been much lower than the findings from the study participant households. The study participants have cultivated relatively large (an average 1.6ha per household, with 7.83ha maximum and 5ha minimum ha per household) land size per household which justifies higher average production loss in the area. The average land holding among households who have land use right certificates and participated in this study range from 0.25ha to 40ha. It was 39% of households who have land use right certificate have a land size of 8.25ha to 40ha. Whereas 61% of households own land size between 0.25ha to 8.25ha. Factoring the average arable land holding reported by households, using the CSA 2019/2020 estimates for maize, a household could produce 10.57quintal (0.25ha minimum holding), 349quintal (8.25hectare) and 1,692.4quintal (those who hold 40ha).

Further, from the agricultural survey estimates, maize on average has been 41.5 quintals per hectare on arable land, whereas it is 60 quintals estimated by the BGNRS ECC conflict impact assessment. The average production estimate for sesame was between 6.75-7.36 quintals and 4 quintals by CSA agriculture survey and the BGNRS ECC respectively. The study participants, mainly those responding to the survey questions, agricultural production loss from maize, millet, sorghum, teff, wheat combined have lost ETB 45,910,369.82.

3.5. Effects of conflict induced internal displacement on agricultural tools

The list of agricultural tools for this study has been adopted from the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey Round Four (1997) and contextualized

based on its agricultural utility to the study area. Respondents enumerated the ownership of agricultural tools (hoe, plough, sickle, saddle, hammer) before displacement with varying numbers, they were not able to confirm, if these items would be available or not after displacement because of, (i) lack of access to their area of origin, (ii) some households saw their houses burning down; (iii) others saw their houses being looted, (iv) experience from 2019 and 2020 conflict displacement impacts, and (v) currently living in temporary shelter at IDP camps. IDPs recognize these items generally as lost to no recovery. The loss from agricultural tools for study participants amounted ETB406,535.55.

3.6. Effect of conflict and internal displacement on livestock

The study finding on the effects of social exclusion induced conflict on household's livestock holding is clustered into livestock (oxen, cows, heifer, bull, donkey), sheep and goat, and poultry. The total loss by study participant households from livestock combined amounted ETB 49,356,178.93. Examining the livestock loss effects revealed that, oxen and cows were important domestic animals used for ploughing, provide milk and meat. Accordingly, n=293 respondents used to own oxen minimum one and maximum 30 with average estimated cost of ETB16,101 per livestock. A key informant from Bullen Woreda, 48 years old female participant:

Cattle have been looted by people who took part in the conflict, transported to neighbouring areas, and sold for a much lower than the market price. Those who looted the livestock have not invested time, resources and does not have emotional attachment. Hence did not care about the monetary return from livestock sale, let alone the emotional attachment and pride as a source of prestige, livelihood, and food.

Small ruminants such as goat and sheep are common sources of food and income. Where n=128 and n=65 households used to own sheep and goat with minimum two and maximum 65 with estimated average value of ETB 19,000.00 respectively. For poultry husbandry 120 households practiced for meat and egg with an average number of 14.13 chickens with an average price of ETB269 per chicken. Donkey has been used by 178 households for

transporting produce, seed, and fertilizer to and from the farm, residence, and market.

A key informant man, age 37 from Debatie summed up the scope of conflict, violence, brutality, and the level of destruction.

The Gumuz after the April 2019 incident were convinced that those displaced have left for good. Subsequently, started sheltering in our houses, use the household items and produce we left in houses and farms. When we returned after a year, the Gumuz started to burn and dismantle the houses, transport the produce and household items. We left everything behind with the second and third round of incidents of conflict which triggered a wave of displacement, brutality and destruction culminating in vacating villages and farms. The scope of devastation on property has been varied. Likewise, brutality on human lives differ across time and space. As a result, the burnet felt by people and their assets differ.

3.7. Effect on housing and other properties

The study respondents used to live in different types of housing structure made from earth mortar, cement/stone, wood, bamboo walls with hatchet and corrugated iron sheet roofing. The size and number of housing units owned by each IDP before displacement vary from one to four. The post displacement status of these housing structures constitutes unknown, demolished, or burned down. The scale of destruction and impact on housing units vary from Woreda to Woreda. By October 2021, there were 11,822 housing units demolished or burned down in Bullen (4,691), Debatie (1,465), Guba (1,947), Dangur (1821), Wombera (876) and Mandura (1022) respectively (Benishangul Gumuz Region October 2021). The enumeration does not provide the estimated average cost of each housing unit and type of material used for the construction of the wall and roofing prior to displacement. However, it provided the estimated average reconstruction cost of a housing unit which is ETB33,518. This cost could vary by location, type of roofing and wall used to reconstruct, or any material or labor contribution from households.

The study forwarded questions on the characteristics of the housing type and structures for households to help visualize the material, type of roofing,

number of units and average cost of material, labour, and furnishing. This study participants on average used to own 2.8 housing units. Residential housing structures amounted for ETB 33,685,590.00, using an average estimate per average household housing unit ownership 2.8 multiplied by ETB33,518. The number and monetary value itself tells a lot about the scope of devastation in the respective woredas affected by conflict induced internal displacement in Metekel Zone. Female key informant, 65, from Debatie witnessed a house set on fire, pulled to the ground, grain stores looted or burned. We have no information about the status of remaining houses. As you can see, we are living in a tent, crowded, unsafe, insecure, and waiting for food handouts to make ends meet.

3.8. Effect on human lives: human fatalities, physical harm, and psychological trauma

The cost of conflict was multi-dimensional beyond material assets, inflicting loss of human lives. Historically, the scale and frequency of human casualties in the study area has been very small, unstructured, and mediated by elders, which has been manageable and does not lead to internal displacement (Amsalu, 2019). This figure covers only the ‘other people’ only, not the Gumuz (including those who died in the forest from disease and other fatalities), and losses during engagements with the national and regional army. According to the Metekel Crises Consultation 979 human lives have been lost between December 21, 2020, and January 21, 2021. Further, the video content analysis indicated 34 human fatalities at Debatie aired on November 15, 2020 (Al Jazeera), and 100 human lives killed in a gruesome attack in Benishangul Gumuz near the border with Amhara region aired on December 20, 2020 (Prameya News7), 42 people died in a military attack aired on December 20, 2020 (France 24 English), 200 people killed in Daleti aired on January 15, 2021 (My Views On The News), and 979 human lives lost in different parts of Metekel zone aired on January 26, 2021, (Arts TV). The survey participants n=272 (86%) experienced loss of life as an effect of social exclusion-induced conflict at their origin. Loss of body part and physical injury has been confirmed by n=173 (55%) households. Due to the intensity and continued conflict and fatalities in the area, it is not possible to get a full enumeration of human fatalities and different types of injuries

(including body parts loss), psychological and post conflict mental instability experienced by study participant households or those who remain at origin.

Exploring the psychological traits of social exclusion and conflict, the study participants identified stigma and discrimination as a key manifestation of the sociocultural dimension of social exclusion. Among the participants, n=148 (41%) confirmed experiencing stigma and discrimination due to their skin colour (n=216, 61%), language and ethnicity (n=335, 94%). The video content analysis confirmed trauma, psychological instability, breakdown of trust, and betrayal as severely affecting the social ties and cohesion at origin. The link between citizens and institutions (formal and informal) at different levels of government and society has been affected. The reliance of citizens on institutions to seek protection, redress for injustice and deprivation has deteriorated over time.

3.9. Estimates of the cost of conflict using national GDP per capita income

There are practices to estimate the cost of displacement from different causes. These include assessing the economic impact of displacement due to earthquake in Mexico and Nepal (IDMC 2018), and hurricane in Cuba (IDMC 2019). These reports used national GDP per capita income to estimate the cost of displacement multiplying with the number of displaced people and duration of displacement where people remain out of employment to gain income. The simple rationale provided is that people were not able to pursue their respective livelihoods due to displacement, hence lost income. Considering the known conflict incidents as cut-off for conflict induced displacement (November 2020 Dangur and December 2020 Debatie), and the reported number of displaced households the study estimated the monetary losses using the national GDP per capita income. Therefore, the estimation on loss of GDP per capita is designated as (L), multiplied by number of IDPs (I), multiplied by number of years (Y) IDPs stay out of production. Ethiopia's GDP per capita income in 2020 has been \$936.34 and \$855.76 in 2019 (World Bank 2019).

For the first round of displacement, taking the IDP data for Metekel zone 2019, IDPs spent more than a year out of production, and displaced for the second time. Hence, the GDP per capita income loss for the 2019 IDPs is,

Loss (L) = number of IDPs (I) x Year (Y) x GDP per capita income..... (i)

$$L = 27,008 \times (18\text{months}/12) \times \$855.76 = \$ 34,668,549.12$$

The last displacement trigger has been November 2020 (during June/July 2021 data collection) and IDPs have been in Ranch camp for over six months. Hence, for the 2020 November displaced households the total production loss in per capita income is:

$$L = 125,099 \times (7\text{months}/12) \times \$936.34 = \$68,328,865.30 \dots\dots (ii)$$

For the IDPs sheltered at the Ranch camp, 4,583 households the estimate could be,

$$L = 4,583 \times (7\text{months}/12) \times \$936.34 = \$2,503,226.96 \dots\dots (iii)$$

The losses are not insignificant both for the zone, region and the national economy. The study relied on mixed data sources, surveys, secondary sources, and interviews to assess the losses incurred due to the social exclusion-induced conflict. These are facts based on the number of IDPs, the duration of their displacement, and their income based on the GDP values for the period of displacement. These estimates are merely for the forgone production and losses to the gross domestic production and does not include the cost of rehabilitation and provision of protection services at the internal displacement camps.

4. Conclusion and Implications

This study explored the key drivers of social exclusion and how such exclusion manifested in conflict induced displacement of people. This displacement has devastated livelihoods of IDPs through losses incurred from agricultural production, livestock, household asset losses, human fatalities

and psychological trauma. The study estimated the cost of social exclusion induced conflict from forgone production and reestablishment need projection and the BGNRS Disaster Risk Management Agency. Losses are staggering high given the resource constraints to provide social services and economic opportunities for farming households. The cost of conflict in Metekel Zone for 125,099 households would have supported 110 high schools, 787 primary schools, 26,875 water points with pumping generators and spare parts, water treatment chemicals as the need dictates. For example, for 4583 internally displaced households at Ranch camp forgone production would have built 29 primary schools. At BGNRS level the cost of social exclusion induced conflict and internal displacement impact on agricultural production would have constructed between 2000 to 3000 farmers training centers, human and animal health facilities.

The way forward in BGNRS and Metekel zone shall focus on social inclusion for cohesive society as the cost of social exclusion induced conflict displacement redirects resources from development projects, fracturing society's cohesion, and incurring a preventable human fatality. The social cohesion work shall aim to heal breaks of intra household/group, intra household and communities to restore linkage and reliance of citizens on institutions as providers of services and protection. These could be operationalized through non sequenced three step approach. First, looking at relationships among households within residents of the region and Metekel Zone, Gumuz, Berta, Amhara, Shinasha, Oromo, Agew, etc. Second, working at the community level, such as, between Amhara and Shinasha, Gumuz and Oromo, Berta, and Amhara. Third, regain trust of residents of the region to formal and informal institutions on the supply and demand side to key values and rules as inscribed in independent and impartial institutions. These recommendations shall be actioned at Kebele, woreda, zone and regional levels of government.

This study will have a theoretical contribution through a contextualized framework for analysing and estimating the effect and cost of social exclusion induced conflict and internal displacement on agricultural produce, housing, agricultural tools, livestock, and human fatality. The security restrictions have

limited access to origin of displacement to conduct comparative analysis of losses and perspectives of the Gumuz and armed groups.

Acknowledgement

The authors acknowledge peer review comments from Aditya Sarkar.

Funding

The authors disclose that no funding is received to research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Reference

- Abbas Tashakkori and John W. Creswell. 2007. Editorial: Exploring the nature of research questions in mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1:3, 207-211.
- Al Jazeera. 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ymtm-ymkc6w>. Accessed December 25, 2020.
- Alula Pankhurst and Francois Piguet. 2004. *People, Space and the State: Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia*. Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Anthropologists. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Amsalu, Desalegn. 2019. *Understanding Social Roles in a Continuum: An Experience from Two Cultural Groups in Ethiopia*. SAGE Open 1-8.
- Anadolu Agency. 2019. *Ethiopia Reduces Internally Displaced Significantly*. Addis Ababa, 07 October, 2019.
- Arts TV. 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1PF26aF4N0>. Accessed January 26, 2021.
- Asnake Kefale. 2009. *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia: A Comparative Study of the Somali and Benishangul Gumuz Regions*. Universiteit Leiden.
- Bahiru Zewde. 1991. *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1955–1974*. London: James Curry.
- Benishangul Gumuz Regional State. 2002. “Benishangul Gumuz Regional State Revised Constitution Approval Proclamation No 031/2002.” Assosa.
- . 2002. *Benihsangul Gumuz Regional State Revised Constitution Approval Proclamation No 031/2002*. Assosa.
- . 2010. *BGNRS Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation No. 85 /2010. Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation No. 85/2010*. Assosa: BGNRS Rural Land Administration and Use Bureau.
- . 2021. *BGNRS Emergency Coordination Center*. Assosa.

- Benishangul Gumuz Regional State Disaster Risk Management Agency and United Nations Organization for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. June 2020. Report of Inter-Agency Multi-Sectoral Rapid Needs Assessment in the IDP Return Areas of Metekel Zone, Benishangul Gumuz Region. Addis Ababa.
- Benishangul Gumuz Emergency Coordination Center. March 2021. Benishangul Gumuz Region Metekel Zone Emergency Coordination Center IDP Data. Gilgel Beles: Benishangul Gumuz.
- Bernard, H. Russell. 2006. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 4. Oxford, United Kingdom: Alta Maria Press.
- Bohman, James. 2003. Theories, Practices and Pluralism: A Pragmatic Interpretation of Critical Social Science. In *Philosophies of Social Science: The Classic and Contemporary Readings*, by Gerard and Strydom, Piet Delanty, 459-480. Open University.
- Bohnet, H., Cottier, F., and Hug, S. 2018. Conflict-Induced IDPs and the Spread of Conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62 (4) 691-716.
- Bourgeois, Sandra B. Rosenthal and Patrick L. 1977. Pragmatism, Scientific Method, and the Phenomenological Return to Lived Experience. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. 38, No. 1 56-65.
- Buli, Edjeta. 2006. *The Socio-Economic Dimensions of Development Induced Impoverishment: The Case of the Karrayu Oromo of the Upper Awash Valley*. Addis Ababa: Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University.
- Bureau of Agriculture. 2022. *Crop Production Report*. Assosa.
- Bureau of Agriculture. 2022. *Arable Land in Hectarge and Crop Production Plan and Achievements 2017/18-2020/21*. Assosa: Bureau of Agriculture.
- Conway Gordon and Robert Chambers. 1991. *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century*. IDS Discussion Paper No 296. Institute of Development Studies.
- Central Statistical Agency. 2020. *Agricultural Sample Survey, 2019/2020 (2012 E.C.) Volume I, Report on Area and Production of Major Crops (Private Peasant Holdings, Meher Season)*. Statistical Bulletin 589. Addis Ababa: Central Statistical Agency.
- . 2019. *Agricultural Sample Survey: 2018/19 (2011 E.C.), Volume-I*. Addis Ababa: Central Statistics Agency.
- . 2007. *Ethiopia Census*. Addis Ababa: Central Stastics Agency.
- . 2013. *Population Projections for Ethiopia 2007-2037*. Addis Ababa: Central Statstics Authority.

- . 2021. Population Size by Sex, Region, Zone and Wereda. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Dagne, Shibu. 2009. Ethnic Conflict in East Africa: An Over View of Causes and Consequences. *ABHINAV Journal*, Volume No.2, Issue No.4. page 16-27. ISSN 2277-1182. 12-27.
- Daniel, Wayne. 1995. *Biostatistics: A Foundation for Analysis in the Health Sciences*, 7th Edition. United States: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Das, Maitreyi Bordia. 2016. Social Inclusion in Macro-Level Diagnostics Reflecting on the World Bank Group's Early Systematic Country Diagnostics. Policy Research Working paper. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Das, Maitreyi Bordia, and Sabina Anne Espinoza. 2019. Inclusion Matters in Africa. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- de Haan, L. 2012. The livelihood approach: a critical exploration. *Erdkunde*, Vol. 66. No. 4. 345–357.
- Department for International Development. 1999. Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. London.
- Eddy Smith and Frank Vanclay. 2017. The Social Framework for Projects: a conceptual but practical model to assist in assessing, planning and managing the social impacts of projects. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 35:1, DOI: 10.1080/1461551 65-80.
- Ellis, Frank and Stephen Biggs. 2001. Evolving Themes in Rural Development 1950s-2000s. Volume19, Issue 4 Special Issue: Rethinking Rural Development. Pages 437-448.
- Farmer, Barbara Rylko Bauer and Paul. 2016. Structural Violence, Poverty and Social Suffering. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Social Science of Poverty*, by David Brady and Linda M Burton, 47-71. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. 1995. Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Proclamation No. 1/1995. Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa, August 21, 1995.
- Feleke, Tadele. 2006. Migration, livelihoods and wellbeing across four communities in Ethiopia: Wellbeing in Developing Countries. Migration, livelihoods and wellbeing across four communities in Ethiopia. Economic and Social Research Council, University of Bath.
- Fiala, Nathan. 2015. "Economic Consequences of Forced Displacement." *The Journal of Development Studies*, 51, no (10):1275-1293.

- Fischer, Dietrich. 2013. Violence: Direct, Structural and Cultural. In Johan Galtung, A Pioneer of Peace Research: Springer Briefs on Pioneer in Science and Practice 5, 35-41. London: Springer.
- France 24English. December 20, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wvyO5tLQonY&t=34s>.
- Galtung, John. 1969. Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research* 6 (3) 167-191.
- Getaneh, Mehari. 2004. Agricultural Development Models Reviewed (Implied Practices in Ethiopia). Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ethiopian Economy. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Economic Association. 201-230.
- Giacobbi, Peter R. Jr., Artur Poczwadowski, and Peter F and Hager. 2005. A Pragmatic Research Philosophy for Applied Sport Psychology. *Sport Psychologist*, March 2005, Vol. 19 Issue 1, page 18-31.
- Gikay Asress Adimi. 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g_e3iV1QDmk. Accessed on January 20, 2021.
- Gollin, Stefan Dercon and Douglas. 2019. Agriculture's Changing Role in Ethiopia's Economic Transformation. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*, by Christopher Cramer, and Arkebe Oqubay Fantu Cheru. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198814986.013.30.
- Gupta, Joyeeta and V., Cornelissen and Ros-Tonen, Mirjam. 2015. Inclusive Development. *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Politics and Governance* 35-44.
- Haack, S. 1997. Vulgar Rortyism. *New Criterion*, 16 (3). 67-70.
- Habtamu Seyoum, Debash Yidersal. 2020. Land Administration Policy Implementation Challenges, the Case of Benishagul Gumuz Region, Western Ethiopia. *International Journal of Scientific Research and Engineering Development (IJSRED)*, Volume 3-Issue 4, 661-679.
- Hay, M., Skinner, J., and Norton, A. 2019. Dam-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: A Literature Review. Manchester: Future DAMS Working Paper 004, The University of Manchester.
- International Displacement Monitoring Center. 2022. Global Report on Internal Displacement. <https://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/ethiopia>.
- . 2019. Lost Production Due to Internal Displacement: Cuba, 2008: Hurricane Ike. Geneva: <https://www.internal-displacement.org/>.
- . 2019. Global Report on Internal Displacement: Ethiopia Spotlight. International Displacement Monitoring Center.

- . 2018. Lost Production due to Internal Displacement. Geneva: <https://www.internal-displacement.org>.
- International Fund for Agricultural Development. 2016. Rural Development Report 2016: Fostering Inclusive Rural Transformation. Rome, Italy: International Fund for Agricultural Development.
- International Monetary Fund. 2013. Ethiopia: 2013 Article IV Consultation. Washington DC: International Monetary Fund, IMF.
- International Organization for Migration. 2019. Comparison of Displacement Tracking Matrix – Round 7 (Sep-Oct 2017) and Round 15 (Jan-Feb 2019). International Organization for Migration.
- . 2017. Displacement Tracking Matrix, Ethiopia, November 2017. International Organization for Migration.
- . 2021. Ethiopia National Displacement Report 8 Site Assessment Round 25 and Village Assessment Survey Round 8: March 2021-April 2021. Addis Ababa: International Organization for Migration.
- . 2019. Comparison of Displacement Tracking Matrix – Round 7 (Sep-Oct 2017) and Round 15 (Jan-Feb 2019). International Organization for Migration.
- James Keeley, Wondwossen Michago Seide, Abdurehman Eid and Admasu Lokeley. 2013. Large-scale land investment in Ethiopia: How much land is being allocated, and features and outcomes of investments to date. Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED).
- Jean-François Maystadt, Kalle Hirvonen, Athur Mabiso, Joachim Vandecasteele. 2019. Impacts of Hosting Forced Migrants in Poor Countries. *Annual Review of Resource Economics*, 11:1 439-459.
- John Abbink. 2011. Ethnic-based federalism and ethnicity in Ethiopia. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 5:4, 596-618. doi:10.1080/17531055.2011.642516.
- John, Cresswell. 2009. *Study Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publication.
- Kothari, C.R. 2004. *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques* (2nd revised edition). New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.
- Levitas, Ruth. 2006. Chapter Five, The Concept and Measurement of Social Exclusion. Extract from Pantazis, C., Gordon, D. and Levitas, R. (2006) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain*, Bristol, The Policy Press.
- Mehari, Tadele Maru. 2017. *Causes, Dynamics and Consequences of Internal Displacement*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.

- Ministry of Finance and Economic Development. 2015. Ethiopia: Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program. <https://www.imf.org/External/NP/prsp/2002/eth/01/073102.pdf>.
- . 2016. GTP-I English Version: Growth and transformation plan one feedback. Five Year Plan, Addis Ababa.
- Ministry of Peace and National Disaster Risk Management Commission. 2019. Strategic Plan to Address Internal Displacement in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa.
- Ministry of Peace. 2019. IDP Recovery Plan Outline. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Peace.
- Morgan, D.L. 2014. Pragmatism as a Paradigm for Social Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*.
- My Views On News. January 15, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ykwelVx11M>.
- National Planning Commission. 2016. Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II) (2015/16-2019/20): Volume I: Main Text. Addis Ababa: FDRE National Planning Commission.
- National Planning and Development Commission. 2021. Ten year Development Plan-Popular Copy. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: National Planning and Development Commission.
- Neuman, W. L. 2014. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Seventh edition. Pearson Education Limited.
- North, Douglass C. 2003. *The Role of Institutions in Economic Development*. Discussion Paper Series No 2003. 2. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.
- National Planning Commission. 2018. GTP-II Midterm Review. Addis Ababa: National Planning Commission.
- Norwegian Refugee Council. 2019. Global Report on Internal Displacement. News release, Norwegian Refugee Council.
- Odisha News. December 25, 2020. ParameyaNews7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GChJXXHHuag>.
- Ohno, Kenichi. 2009. *Agricultural Development Led Industrialization and Future Directions for Industrial Development*. GRIPs.
- Office of the Prime Minister. 2019. Ethiopia Home Grown Economic Reform. Presentation, Addis Ababa: Office of the Prime Minister.
- Planning and Development Commission. 2021. *Ten Year Development Plan 2021-2030: A Pathway to Prosperity*. Addis Ababa.
- Rorty, R. 1999. *Philosophy and Social Hope*. London: Penguin.

- Scoones, Iain. 1998. *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis*, IDS Working Paper 72, Brighton: IDS.
- Semones, J. K. (1990). *Sociology: A Core Text*. Fort Worth: Ted Buchholz.
- Siraw Migbaru. 2015. Weaknesses of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, volume 4 (1), 49-54.
- United Nations. 2015. *Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* A/RES/70/1. New York: www.sustainabledevelopment.un.org.
- White, Sarah C. 2010. *Analysing Wellbeing: A Framework for development Practice*. *Social Development in Practice*. Vol 20, No. 2 158-172.
- Wondim Tiruneh. 2020. *The Socio-Cultural History, the Economic and Political Development of the Minority Society: The Case of Benishangul Gumuz (1991-2018)*. *American International Journal of Social Science Research*; Vol. 5, No. 2. 8-18.
- World Bank. 2021. *Poverty and Equity Brief, Ethiopia Africa Eastern and Southern*. April 2021. Washington DC: The World Bank Group.
- . 2019. *Informing Durable Solutions for Internal Displacement In Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan*. Washington DC: The World Bank Group.
- . 2015. *World Development Indicators*. Washington DC: The World Bank Group.
- . 2013. *Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity*. Washington DC: The World Bank Group.