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Exploring the Consequences of Land Expropriation on the Food Security of Peri-Urban Indigenous Communities in Addis Ababa

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Abstract

Rapid urbanization in Ethiopia, driven by the government's efforts to modernize and diversify the economy, has led to significant land expropriation in the capital city of Addis Ababa and its surrounding areas. This process has resulted in the displacement of peri-urban indigenous communities, particularly in the Addis Ababa and Sheger cities in Oromia region. This study investigates the socio-economic, cultural, and policy implications of land acquisition on these communities. Through a comprehensive literature review and analysis of a survey of 223 evicted households in Lemmi Kura Sub city of Addis Ababa, we examine the consequences of land dispossession, including loss of livelihood, food insecurity, and inadequate compensation and rehabilitation measures. We also explore potential mitigation strategies, such as sustainable urban planning, land use management, and strengthening community resilience. Our findings highlight the urgent need for inclusive policies that prioritize the rights and well-being of marginalized communities while promoting sustainable urban development.

1. Introduction

Over the past thirty years, urban Ethiopia has undergone significant development as the government aimed to modernise and diversify the economy, transitioning from a reliance on subsistence agriculture. However, controversy and debate have greeted the implementation of this expansion. Critics argue that the rapid expansion and development of urban areas in Ethiopia have led to the deterioration of rural regions, particularly those bordering municipalities.

The capital city, Addis Ababa, has expanded its boundaries into the Oromia region, resulting in the displacement of peri-urban and indigenous farmers during the process of land acquisition. Consequently, affected communities have had to establish new ways of making a living and have seen internal migration into the city as former farmers seek off-farm employment opportunities. Unfortunately, there is limited existing literature that explores the impact of Addis Ababa's land acquisition on these farming communities and how it has influenced rural-urban relations and development.

Against this backdrop, the research aims to thoroughly investigate and document the effects of Addis Ababa's land acquisition on peri-urban and indigenous farmers in the city. Additionally, it seeks to deepen our understanding of the connections between rural and urban areas and development, particularly in the context of the rapid growth experienced by third-world cities like Addis Ababa. This research will help shed light on any opportunities that may have arisen for affected communities in terms of improving their livelihoods and addressing issues of poverty and food insecurity.



1.1. Contextual Background

The process of urbanisation has had a significant impact on marginalised indigenous Oromo farmers, especially in Ethiopia. The rapid growth of cities and the implementation of land leasing programmes have resulted in the unfortunate displacement of these communities, leading to the loss of their livelihoods and cultural heritage. This displacement not only affects their physical and material well-being but also disrupts the social fabric of these marginalised Oromo farmers who live in the peri urban of Addis Ababa and its surroundings, challenging their sense of belonging and identity (Regasa et al., 2023; Tesfaw, 2022; Kahsay, 2020; Wayessa, 2020).

However, it's crucial to acknowledge that efforts are underway to tackle these challenges and foster inclusive urban development. Globally, stakeholders such as government bodies, non-governmental organisations, and grassroots movements are working together to find innovative and sustainable solutions. The main objective of such initiative is to create urban spaces that embrace diversity, promote fairness, and empower marginalised social groups (Dahiya & Das, 2020) (Hepburn et al., 2021) (Goodman et al., 2020) (Medeiros & van der Zwet, 2020).

To attain just and enduring urban development, it is imperative to adopt a thorough approach that encompasses economic, social, and environmental dimensions. The key lies in enacting all-encompassing policies and practices that give precedence to the requirements and ambitions of marginalised communities. These inclusive policies entail actively engaging these groups in the decision-making and planning processes and valuing their viewpoints. Moreover, it necessitates the provision of crucial services and infrastructure, including adequate housing, unpolluted water, education, healthcare, and transportation facilities, within these regions. Recognising the multiple challenges faced by marginalised communities and understanding the complex dynamics that perpetuate their socio-economic exclusion is vital to breaking the cycle of marginalisation and discrimination. Empowering marginalised groups involves investing in their skills development, creating employment opportunities, and promoting entrepreneurship. Additionally, fostering a culture of respect, tolerance, and acceptance among all members of society, regardless of their social or economic background, is essential (Jamatia, 2023; Geza et al., 2022).

Various stakeholders must collaborate and work together to create equitable and impartial cities. Government bodies have a crucial role to play in enacting and enforcing policies that protect the rights of marginalised groups. Civil society organisations, academia, and the private sector also have a responsibility to align their efforts with the inclusive agenda and contribute to the overall well-being of marginalised communities.

The journey towards fair and sustainable urbanisation is undoubtedly challenging. However, by acknowledging and understanding the difficulties faced by marginalised groups and working together towards the common goal of inclusivity, we can envision a future where cities are equitable and impartial spaces for everyone. This requires a commitment from all members of society as we strive to build urban environments that celebrate diversity, preserve cultural heritage, and provide opportunities for growth and prosperity for all.

1.2. The Research Objective

This research objective is to understand how urban expansion projects influence the socio-economic, livelihood and food security of the peri urban displaced farmers in Addis Ababa. We can determine the impact on previous peri urban farmers by conducting interviews with evicted farmers. By consulting with



different small holder farmers, the study will provide a detailed account of socio-economic impacts in various communities tied to Lemmi Kura Sub city in Addis Ababa.

2. Peri-Urban Farming Communities

One of the starkest consequences of the land dealing is the displacement of peri-urban farmers and the expropriation of their land. In order to fully understand the effect of land acquisition on these farmers, it is important to clarify the definition and characteristics of peri-urban farming communities. Although there is no universally accepted definition of peri-urban, many authors have attempted to define and characterize the term. According to Ledesma (2006), the term peri-urban reflects an area of social and spatial transition where city and countryside integrate. Maxwell (1995) expands on this definition by defining peri-urban zones as the interface between rural and urban activities, where there is increased competition for natural resources. This competition for natural resources and the transition from rural to urban activities is a consistent theme in all definitions of peri-urban and is crucial to understanding the consequences of land acquisitions in the name of urban development in Addis Ababa often occur on the outskirts of the city, which is home to many peri-urban Oromo farmers (Purushothaman & Vanjari, 2022) (Brakke, 2023).

2.1. Definition and Characteristics

Cities rely on rural and peri-urban regions to meet their food requirements, and peri-urban agriculture plays a crucial role in ensuring food supply for urban areas. It has been estimated that approximately one third of the global urban population resides in areas where over 20 percent of the food is produced locally. This becomes even more significant in developing nations, where urban populations are experiencing rapid growth. A study conducted on 28 cities in Africa and Asia revealed that, on average, 32 percent of households practiced some form of agriculture, contributing 37 percent of the food consumed by rural and urban households. In urban areas, this translated to an average of 1.4 kg of food per household per day (Nicholls et al., 2020) (Langemeyer et al.2021) (Lipton, 2023) (Albert et al.2021).

Peri-urban agriculture is situated on the outskirts of urban regions. Despite its prevalence in nearly all countries, it remains poorly understood and often overlooked as a distinct sector. Within both developing and more developed nations, this sector holds great significance and scale. It differs from traditional rural agriculture due to its close association with both urban and rural areas. According to Weber (1997), periurban areas can be defined as transitional zones between urban and rural regions. Although specific definitions may differ among countries and continents, we cannot ignore the existence of peri-urban agriculture in most urban and peri-urban areas. Unfortunately, this reality has yet to receive full recognition and has only recently gained attention. This is primarily due to the negative perceptions surrounding agriculture as solely a rural activity, the lack of regard for the environment, and the weak political support it receives (Drescher et al.2021) (Follmann et al., 2021) (Marçal et al., 2021).

2.2. Importance of Peri-Urban Agriculture

Agriculture plays a crucial role for peri-urban farmers as it offers employment opportunities and a source of income for small-scale farmers living in and around cities. Due to the high population density in these areas, farming is often intense and heavily reliant on irrigation. Market demands, urban employment, and rural farming practices closely connect the farmers and their region. In the context of Addis Ababa, this bears significant importance, reflecting the unique economic and social position of peri-urban farmers.



The ability to earn cash income allows them to access food, education, and improved living conditions for themselves and their families. For smallholder farmers, this translates into increased availability and choice of food, thereby improving their nutritional status. This aspect holds particular significance in Ethiopia, a country still grappling with widespread food insecurity and poverty. (Mohammed et al., 2020) (Serbessa et al.2023) (Tufa & Megento, 2022) (Weldearegay et al., 2021).

2.3. Challenges Faced by Peri-Urban Farmers

Based on interviews with farmers in the peri urban areas, various studies have highlighted the numerous challenges faced by peri-urban farmers. One key issue frequently mentioned by farmers is the diminishing availability and accessibility of land. Many individuals express frustration that despite residing in the area for a long time, they are now being denied the opportunity to use land that was previously theirs. This is due to increasing land prices driven by land speculators and urban landowners who are willing to offer large sums of money for the property. These farmers often find themselves forcefully displaced without receiving any fair compensations. Their limited education, lack of knowledge about legal matters, or low socio-economic status make it difficult for them to effectively resist these displacements. Moreover, even those who have formal leases or land use rights discover that their entitlements become invalid when the government decides to convert peri-urban land into urban land, overriding any previous agreements with the farmers (Erasu Tufa & Lika Megento, 2022) (Koroso et al., 2020) (Adam, 2020) (Wubie et al., 2020) (Abeeb2020) (Woldegebriel & Girma) (Adigeh & Abebe, 2023) (Tura, 2020) (Abera et al., 2022) (Koroso et al., 2021).

3. Materials and methods

3.1. Research design

Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection were used, Household questionnaire survey and key informants interviews were conducted in the study areas. The study areas were selected purposively because of the areas are the recent urban expansion area of the city and more than 12 thousands peri urban farmers displaced farmers exist in the sub city. Out of these, the government currently provide a direct cush support for 415 displaced household farmers. Therefore, the researcher conducted a household survey and key informant interview with these direct support beneficiaries.

The survey instrument was divided into multiple sections. The first section included inquiries pertaining to the socioeconomic characters of farmers who experienced land loss. The second section of the questionnaire assessed the food security status of the farmers using a range of statements. The final phase of this study assessed the impact of land acquisition on livelihood. The fourth section comprises assertions pertaining to the subjective well-being of farmers.

3.2. Study area and data collection

This study employs a qualitative and quantitative approaches to investigate the determinants of household food security among peri urban farmers who have experienced land expropriation in three woredas (Woreda 2 (Ayat), Woreda 6 (Bole Arabsa), and Woreda 14 (Ekka Abbado)) of Lemmi Kura Sub City in Addis Ababa. Lemi Kura sub city is one of the 11 sub cities in Addis Ababa and is a newly established one compared to the rest of the sub cities. Lemmi Kura is known for its new urbanized and Addis Ababa's recent highly expanded sub city. Real estates such as Ayat, Sun Shine, Gift, Addis Mender, Noh, etc. highly expanded their real estate projects by displacing peri urban farmers without compensation or Birr



1.22 to 3.00 per square meter of agricultural land compensation from 1997 to 2018. This amount of compensation could purchase may be a cup of tea for a labor workers.

Similarly, a huge condominium housing projects were constructed by expropriating agricultural land from the peri urban farmers in Ekka Abbado, Bole Arabsa and Ayat 49 areas by the city government during 2000 -2018. The compensation paid by the city government and the real estate developers to the displaced peri urban farmers was also unfair.

A total of 223 samples were obtained out of the 415 total direct support beneficiaries. The sample size was determined using a sample size determination formulae for a known population. Then the samples were randomly selected from the three Woredas. The key informants were selected from the knowledgeable persons from the displaced households in living the study area. The survey questionnaire were administered by the trained and experienced enumerators from February 20 to March 22, 2024. The responses were subsequently collected on a questionnaire in electronic using CSPRO software. The survey was conducted with complete anonymity. Informed verbal consent was obtained from all study participants. For this purpose, a statement about the purpose of the study was written at the beginning of the survey questionnaire and read to the study participants before beginning the survey. In this way, information was gathered from only those participants who gave their consent to participate in this study. The quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS Version 28.

4. Socio-Economic Consequences

Government land acquisition from 1997 - 2018 in Addis Ababa results in displacement in two distinct ways. The first form affects individuals residing in the peri-urban area, causing them to lose their farmland and potentially relocate to the city in search of wage labor opportunities. This transition, however, often means moving from one unfavorable situation to another. These farmers not only lose their rural way of life and means of livelihood, but they also fail to obtain urban employment, which typically improves their circumstances. Additionally, this migration from rural to urban areas could potentially lead to the fragmentation of families, as men seek wage labor in the city, while women and children either remain in the rural region or relocate to the city along with their husband/father.

The second form of displacement, which is pertinent to the peri urban farmers displacement in Addis Ababa, takes place within the city itself, where farmers may be forced to move from the land they have been cultivating and residing on, to squatter camps due to the inability to afford the ever-rising rent or land prices. Consequently, this situation can also result in the disintegration of the community, as well as the loss of mutual aid and support among its members.

4.1. Displacement and Relocation

Displacement entails the involuntary relocation of individuals from their ancestral territories, resulting in significant social, psychological, and economic challenges. Displacement has manifested in various forms within both peri-urban and rural communities. It has notably impacted farmers in Addis Ababa, where extensive urbanization and industrialization initiatives have led to the displacement of a large number of farmers due to land acquisitions aimed at transforming agricultural lands into urban enclaves or industrial zones. The primary motivations for land acquisition revolve around the government's aspirations to modernize the city and stimulate economic growth through industrial development and urbanization. Farmers who endure displacement as a consequence of such land acquisitions suffer the detrimental consequences of losing their agricultural lands. A displacement in Lemmi Kura sub city of Addis Ababa



due to condominium housing projects by the government, real estate developers such as Ayat, Noha, Sun Shine Construction, Addis Real Estate, Gift Real Estate, and many more illustrating this is the endeavor to modernize Addis Ababa by establishing contemporary enclaves. In 1996, the Addis Ababa City Council identified 14,700 hectares of land as suitable for constructing modern enclaves and subsequently initiated the expropriation process. This resulted in the displacement of numerous farmers with the aim of transforming the land into a modern city center. The farmers were simply forced off their lands, often receiving minimal or no compensation, and were given the option to relocate to surrounding rural areas in an attempt to resume their farming livelihoods (Koroso et al., 2020) (Wayessa2020) (Debelo & Soboka, 2023) (Ayele & Tarekegn, 2020) (Mersha et al., 2022) (Tura, 2020).

4.2 Results

4.2. 1 Loss of Livelihood and Food Security

The majority of peri-urban farmers acquire land to fulfill their need for food security. They do this as a precautionary measure in the event that alternative employment and income sources fail. Losing their land results in the opposite: food insecurity and a possibility of re-entering the job market, which is very remote for the displaced farmers or rarely becoming guards for the real estate developers. Respondents expressed their desire to work and sustain themselves although such opportunities are snatched by large unemployed youth who migrated to the city from all over Ethiopia.

In Lemi Kura sub city of Addis Ababa, the displaced households were asked whether their households were food secured throughout 12 months before the eviction and after the eviction period. The researcher assessed meal adequacy, healthy and variety, frequency, production, and affordability of the households in household food security. The result shows that more than two third of the respondents fulfill all the five food security indicators before the eviction whereas four-fifth of the respondents fail fulfilling all the food security indicators after eviction (Table 1). The mean level of food security through out the year is 21.08 percent after eviction, whereas it was 87.44 percent before the eviction took place. Table 1 shows that 80 percent of the respondents are at highly food insecurity level and fail in all food security indicators after land expropriation took place, whereas about 90 percent of the respondents were at a very good food security level with fulfilling all the food security indicators before the eviction took place. This implies that there is a significant shift from food security to food insecurity due to the eviction and loss of agricultural land in the study area.



Source: Own survey February 2024



As shown on Figure 1, the level of food insecurity is at a very severe level for the displaced farmers after the displacement as compared to before the displacement. About 80 percent of the displaced farmers are at a very severe food insecurity level as compared to 66 percent before the displacement.



Figure 2 shows that although the respondents, although 64 percent of the respondents can have only two meals per day after the displacement, they failed to achieve their household food security in all indicators. The respondent are at in a terrible food security situation in having access to adequate food, healthy and nutritious food, producing or affording to purchase food.



As shown on Figure 3, the respondents iterated that they had a better food security level before they were evicted from their farm land in having access to adequate food, healthy and nutritious food, number of meals per day, and producing or affording to buy food through out a year.



4.3 Discussion

Compared to urban areas, farming is a less risky approach to ensure long-term food availability. Employment in cities is uncertain, with a constant fear of job termination. The loss of land means that farmers not only lose their primary means of cultivating food, but also have to seek employment elsewhere in order to purchase food. Over time, there is a potential risk of agrarian communities transitioning into labor communities. The loss of livelihood has broader and often more harmful impacts on urban communities due to the complex demographics and regional factors associated with farming near cities. Farming serves as a secondary occupation for impoverished highlanders who have migrated in search of work and usually reside in economically disadvantaged outskirts. They engage in construction work during dry seasons and farming during rainy seasons. The loss of land for these farmers often results in a loss of job opportunities in urban areas that offer sporadic employment. There is a risk that these migrants may return to rural areas, further straining already overcrowded rural resources and negatively impacting the environment (Mohammed et al., 2020) (Nigussie et al., 2021) (Teklemariam & Cochrane, 2021) (Erasu Tufa & Lika Megento, 2022).

4.3. 1 Income Disparity and Inequality

In a nation with an already significant income gap, the acquisition of peri-urban land for urban development by government and private entities may exacerbate poverty levels among indigenous and farming communities. The absence of secure land tenure often compels farmers to sell their land at prices below market value, using the compensation they receive to purchase consumer goods like clothing and televisions. Consequently, they fail to invest in income-generating enterprises for the future. In cases of compulsory acquisition, affected individuals are often in such a hurry to relocate that they abandon their crops and tools, resulting in a loss of income and the means to generate additional revenue. As a result, two main consequences arise: many farmers migrate to urban areas in search of employment and financial stability, and if unsuccessful, they rely on loans from family and friends to survive. In the worst-case scenario, farmers default on these loans, leaving the land they recently sold or took from them as their only remaining asset. Researchers have extensively documented this cycle among slum dwellers in developing nations, suggesting that numerous farmers may face the same predicament. The inclination to move to urban centers further pushes these individuals, thus widening the income gap between impoverished farmers and urban residents, whom they hope to secure employment from (Mersha et al., 2022) (Adigeh & Abebe, 2023) (Mohammed et al., 2020) (Koroso et al., 2020) (Baye et al., 2020).

5. Policy and Governance Issues

Resettlement and villagization programs have frequently aimed their efforts at indigenous communities living in rural areas. The purpose behind this has been to clear the way for large-scale state initiatives and commercial agricultural investments. Unfortunately, the relocation of these communities has resulted in the loss of their means of living and cultural heritage. (Coulibaly & Li, 2020)Addis Ababa's strategy for urban development is mainly founded on the 'New Master Plan for Addis Ababa and the Sheger City Surrounding Addis Ababa', which was put into effect in 2006. This plan is significant because it outlines the city's expansion, projecting an eventual increase in the city boundary to encompass approximately 5,328.37 square kilometers. This is a substantial expansion compared to its current size of about 520 square kilometers. The expansion of the city limits holds significance because the Addis Ababa city government possesses legal authority over land usage and administration within its municipal boundaries. The city



boundary converts the land into urban land, securing leasehold tenure. By incorporating rural land into the city, the urbanization process essentially severs farmers' secure land use rights. (Terrefe, 2020) (Seifu & Stellmacher, 2021).

The regulation of land acquisition in Addis Ababa is governed by the urban land leaseholding laws, most of which were initially implemented in 1975 and later revised and codified in 1993. In essence, a leasehold agreement owns the land within urban areas, treating farmers as state tenants. Farmers residing in periurban regions frequently face land acquisition due to their proximity to urban centers, despite constitutional safeguards specifically protecting them, including a provision stating that urban expansion will not affect their rural land usage rights. Additionally, the lack of official land titles makes it easier for the government to claim that the land is either vacant or state-owned. (Wubie et al., 2020) (Weldegebriel et al.2021) (Koroso et al., 2020) (Baye et al., 2020) (Koroso et al., 2021).

5.1. Land Tenure and Ownership Rights

Over the past two decades, the Ethiopian government's efforts to modernize have significantly impacted the traditional ethnic structures of land ownership. The expansion of Addis Ababa, particularly in the periurban areas where agriculture is prevalent, has led to the expropriation of agricultural lands for urban purposes. In many parts of the Third World, land ownership is based on customs and traditions, embedded within cultural and social systems. The kebeles, established by the Derg regime in the 1970s to implement socialist principles, saw land being confiscated by the government and farmers' rights being converted into leaseholds. The older generation of farmers still views the land as communal property, rather than something that can be bought and sold privately. Currently, the respondents complain that, although the constitution of the country specifies land belongs to the government and the nations', nationalities', and peoples' property, in the situation on the ground is completely different. In the study case in Lemmi Kura sub city, the respondents mentioned that the land is indirectly belongs to the land dealers and the government officials working in Woreda, Sub cities and city levels. Mainly, officials in the departments of land administration and related sectors are deciding on the land. Peri urban farmers and residents do not have full right on their land. As a result, they are living in a desperate situation. They have a fear of losing their remaining land. In other studies conducted in Entoto, a kebele in Addis Ababa, revealed that farmers often perceive the land as still belonging to the government. They have only temporary access and rights to the specific plots they cultivate, relying on the goodwill of the state. Land speculators and urban developers have taken land for urban expansion without providing any form of compensation, leaving peri-urban farmers vulnerable to encroachment. In the 1990s, the formalization of the land market heightened the possibility of land sales, leading to the deception or coercion of many farmers into selling their land at incredibly low prices. Once they lose their land, it becomes immensely challenging for farmers to find alternative land and secure affordable tenure. Consequently, many end up migrating to urban slums and impoverished areas, working as laborers in the very same agricultural sector they were once landowners in (Ayele & Tarekegn, 2020) (Mersha et al., 2022) (Adigeh & Abebe, 2023) (Debelo & Soboka, 2023) (Koroso et al., 2020) (Dires et al.2021).

5.2. Lack of Consultation and Participation

Land acquisition refers to the process of transferring land ownership from one group to another. In the case of peri-urban and indigenous farming communities, they are considered land users rather than actual landowners. However, this distinction does not diminish the detrimental effects of land acquisition on



these communities. The communities of Lemmi Kura sub city and that of Yeka Abado, Bole Arabsa, Ayat and other villages did not receive consultation prior to the seizure of their land, despite the importance of inclusive decision-making processes. They received no information about the upcoming changes, the reasoning behind them, or their own rights and entitlements. When a representative from Lemmi Kura reached out to the Mayor of Addis Ababa to inquire about the forceful confiscation of their land, their efforts proved fruitless. A key informant from the respondents mentioned that there was a time when a former Mayor named Ali Abdo who said to them that the government provided the land to them (the indigenous farmers) for only cultivating and collecting the straws of their grains and not the land itself.

5.3. Inadequate Compensation and Rehabilitation Measures

The issue of compensation is crucial for peri-urban farmers impacted by urban expansion, as it significantly influences their capacity to reconstruct their lifestyle. Most peri-urban farmers in Addis Ababa have limited savings and often carry debt due to the ongoing struggle against diminishing farmland resources. This poses significant challenges for displaced farmers in establishing themselves in new livelihoods. According to a report from the World Bank, only a small percentage, approximately 10-20%, of those who are displaced by development projects in developing nations are successful in restoring their livelihoods to the levels they had before the project. The remaining 80-90% are likely to find themselves in the urban underclass, sinking further into poverty, losing access to healthcare and education, and facing food insecurity, which is exactly similar to the case in the study. We should avoid the potential for such severe ramifications on the livelihoods of peri-urban farmers at all costs, considering the aim of achieving sustainable poverty reduction in a country where the majority of the population relies on subsistence agriculture (Dires et al.2021, Getachew, 2020).

6. Conclusion

The research findings indicate that land deals on customary land of indigenous farmers can be highly consequential, affecting their livelihood strategies and posing a threat to the cultural integrity of their community. Similarly, the dispossession of land from peri-urban farmers can have even more detrimental effects on their livelihood strategies and initiate a process of proletarianization. The conversion of valuable land in peri-urban areas into various purposes, such as the real-estate and condominium housing projects, infrastructure development, and industrial zones, often leads to state-endorsed land acquisition, forced evictions, and dispossession. In Ethiopia, the government land use changes, easily transforming the farmers into coerced land deals that can have devastating consequences for farmers who lose access to essential land and resources that sustain their livelihood strategies. Considering the complex nature of land deals and their varying impacts on households and farming communities, it is crucial to examine the consequences of land acquisition on peri-urban and indigenous farming communities from multiple perspectives. So, the study carefully looked at the features and patterns of land acquisitions in both peri-urban and indigenous farming communities. It showed that land acquisitions can have different effects on households and change how people make a living in both situations.

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