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**The incorporation of rural kebeles in to urban areas as
a mechanism of creating urban-rural linkage in
Bahirdar: the case of Tis abay and Meshenti**

By

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Abstract

Ethiopian federal urban policy (2013) basically provides directions for urban development. Since the fate of urban development is determined by rural development, carrying out healthy rural-urban linkage is paramount important. When there is genuine rural-urban linkage, the urban areas would get agricultural products, excess labor, and land for investment and urban expansion. Similarly, the rural-areas would benefit from amenities of urban areas such as infrastructure, municipal services, educated manpower etc.

The central issue of this study is to investigate whether rural-urban linkage, particularly incorporating of rural kebeles in to Bahirdar has achieved or is likely to achieve the desired outcome. It does so based on the case study rural kebeles, in particular Tis abay and Meshenti that are incorporated in to Bahirdar city administration.

The study argues that rural-urban linkage which created by the regional proclamation did not adequately achieve its desired outcome. This was mainly because of weak implementation of urban policy, lack of finance, area difficulty to administer (distance), the existence of other surrounding administration between the main city and incorporated areas, absence of vocal representatives of incorporated areas. As a result, the incorporation of the towns was not and is unlikely to achieve the desired result if the process goes the same way. This paper, therefore, recommends that institutional arrangement be made to administer the issue well and insure healthy and genuine rural-urban linkage.

Key words: rural-urban linkage, incorporation, governance, service delivery.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my dearest mother **Anguach Akalu Desta** who passed away right after I have defended my MA thesis. My kind mother, I attribute the success of this work, beside my own effort, to your encouragement and prayer all through. Above all, I have learnt the value of hard work and commitment from you. I am glad that you have seen the completion of this work before you passed. My dearest mother, may God rest your soul in heavenly peace and I pray that you may receive my success in heaven.

Acronyms

ADR-	Alternative dispute resolution
ANRS-	Amhara national regional state
ASCI-	Amhara saving and credit institution
BDIDP-	Bahirdar integrated development plan
E.C-	Ethiopian Calendar
FGD-	Focused group discussion
IGR-	Inter governmental relation
LGAs-	Local government authorities
RUDCB-	Regional urban development and construction bureau
UDB-	Urban development bureau

Chapter one

Introduction

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopian federal urban policy, which was adopted in May 2013, provides a general direction for urban development. The plan is to make urban development holistic which includes industry, commerce, infrastructure, economic, and social services under urbanization frame work.

This policy states that the fate of urban development direction and its speed is determined by rural development and this requires appropriate urban-rural linkages.

The purpose of rural- urban linkages is to ensure rural areas benefit from infrastructural development of cities and their amenities. Similarly, urban areas will get raw material and agricultural products from rural communities. Hence, it is the urban and rural interaction which can ensure the expected development for both areas.

Generally, the Ethiopian urban policy aims to foster greater role of cities to transform the rural development to a higher level. It also aims at making city dwellers owners of power. When cities become end users of rural development, urban dwellers can gradually achieve decent living standard. Furthermore, the policy aims to make the development fast and relate it with good governance, service delivery, public participation, peace, and rule of law. This is because it is unreasonable to think urban development without good governance and public participation as urbanization is the combination effect of all these ingredients.

In Amhara regional state, with regard to relations between the urban and rural surroundings, “the urban -rural joint committee” is supposed to receive the communal questions and seek solutions which intertwine the urban and rural

area in development and social aspects. This committee presents its recommendation to the concerned council (proclamation 245/2017, article 69).

There were 17 kebele's in Bahirdar city administration and these kebeles were the only jurisdiction of the city that enjoyed municipal services. Beginning from 13 years ago, the regional urban proclamations allowed the city to integrate rural kebeles around it and hence many rural kebeles were made part of city administrations. Meshenti, Zenzelma, Tisabay, and Zege became part of Bahirdar city. These kebeles are however from 15 to 30 kilometers away from the city and were previously administered by other adjacent woredas.

The purpose of the incorporation was to advance the rural towns' physical development and provision of services, spread the general socio economic development, and hand over the political and administrative powers and responsibilities to the dwellers so as to establish good local self -governance to realize democratic order (Amhara national regional state proclamation no.91/2013).

Therefore, the central issue of this study is to explore whether the objective of incorporating these kebeles in to Bahirdar has been achieved or is likely to be achieved, taking the case of Tisabay and Meshenti districts.

1.2 Research questions

General Question

- Has the objectives of incorporating rural kebeles in to Bahirdar city been achieved or is it likely to be achieved?

Sub Questions

- What was the legal and constitutional mechanism for incorporating them?
- What was the role of the public and former embracing woreda in this respect?

- What benefit has the rural community accrued in terms of service delivery?
- How urbanization and urban plan treats these kebeles?
- What is the role of regional and local government on policy implementation and supervision?
- Was the incorporation genuine and progressive?

1.3 Significance of the study

Generally, this study will be significant to the Amhara regional and local government, and particularly to the Bahirdar city administration to evaluate the implementation of the urban proclamation, from the urban-rural linkage perspective, identify the shortcomings in incorporating rural kebells in to cities, have insight on the possible remedies to shortcomings, and hence to properly address the interest and rights of the local people in the incorporated kebeles.

The study will also signify in that it can provide information for policy makers to address solution demanding issues in the area.

Last, but not least, the study will also serve as milestone for further researchers on urban-rural linkage in Amhara region as previous studies conducted on the thematic area.

1.4 Scope of the study

The paper covers urban rural linkages and the incorporation of rural kebeles to city administrations in Amhara regional state. It is delimited to include only two districts, Meshenti and Tis abay, in Bahridar.

In light of this, the research will assess the performance of the municipality, kebeles and regional government's supervision in implementing the urbanization policy/proclamation on issues for the improvement of service delivery.

1.5 Review of related Literature

A thesis by Yonatan Wodajo(2014) studied the issue of satellite city and its importance for urban development, taking the case of Addis Ababa and its surrounding towns. This research gives an emphasis on the positive prospect of satellite cities to increase the socio economic and physical infrastructure of urban land use, transport and buildings, and the burden the satellite cities share from the capital city.

However Yonatan's research is different in its content because the areas of the research (Gelan, Dukem, Sululta, Burayu, Holleta, Sebeta) are proposed as *defacto* satellites which have their own master plan, abattoir service, and some other social infrastructures while Bahirdar distant kebeles (the case under investigation) are de jure or legal member of the city since 13 years back.

A most related dissertation by Gebrekirstos (2014) studied that, rural-urban and urban-rural linkages from road transportation perspective in Hawasa city. It studied large the rural-urban linkage importance and the importance of physical proximity of urban with rural on a country development and finally the study shows the high level of connectivity through transportation and infrastructure.

Even though this study conducted rural-urban linkage and its importance for country development as well as mutual interdependency of the two scenes, the paper does not specifically show the issue of incorporation under rural urban linkage perspective and how incorporated rural kebeles fair and are impacted in terms of service delivery perspective.

1.6 Methodological Approach of the Study

Introduction

A qualitative approach is used in this study since it seeks to conduct deep explanations and the nature of the problem leads to investigate the issue in detail, this study has preferred to use. Emphasis was also given to qualitative words by disfavoring numerical explanations. The necessary information was collected from straight voices of participants and has been presented in words rather than quantifications.

A critical personal interview and a focus group discussion were conducted with selected dwellers of the incorporated two kebeles and government officials at sub-municipal and city administration level. In addition to this, personal observation (photographs were taken) and document analysis was used.

1.6.1 Data sources

Both primary and secondary data were collected and used to achieve the objective of the study. The source of the primary data were personal observation by the researcher and key informants from the case kebelles (residents and administrators), municipal administration, ex-surrounding woreda administration, city culture & tourism bureau, regional urban development and construction bureau, regional investment bureau, and finally experts and academicians on urbanization. To supplement the primary data, secondary sources from policy direction, proclamation, and other different documents were collected.

1.6.2 Data Collection Instruments

To collect sufficient data from informants the researcher used the following data collection mechanisms.

1.6.2.1. In-depth Interview with Key-Informants

In-depth interview was the basic instrument for the researcher to gather detailed information from key informants. A brief check list (interview guide) was hence prepared to conduct the interview. Key informants that include sub municipal residents and administrators from case kebeles, city and regional officials, policy experts/academicians were interviewed in depth.

1.6.2.2. Focused group discussion

Two focus group discussions were designed and held to support the data obtained from the in-depth interview. One was conducted at Meshenti district with selected sub-municipal council and resident members, and the second discussion at Tis-abay district with similar subjects. The media of discussion was the local language (i.e Amharic) and the discussion was moderated by the researcher.

1.6.2.3. Document review

Since the objective of the study was to investigate whether the rural-urban linkage has achieved its outcome, the policy frame work of regional state and federal government on urbanization including investment policy, urban construction, employment policy, small and micro enterprise, lease proclamation, related literatures, scholarly articles, books, journals as well as constitutional provisions on the issues of service delivery and urbanization were assessed as a secondary sources.

1.6.2.4. Observation

To get deep understanding about the case under study and to supplement the above mentioned sources of data, observation is critical. Hence, in the progress of the study, the researcher made personal observation on selected kebelles of Bahirdar city administration, particularly Tis abay and Meshenti sub municipality.

1.6.3. Sampling procedures and site selection

This study used purposive sampling technique. Informants were carefully selected based on their experience and proximity to the subject under study. Previous involvement and experience in the incorporation of the kebeles, current or previous role in administering and providing service to the kebeles, knowledge of the legal provisions on urban policy and personal potential to reflect and address the interview questions were considered in selecting both the key informants and focus group discussion participants. Accordingly, 32 people that including previous and current government officials, dwellers, and policy experts were interviewed. 12 kebele dwellers and council members participated in two separately held focus group discussions. Then a total of 44 subjects have taken part in this study and the sampling process was as follows.

Subjects to be interviewed	Number of participants	Description
1. Kebele dwellers	20	10 service receiving dwellers from the two kebeles (5 from each) and 10 kebele farmers whose land was taken for investment
2. Representatives of the kebele in city council	2	One for each kebele
3. Kebele administrator's	4	1 current and 1 previous administrator for each kebele (before and after the incorporation)
4. Ex-wereda administrator	1	Official during incorporation
5. City administration	2	One head/deputy of the administration and one from culture and tourism bureau
6. Regional investment bureau	1	Head/deputy
7. Regional urban and construction bureau	1	Head/deputy

FGD participants	Number of participants	Description
1. Meshenti Kebele dwellers focus group discussion	6	3 experienced/elderly dwellers and 3 members of the kebele council
2. Tis Abay Kebele dwellers focus group discussion	6	3 experienced/elderly dwellers and 3 members

		of the kebele council
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The interview with the kebele, municipal and regional government officials was conducted at their office giving 40-60 minutes. Former kebele and woreda administrators were interviewed for 30-50 minutes at places found conducive. Kebele dwellers' (service receivers') interview was conducted at or around their home for 20-40 minutes. As stated in the table above, these dwellers are of two types. One is merely residents in the two kebeles that receive service and the other includes farmers whose farming land was given to investors in Meshenti kebele.

1.7. Organization of the paper

The thesis organized in to five chapters. The first chapter is a general statement of the problem which has general question and specific questions, significance, scope, review of related literature, organization of the paper and methods of addressing them. Chapter two based on international literature, will discuss what is rural urban linkage, necessity, costs, mechanisms and how best it be achieved. Chapter three will examine constitutional spaces and policy frameworks on rural-urban linkage. Next to chapter three, chapter four will examine the implementation of rural urban linkage in the particular area. Finally, chapter five will provide general summery, general conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter two

Rural-urban linkage

2.1. Introduction

The principal question that this study raises is whether the benefits of urban-rural linkage, particularly incorporation, are exploited well. “Incorporation” for the purpose of this study, means the joining of rural kebeles in to a city.

Customarily, research’s has agreed that rural is about more distant agricultural areas and urban refers to the city (Lindile L. cited Von Braun 2007). However, the contemporary concepts treat the rural urban linkage differently as rural and urban are mutually inclusive. The current international literature on the urban-rural agenda promotes complementarities and networks of places, rather than isolation (UN habitat III, 2015).

This chapter is intended to discuss rural-urban linkage, its importance and cost, and the mechanisms.

2.2. Urban- rural linkage and mutualism

2.2.1.What is urban-rural linkage?

Urban-rural linkage is about emphasizing the interdependencies that happen between the two scenes. Rural urban linkage can be the physical enlargement of cities in to rural areas often consequences in organization of rural settlements and small towns to urban extensions (UN habitat III, (2015).

The structural social, economic, cultural, and political interactions upheld between individuals and groups in the urban environment and those in rural areas can be defined as Rural-urban linkages(Lindile L.(undated) cited Lesetedi,2003).Rural-urban linkages can also mention to “spatial” and “sectorial” movements that happen between rural and urban zones (Lindile L. undated).

Urban rural linkages is mostly expressed as form and design of movements of people, manufacturing, feeding, monetary flows and “some investment” relationships that happens under rural-urban interdependencies (Lindile L. undated).

Under rural-urban linkage the distinction among the two areas are unreal or non-natural because it is difficult to separate city fashioned work and rural shaped work and even there is no “city consumption” and “rural production” (Jane, Jacobs, (1969). Hence considering these as of mutualism is inevitable because so long as their deeds are for both consumption (*Ibid*).

The rural urban ties is a kind of bond and this firm is the mechanism of co-operation that manages linkages to reach communal objectives and boost urban-rural dealings and depend on the purpose of partnership (OECD , (2013)).

In rural-urban linkage movements include flows of farming goods working to urban areas, and goods from urban manufacturing areas working to more rural areas (Cecilia Tacoli, 1998 cited in von Braun, 2007). The urban rural connection emphasizes on ways of urban and rural areas interconnect and how these linkages can be equipped for both urban and rural development (*Ibid*).

2.2.2 Why urban-rural linkage is necessary?

The basic reason why urban areas link with other urban areas and rural areas is due to inevitable interaction between them by the way of multi-layered flows of people, information, goods and services(Gebrechristos Nuriye (2014).

Rural-urban connection is progressively documented as central in processes of social, economic and cultural change in both cities and countryside (CeciliaTacoli, April 1998). Urban-rural linkages bring up to matching and holistic functions and movements of persons, natural resources, money, merchandises, service, ecosystem services, data and knowledge between rural and urban (UN habitat III, (2015)).

Rural-urban linkages might be created to overcome poverty in the rural community, since the majority of poor citizens are living in the rural dwelling (the Global monitoring report, 2013). Similarly Rural urban linkage might be created to deal with the poverty and when the adjacent urban areas needs the nearest rural surroundings for sustainable development (Elizabeth Mylott (undated)). The conclusion of some writings shows that robust rural urban linkages could play a crucial role in poverty abolition in unindustrialized countries (ŞuleAkkoyunlu 2013).

Poverty reduction in rural and urban areas needs integrated approaches which provide rural populations with access to urban opportunities such as urban markets for rural products (Lindile L. (undated):31)). It is because Poverty eradication energies cannot work without correct formation of rural urban linkage (Gebrechristos, 2014, Elizabeth Mylott (undated)).

It is because of the fact that food and nutrition security can be answered by envisioning a continuum between urban and rural scenes and players (ŞuleAkkoyunlu 2013, cited FAO, 2011). And solid connections can recover living environments and job chances for residents of both rural and urban areas (Elizabeth Mylott (undated)). Secondary schools, telephones, micro finance and credit institutions, post services, agricultural extension facilities, farm equipment's, hospitals are government amenities for rural areas based on urban areas (*Ibid*).

Moreover, as stated in UNCCD/NAP report on Ethiopia (2004), urban rural linkage might be created for the reason that development and civilization cannot be achieved by a single face endeavor; rather it is by diversifying. Moreover, rural urban linkage will shape things such as land owning structures, ecological capacity, crop types on price, availability of infrastructure, or access to markets with in specific regional contexts (*Ibid*).

The dynamics of relationship is reflected in large cities, which have significant economic advantages and opportunities, and smaller towns, which play

important functions in development of their surrounding rural regions and support a more diverse local economic base, and if it is managed properly there will be “cultural” relief for citizens and will turn in to peace full and harmonious area to live in, etc. (OECD, 2006:7).

The growth of large urban areas is created to expand its role and jurisdiction in terms of investment, creating jobs, meeting the housing demand, and providing access to key infrastructure and basic services and the role of small towns are to serving as a bridge between rural dwellers and urban services, to strengthening the economic opportunities, providing a market and access to basic services (UN habitat III, 2015).

On the expansion of urbanization there is better movement and interaction between urban and rural areas (UN habitat III, 2015). These areas intensify connection and reduce the differences accompanied by the high flow of knowledge, economic activities, and information. This leads the rural people to become increasingly urbanized (*Ibid*).

Urban rural linkage might also be created because these two spots are inseparable and must be seen as two ends in spatial continuum (Lindile L. cited Von Barnu, 2007). This linkage can tackle the problems that the surrounding community faces, such as problems in selecting surrounding investment area, exploiting the potential and role of rural areas for development, enhancing diversification of economic activities, and minimizing external competition for local products(Lindile L.(undated):30).

Another crucial reason is because

The future of rural economies is heavily dependent on rural development policy that provides framework which can stimulate diverse economic and social activities, articulate policy levers that can improve the contribution of rural economies- especially the small towns- to national value chains; create entrepreneurial opportunities

which can mutually benefit both rural and urban inhabitants. Lindile L. (undated):40

To sum up, durable rural urban-linkages and spatial expansions are necessary to realize and allocate equal chances and welfares for residents in the urbanization course ((UN habitat III (2015). Healthy Urban-rural linkages also bring about economic and political benefits to dwellers in both sides.

2.2.2.1. Economic linkage

One importance of rural urban linkage can be economic interdependence. In social integration, the specific objectives of economic linkages are build safe and dynamic work, decrease “poverty”, examination of civic funds and safeguard established social security methods (Maria Amparo, 2008).In rural urban linkages the indicators of the linkage are the interchange of cash, goods including communal doings and belongings with relatives and friends in rural-urban linkages (Action against Hunger, 2012).

Urban development is related to the rewards of rural market centers, these market centers are a means to create strong rural marketplace and solid rural market center can build strong rural economies (UN, 2005:16).

The economic features are linked with livelihoods and fabrications, which embrace various kinds of resource movement such as labor, natural resources, commodities, and financial transactions (Arne Tostensen2004, cited Baker and Pedersen 1992).

Mostly, urban areas are denotes noble things for their residents such as provide well employment opportunity, health drink water and closer to medical service (Global Monitoring Report, 2013). For the reason that persons exist in country side travelling long kilometers to their adjacent hospital will faces so many problems (Rural Development Sub-Committee, 2008).

Access and transport are two major problems facing rural healthcare.

In rural areas there are: additional travel costs associated with

providing services, additional travelling time for healthcare professionals and patients difficulties faced by individuals in gaining access to health services (Rural Development Sub-Committee, 2008 :3).

The give-and-take exchange of natural and finished products is economic rural urban interface and to strengthening this linkage and acting as mutually interdependent, it needs the “decentralization” of urbanization through the advancement of “medium-sized cities” (Jay Moor, (undated).

This give and take relationship can enhance the accessibility of farming inputs for rural producers, similarly it provides the necessary market infrastructure; especially wholesale collection points. Small towns also provide the basic infrastructure for increasing rural farm and non-farm production (Jay Moor, (undated).

On economic and social aspect, connections exist between urban and rural economies, the affiliation among the two in numerous unindustrialized nations is still categorized by an economic separation and town favoritism continues to influence regime strategies (Elizabeth Mylott (undated). While in China farming development has subsidized to “poverty reduction” in two zones, the effects are more significant in rural areas however urban growth contributed to urban poverty reduction but did not significantly affect rural poverty reduction (Ibid).

Generally, the mutual interdependency of the rural and urban areas on economic matters is paramount and the existence of the two will require making linkage. Hence therefore rectifying town favoritism would lead to higher growth in agriculture and poverty bargain in both rural-urban parts, as a result of healthy rural-urban linkages in “spatial continuum” (Elizabeth Mylott cited Fan, & et. al.2005).

2.2.2.2. Political linkage

Political linkage is about bargaining, decision, and participation of the surrounding rural dwellers in the neighboring city council or any other public intensive concerns. It is public sector linkages in sphere of administrative influence and relevant institutions and “defining a type and quality of public service is a political process, going well beyond the consumer-producer relationship” (OECD, 2006:3). In social integration to eradicate neglecting and discrimination legacy and the creation of communities that are politically and culturally active, the main goal and objectives are create space for voice, promote dialogues, inculcate sense of ownership, participate in decision making and exercise democratic rights (Maria Amparo, 2008).

Rural political linkage brings surrounding rural communities bargaining power. This bargaining power will challenge the unfair socio-political structures and stinginess in the cities (Lindile L. undated: 9 cited Legassick, 1974). Public participations in the decision making process are pointed out as the chief pillars for economic development (OECD, 2006).

Extensive public involvement in decision making can serve as a mile stone for good governance and it is crucial for viable growth (Stella Bastidas, 2004).

It moves beyond traditional methods of public consultations by creating opportunities for the open exchange of ideas, transparency, mutual learning, and informed and representative decision-making processes (Stella Bastidas, 2004:2).

Political participation may challenge and measure the deprivation of a given rural areas. Rural areas denials can be “household”, “opportunity” and “mobility” deficits (Alister Scott and et al, 2007 cited shaw 1979).

Household scarcity may be observed through low income or lack of fit accommodation, opportunity deprivation speak of to, lack of employment and accessibility to services and facilities, finally mobility deprivation worries, services and facilities as well as transport costs (Alister Scott and et al). Hence therefore Resource denial is likely to be present in both rural and urban areas,

while “opportunity” and “mobility” deprivation are likely to be more noticeable in rural areas (*Ibid*). For this reason, political decisions must consider and select the rural areas shortage in rural urban linkage.

The rural regions are not considering as they deprived both socially and economically since the measurement being used are not really the indicators of the “rural deprivation”(Rural Development Sub-Committee, 2008). However, “Deprivation, in a rural context, includes interaction between factors such as income, social circumstance, access to services and opportunity”(Rural Development Sub-Committee 2008:2).

Therefore taking in to consideration of more than one facet of deficiency is useful since areas underprivileged in one way are not necessarily poor accommodated in another (Alister Scott and et al). This is why political participation of the dwellers, as well as apolitical or strategic decision of the decision makers or policy framers on rural urban linkage is very important.

2.2.3. Costs of urban rural linkage

Despite the benefits it has, rural-urban linkage is not free of drawbacks. Rural urban linkage, in all parts of the world, faces challenges such as understanding and treating the rural and urban in different way, devaluing the importance of its linkage and lack of the best institutions (Alister Scot, and et al 2007).

The expansion may result in the disorder of rural living, “carbon emission”, food supplies, pollution and energy use (*Ibid*).

During the rural urban linkage, the rural surrounding dwellers may face unemployment, poverty, pollution and a lot of challenges on social wellbeing’s (OECD, 2006).

The nature of linkage brings different outcome and the push and pull factors on both sides are not the same. The influence of pushing and pulling factors vary from place to place as well as sector to sector (LindileL., undated).

Most of the time push factors are the motives that cause to leave both scenes. War, famine, unrest, poverty and climate related problems are push factors. While pulling factors can be access to employment, health, education and basic services (UN habitat III (2015).

In addition to that, rare “institutions” can cover both rural and urban doings, and local administration organizations have different focus, and few city governments comprise rural jurisdictions (Ulrike Eppler& et al cited, Allen Dávila 2002). On the other hand local administrations might not control the challenges of rural urban creation since it needs huge enactment (Mahmoud Bah and et.al, 2003). This may be because the federal government has only regulatory power and implementation phase is randomly left for regional and LGAs (*John Kincaid and Rupak Chattopaadhyay (2008).*

The expansion of town zones and widespread progress in rural areas redesign town and country side spaces because urban development is not perceived as a major danger to farming or any other rural activities (Elizabeth Mylott(undated). However, this extensive expansion poses a hazard since it consumes considerably more land for every housing part (Elizabeth Mylott (undated) cited Heimlich and Anderson, (2001)).This urban enlargement of zones is known as “urban sprawl” (Elizabeth (undated).

Certain outlooks about urban sprawl show that, it is inescapable outcome of big city population growth (Elizabeth Mylott (undated), cited Sinclair, 1967; Brueckner and Fansler, 1983; Lowery, 1980), some others criticize urban sprawl on its poor planning or messy growth (Elizabeth (undated) cited, Pieser, 1984; Koenig, 1989).

For instance, during the conversions of peri-urban and rural areas in to nearby city centers, the trend in Mali, Nigeria and Tanzania depicts, the shifting agricultural methods instigate to the small scale peasants to habitually desire to trade their land privileges to wealthier urban inhabitants, consequently the

process made the farmers “wage laborers” on their childhood farm land (Cecilia Tacoli,(2003)).

2.2.4. Mechanisms of urban-rural linkage

2.2.4.1. Mechanisms

Obviously the international literature shows that there are different perceptions and implementation mechanisms of rural-urban linkages (Alister Scot, and et al 2007).

The rural-urban relation and interdependencies between urban and rural areas and their flows, functions are proved through the local and country wide endeavors (UN habitat III (2015). social-cultural contacts and environmental collaborations that occur across the human settlements such as goods, public facilities, transportation, work, markets and energy are manifestation of interdependencies (*Ibid*).

As long as rural urban linkages exist and as long as there is a need to administer this linkage, institutional mechanism has pivotal role. The UN habitat agenda states that,

Policies and programs for sustainable development of rural areas that integrate rural regions into the national economy require strong local and national institutions for the planning and management of human settlements that place emphasis on rural-urban linkages and treat villages and cities as two ends of a human settlement continuum (UN-HABITAT III (2015):1-2).

Rural-urban linkage policy and action plans should concentrate on the development of the two, minimizing the impact, abolishing neglecting policy, introducing inclusive policy and implementing it. Similarly, Scotland’s growth and home planning gave recognition for “spatial planning” and its collaborative deeds between planning and other rural issues with the context of urban rural correspondence (Alister Scott and et al, 2007).

Urban planning can provide two options to connect urban and rural areas. One method is strengthening the tie between an urban area and the peripheral areas around it. This method assumes that urban areas rely on resources from the areas around it while the second method resets on the need to provide technology based sanitation programs at minimum cost, inclusive development plans, “community labor” and “micro-financing” systems to enhance the living standard of the “peri-urban” inhabitants (Adriana Allen and Julio Dávila, undated).

The Asian practice shows that career chances, education and health facilities, transportation amenities access road facilities have assisted as catalytic agents of rural-urban linkage (Gebrechristos Nuriye 2014). Following the policy implication the action element of the linkage needs bringing together and collaboration across cities and its parts, community and stakeholder’s corporations, upkeep and aid aimed at unpaid public effort, movable amenity units, and the usage of “ICT” which intended for amenity distribution (OECD, 2006).

To go beyond rural- urban split and to make the rural urban boundary “blurred” and “fuzzy” there is a need of rural urban stakeholders to manage, mediate, in a fair and equitable manner to address future rural policy (Alister Scott and et al, 2007).

In rural urban linkage, to achieve mutually inclusive growth in terms “spatial”, “functional”, and “institutional” scopes considering the “central place theory” such as “hierarchically ordered and integrated systems of settlements provide the rational and efficient spatial systems for the organization of population and their functional relationship” (UN, 2005 :16).

Every social need must consider priorities for the public goods, since every need cannot be achieve through one night activity and lesser economy (UN habitat III, (2015).

As Elizabeth undated cited Stauber, 2001 policy should move on the road to accumulative human wealth, natural environment maintenance and homegrown beliefs, growing provincial competition incentives and funds in facilities that support the growth of new viable benefits, and the federal policy and state proclamations should encounter the rural, urban periphery sparsely populated areas. Similarly the implementation should be based on “minimum standard” which seated before the implementation, and this “minimum standard” desires extensive observing by the concerned body as well as demands frequent reviewing based on the level of growth (OECD, 2006).

Suitable policies deal with “basic infrastructure”, teaching, information and better administration for the “peri-urban” linkage are paramount (Adriana Allen and Julio Dávila (undated). Meanwhile, accurate mobilization of social, economic resources with good governance at local level is a vision of sustainable urban development (UN, 2005: 16).

In the course of rural-urban linkage nurturing awareness in both rural and urban areas on their respective values and relationships and tools such as happiness files, and other social tools can help behavioral change on the way to the continuous development (UN-habitat III (2015)).

Creating awareness for nearby peasants for their future occupation and advisable direction of them as well as discuss with the stakeholders are a clear duty of policy implementers (Cecilia Tacoli,(2003)).). Furthermore engaging young individual’s, farmer associations, shantytown dwellers, ladies groups, advocates of public spaces, and other similar groups will help to bring substitute say to the issue (UN-habitat III (2015)).

A participatory planning approach in Hubli-Dharwar, India, where traditionally marginalized villagers were involved in the policy-making process, and this will show, how localized action can be the vehicle for community management of a watershed in peri-urban areas (Adriana Allen and Julio Dávila(undated: 3).

Similarly, “it is imperative to establish multi- actor partnerships and engagement at global, national, regional, metropolitan and local scales as urban-rural linkages encompass a broad range of themes, actors, and contexts”(UN habitat III (2015 :5).The participation of all partners is crucial. Their own obligations, know-how, exertions and involvements can be communal and are match to each other (*Ibid*).

As institutional mechanism, devolving reasonable administration power, constructing the ability of sub-national, municipal, rural administrations and properly including local participation in decision making is critical for urban rural linkage (Patrick Dwire, 1987). Making the local people owner or participatory in decision making, will enhance to tackle the uncertainty of the rural urban linkages destination.

Ever since “A genuine and frank dialogue between the different levels of government and the various groups of civil society is important to define a common agenda and the goals of urban development as well as parameters for its meaningful achievement” (UN habitat 2002, pp. 102).

Likewise municipalities are tasked to involve communities in the drafting of their “integrated” growth strategy, their budget, and in the taking of decisions about service supply and growth (*Ibid*). Hence during the linkage, covering urban and rural marginalization through good governance, rectifying inequalities and including vulnerable groups such as women, youth, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities is crucial (UN habitat III (2015).

Funds should be publicized and checked by concerned body. “Municipal development fund (MDF) is established in municipality to sustain the programmed activities” (UN2005: 17). Any development which ties with sustainability is about to compatible with its ingredients. On this regard the involvement and monitoring activity of municipal councils are very important, to check whether financial aid and grants are efficiently used or not (Elizabeth cited Abbott, 2000).

More importantly, administrative sectors involvement with particular duty, legislative frameworks, as well as balanced, sustainable and inclusive development is the means to strengthen and identify a healthy rural-urban linkage (UN habitat III, 2015). That is because energetic participation of government is a central plug for public growth and communal attachment (OECD, 2006).

In collaborative manner and/as institutional mechanism traditional authorities and public leaders together will discuss in terms of how the two institutions must work in one to ensure inclusive growth (Lindile L. undated: 13). In principle “Local government” is the level of government that is side to the voters, and “municipalities” are well-known gifted to get and know people’s wishes and ambitions (De visser 2009).And local governments ought to be best placed to identify and unlock local potential (Ibid).

This collaboration is important because, the dwellings where countryside lands in the customary management and city parts incorporate in one administrative area, rural-urban connections can boost service delivery considering “quality of life” in rural zones (Lindile L. undated). Hence therefore, rural-urban linkages must include the relationship between voted local administration and customary leaders, and it is critical especially where there are tensions between the legal way of land tenure and the customary system (Ibid).

The pressures may arise as a consequence of dissimilar interests between traditional chiefs who endeavor to retain control over land, and voted local government officials whose responsibilities include the provision of infrastructure for which access to land is crucial (Lindile L. undated: cited Bah et al, 2003).

Consequently “the positive impact of rural-urban linkages on rural livelihoods can be greatest where rural and urban development frameworks are mutually dependent and integrated” (Lindile L. undated: 40).

Better management of difficulties in rural-urban doings can support underprivileged and vulnerable groups. Enhance better use of scarce resources urban waste are paramount to not harm vulnerable groups (Adriana Allen and Julio Dávila (undated).

During and after linkages if the deprivation is happening, Policy interventions that are characterized by an integrated and complimentary approach should be adopted to avoid exacerbating the dichotomy between urban and rural issues (UN habitat III, 2015).

Policy interventions should review agrarian reform, agricultural intensification or diversification, cooperatives, environmental programs, irrigation, storage facilities, rural infrastructure ,roads for transportation, electricity, communication, market centers, commercial outlets, urban services, banking for credit, urban infrastructure, communication services (Şule Akkoyunlu, 2013).

The intervention must think of the future solution of the implementation and must develop local strategies that are not conquered via city primacies; nevertheless, it should be where city and countryside effort composed (OECD, 2006). Similarly, the intervention should grow a communal “value” for public possessions, intensify the territorial magnitude and grow the rural-urban connections, concentrating policy interferences arranged outer areas that do not profit on or after the present economic ups and downs of part and parcel of the cities (Ibid).

In addition to that, recording and distributing exciting practice, instruments, trends and plans in urban-rural connections in hand in hand with “research” institutes, universities, public and policy framers will help to address challenges and strengthen the healthy rural urban connection (UN habitat III (2015).

2.2.4.2. How best can it be achieved?

Most towns in the world gain high benefit from their nearby countryside areas as they draw heavily on their surrounding rural areas for fresh water resources, place their waste on adjacent rural and peri-urban areas (Lindile L., undated). However, the central question to pose is, how rural-urban linkages can be upgraded to quicken comprehensive development, expand employment, and advance livelihoods particularly for the underprivileged (Lindile L. cited von Braun, 2007).

Inclusive rural transformation requires territorial, location-specific approaches in order to break the urban bias in public policies and reconcile the sectoral aspects of the system with its spatial, social and cultural dimensions (FAO, 2017:1).

Similarly, it is important to identify the correspondence between urban and rural, urban and small urban as well as attention must be booked when using categorizations in the design of platforms and policies (Elizabeth cited Miller, 2006). In this regard, Lindile L. (undated) states that the urban rural linkage needs inter-sector and inter-firm involvement such as “local government”, “agricultural innovation”, facility expansion, minor townships and surrounding economic growth.

More importantly, rural-urban linkages should perform as it is not harmful to each other. As Lindile L. and ŞuleAkkoyunlu suggested, rural-urban linkage should stimulate chances and recognize opportunities to arouse countryside local economic doings and local new fruitful methods that include mutually rural and urban areas. On the urbanization process,

Balanced outcomes across urban and rural areas are a vital objective of sustainable development that leaves no one behind and should include investment in small holders in rural areas (UN habitat III (2015:4).

It is clear that rural-urban development is not considered as separate entity as long as there is social inclusion and inclusive development that exist between two scenes (UN habitat III, 2015). The aim of boosting communal annexation through actions that abolish separation and other forms of intolerance and rejection is as important as the creation of economic opportunities and it can be categorized under “economic”, “social”, “political”, and “cultural” (Maria Amparo, 2008).

Social integration enables persons, regardless of their characteristics, to enjoy opportunities, rights and services that are available to the so-called mainstream group or it can be considered to be antonym to social exclusion, which is broader than poverty and deprivation, and which neglects people’s rights (Maria Amparo, 2008:2).

Including the rest aspects of development increasing social incorporation is critical to make social “deprivations” zero and as it likely to be zero. Building social incorporation is critical when the common objective of the public is achieving sound economy (Maria Amparo, 2008:1).

To achieve shared urban rural destiny, Accepting the interactions that can be got from progressive, stable, balanced investments and dealing compromises are crucial than rival to scarce resources (UN habitat III (2015). Generally in the creation of rural urban linkage as OECD, 2006 reveals, public services should be realized in the rural community because rural dwellers cannot continue to be alive and grow without fitting facility, because providing amenity for them empowers to join in the countrywide growth and for that matter it is certifying citizens “right” and it must be understood as citizens prerogative (OECD, 2006).

In urban sprawl or expansion, often peoples are lifted from their farm lands. However one of the key policy recommendations to tackle the problem of farmers that gave their lands for urbanization and urban based investments is encouraging and support non-farm activities (ŞuleAkkoyunlu 2013). Or

creating diversified jobs are critical. On diversification aspect, the Indian practice has shown, irrigation and commercialization can transform cropping patterns and increase greater crop specialization through rural urban linkage, the trend of the Indian depicts a lesson that as rural community dwellers grow commercial crops, the urban dwellers will increasingly consider farming as a business (Lindile L. (undated).

The experience from Mali, Nigeria and Tanzania shows urban enlargement is converting farming methods which shakes market access, merchants-role, the economic and social growth role of urban centers for their surrounding regions, and diversification and mobility patterns of income (Elizabeth Mylott (undated).

More importantly, encouraging small and micro enterprise and their access to market, capital, education and extension services and technical knowledge should be improved, natural resource management should be carried out according to the needs of both farm and non-farm activities and local government should managed these resources and making sure that land and water are not allocated to residential and industrial users at the cost of farmers and rural residents (ŞuleAkkoyunlu 2013).

As ŞuleAkkoyunlu 2013, recommended “forward” and “back ward” linkages between agriculture and non-farm activities should be reinforced in order to stimulate regional economic growth, development and sustainability, and necessary institutional care should be prearranged to small and micro enterprises in order to make them viable in national and international markets, As well as trade and networking activities in small urban centers should be raised in order to stimulate links between the local and rural economy on the one hand and the national and global economy on the other.

Hence evolving controlling mechanism to protect farming land from metropolitan stretch will boost sustainable urban agriculture, and measures that protect, or compensate for damage to, the livelihoods of rural households

and communities living in proximate and hinterland agricultural areas that may result from urban sprawl should accompany by this (UN habitat III (2015).

Rural-urban linkage desires pro rural development guiding principle and inclusive urban enlargement “framework” to link mutually in such a way that enhance inclusive development (Lindile L. undated). The international guidelines on urban and territorial planning leads to appreciate extra solid, publically comprehensive, well united, and linked municipalities and areas which stand-in progressive urban growth (UN habitat III (2015).

And it is important to realize “how immediate problems can be addressed by promoting sustainable linkages between urban and rural areas” (Adriana Allen and Julio Dávila (undated): 4). Shifting from traditional subsidies to strategic involvement approach can pay off in terms of job creation, business development and better living conditions for both rural and urban dwellers” (OECD, 2006:6).

To implement well-articulated linkage plans and mechanisms, better administration is critically important. To implement urban rural linkages genuinely, local governments and their respective departments should design:

Well-articulated network of urban centers and villages to link their production and consumption systems; and creating conditions for better urban governance and better delivery of services to strengthen the linkages among that network (UN, 2005: 17).

The international guidelines on urban and territorial planning and the role of different administration bodies are discussed here under.

The aims of the international guideline on urban and are to capture;

- A universally valid orientation outline to monitor urban policy transformations;

- Universal ethics from nationwide and local experience that might upkeep the growth of various planning tactics and to adopt it to dissimilar circumstances and measures;
- Complementarity and connection with other international guidelines aimed at fostering sustainable urban development;
- The urban and territorial dimensions of the development agendas of national, regional, and local governments.

According to the UN habitat (2015) the guide line states the following details on urban policy and roles expected from different levels of government, civic institutions and experts.

Principles on urban governance and territorial expansion

Since urban and territorial planning is beyond technical aspect, it should share corporate visions and address competing interests to link with the overall development. These development strategies, national, regional and local urban policies should be integrative and participatory in decision making (UN habitat 2005). And this planning should adjust urban governance which enhances local egalitarianism, partaking, inclusion, transparency and responsibility to achieve sustainable growth and spatial quality (*Ibid*).

The roles of the levels of government in territorial expansion

According to the “international guidelines on urban and territorial planning” (UN, 2015) national and local governments, civil society organizations, planning professionals and their associations should carefully discharge their responsibility in the planning, operation and supervision of urban and territorial strategies (UN Habitat, 2015).

The national government, in alliance with other levels of administration and important partners, should devise a national urban and territorial policy; develop an enabling legal and institutional agenda for urban and territorial

planning. This may include introducing general rules and techniques for coordinated inter local town and “territorial” planning and management. The government at this level is also required to strengthen the capacities and resources of local governments, stimulate “inter-municipal” collaboration agendas, ensure multilevel authority arrangements and funding the formation of “inter-municipal” and “metropolitan” organizations with accurate guiding outlines and fiscal encouragements, and guarantee that planning rules and regulations are executed and operating effectively (*Ibid*).

Local administrators on the other hand, in alliance with other tiers of administration and essential stakeholders, are expected to ensure “communication” and “organization” with segment plans and adjacent areas, incorporate “service provision” practices with “planning”, control experts and “private” firms in order to safeguard the placement of strategies with native “political” revelations, community wellbeing, countrywide dogmas and worldwide “principles” (*Ibid*).

Moreover, local governments should make sure that urban regulations are implemented and functionally effective and take action to avoid illegal developments, with particular consideration to areas at danger. Arranging assessment and accountability strategies to clearly asses the implementation of the plans and giving response and information on appropriate corrective measures is also important role of the local governments (UN habitat 2015). They are expected to assist “urban stakeholders” particularly the public, “civil society” organizations and the “private sector” to participate equitably and successfully (*Ibid*).

“Civil society” officers must take part in the preparation, operation and checking of “urban and territorial plans”, aid native ruling classes to identify requirements and order of importance’s and, wherever possible, workout their “right” to be asked based on the present legitimate outlines and universal covenants (*Ibid*). The public should be symbolized in community discussions on

“urban and territorial planning”, mainly poor people and “vulnerable” individuals (UN habitat 2015).

Planning experts and their associations are expected to promote for more all-embracing and fair growth through the content of planning tools such as strategies, designs, and code of practice, statutes and rules (Ibid). They should strive for the implementation of the guidelines and advice decision makers to adopt them (*Ibid*).

Generally, urban and territorial planning can contribute to sustainable development in numerous ways. To affect so, different levels of government, civil societies and planning professionals should play their role well. Metropolitan and territorial arrangement ought to be carefully related with triangular scopes of sustainable development: that is social inclusion, continuous economic development and environmental security (UN Habitat, 2015).

Arrangement of these three dimensions needs call for “political” commitment and the involvement of all concerned bodies. Moreover, good will of civil society organizations and planning specialists is required (*Ibid*).

To sum up, creating greater access to modern materials, better-quality infrastructures, enhanced education, and better economic opportunities increase the movements of people, goods and services, waste and pollution and distorts the boundaries between urban and rural areas, and that is the critical means to creating rural urban linkage ((Elizabeth Mylott (undated)).

2.3 Conclusion

Rural-urban linkage is the physical communal, trade and industry, cultural, and administrative connections upheld among persons and groups in the urban and rural settings.

Urban-rural linkages bring up to matching and holistic functions and movements of persons, natural resources, money, merchandises, service, data and knowledge between rural and urban. It might be created to deal with the poverty and when the adjacent urban areas needs the nearest rural surroundings for sustainable development.

Services such as health, education, transports, access to information and political decision making structures for rural dwellers can be meaningfully answered by urban expansion, since these elements are better established in cities (Adriana Allen and Julio Dávila (undated). In addition to that the movement of people and information will provide better knowledge current shop values, shopper favorites and urban work marketplace desires in the city (*Ibid*).

Therefore durable rural urban-linkages and spatial expansions are necessary to realize and allocate equal chances and welfares for residents in the urbanization course.

On the other hand, due to many reasons, urban-rural linkages and expansions may have costs. The expansion may result in the disorder of rural living and rural dwellers might get poor and underprivileged. Urban development is not perceived as a major danger to farming or any other rural activities. However, this extensive expansion poses a hazard since it consumes considerably more land. Therefore, linkage policy and action plans should concentrate on the development of the two surroundings, minimizing the impact, abolishing neglecting policy, introducing inclusive policy and implementing it.

As a mechanism, urban planning can provide two options to connect urban and rural areas. One method is strengthening the tie between an urban area and the peripheral areas around it (Adriana Allen and Julio Dávila, (undated).

But the critical means to create urban-rural linkage is creating better access to fresh supplies, well infrastructures, improved education, and enhanced

economic openings that increase the movements of persons, things and amenities, and there by falsifies the borders between urban and rural areas.

Strong local and national institutions are necessary for the planning and management of rural-urban linkage. The institutions have a duty to place weight on rural-urban linkages and treat villages and cities as two finishes of a human settlement continuum. Urban and territorial planning can contribute to sustainable development in numerous ways. To affect so, different levels of government, civil societies and planning professionals should play their role well. More importantly, in local administrations, local responsibilities and functions must be clear to avoid redundancy, minimizing confusion and realizing downward accountability (Zemelak Ayitenew (2012).

Urban and territorial planning arrangement ought to be carefully related with triangular scopes of sustainable development: that is social inclusion, continuous economic development and environmental security.

Finally, if the above mentioned criteria's fulfilled, the rural-urban tie would emphasis creating greater access to modern materials, better-quality infrastructures, enhanced education, and better economic opportunities, increase the movements of people, goods and services, waste and pollution and distorts the boundaries between urban and rural areas, and rural-urban mutualism become real.

Taking the international trends and the above presented literatures in to consideration, this chapter will open the door for discussion about the case kebeles in the subsequent chapters. The next chapter will discuss policy issues on rural-urban linkage. The constitutional ground, a policy frame work, proclamations and regulations on urban-rural linkage and service delivery are discussed in detail. This will help to understand the legal grounds of the linkage, the process of incorporation and the desired outcome of the policy.

Chapter three

Policy framework and constitutional spaces for rural-urban linkage

3.1. Introduction

This study seeks to examine whether the rural urban linkage of incorporated kebeles achieve its desired outcome or it is likely to be achieve in Bahirdar city. As part of answering this question chapter two analyzed international literatures and what should a healthy linkage looks like. Following international literature this chapter examines the policy directions, regional proclamations and regulations as well as constitutional provisions.

This chapter begins with the constitutional space for development, policy directions for urban development and good governance, regional proclamation issues and its regulation for implementing it. Then, description of the study area or geographical location including map of the area and its administrative structure, to give a context for the study, will continues.

3.2. Constitutional issues about inclusive development

As mentioned in chapter two rural-urban linkages is a strategy that designed to relate the rural with urban through development.

Basically, sustainable development can be described on the constitution of the country. Indeed, the Ethiopian constitution guides “the people of Ethiopia as a whole, and each nation, nationality, and people in Ethiopia in particular have the right to improved living standards and to sustainable development” (EFDRE constitution art. 43(1)). This indicates every sustainable development should consider the individual life and his house hold, as well as it is constitutional to upgrade his life as the situation allowed to him. Through their developmental rights every individual citizen will have the right to participate on the developmental matters that the country plans. This shows the urban plan policy of the country should participated dwellers on the particular area.

Art.43 (2) of EFDRE constitution allows the whole nation to take part in every developmental issue and to be consulted with regard to policies and projects which might affect their community. This implies in rural urban linkage the concerned dwellers should participate and consulted as a primary owner of development. The participation might be by selecting well known elderly dwellers or mass consultation.

With regard to social equity the Federal constitution provided equal delivery of service for all community. As mentioned in chapter two, in rural urban linkage avoiding the social deprivation should be a motto for healthy rural urban linkage.

Moreover, EFDRE constitution reveals that “Every Ethiopian national has the right to get equal access to publicly funded social services” (Article 41(3). Whatever the development achieves the issue advocate equity is dividing what you have. Hence in rural urban linkage the main city has a responsibility to provide infrastructure, allowable municipal functions, and job creation on the other hand the city will get raw materials , land for investment, land for resident and other agricultural products.

“The state has the duty to ensure that, all the inhabitants of the regional state get equal opportunity to improve their economic conditions and to promote or facilitate equitable distribution of wealth among them” (revised constitution art. 110(2)). It is also the state responsibility to provide special assistance to those nationalities and peoples who are disfavored in terms of development (revised constitution art. 110(3)). The same wise, in rural urban linkage special assistance must be considered for surroundings areas lagging behind cities and towns in order to achieve healthy rural urban linkage particularly.

This has implications for rural urban linkage particularly for incorporation. A city's or town's government must treat the rural areas it incorporate specially. It is the government's mandate to create job for the rural dwellers, to provide

adequate service, to build infrastructures and to shape the generations ethically, morally and physically.

3.3. Policy directions on urbanization and urban administration

Ethiopia adopted an urban policy that promotes rural urban linkage in May 2013. The policy has been at work since then.

3.3.1. Policy vision and objective

The vision of the urban policy is to see cities become center of development and democracy, interconnected to each other and internationally competent, assuring rapid service to the development of their dwellers, making them plan oriented and comfortable to live (see 2.1 of the policy). This vision advocates cities should become a model for democracy and important pole for development under rural-urban interconnection.

The policy aims at enabling cities contribute remarkably to the rural development and the national economy, serving as center of development, and enabling the city residents achieve the live standard of people in middle income countries, by making them power holders and beneficiaries from the development (see 2.2 of the policy). When cities become center for development and democracy the concerned stake holders, particularly the dwellers of the surrounding area should participate and decide what the future development of the area looks like.

Since the policy's development strategy is based on urban rural linkage and industrial development, rural development determines the speed and direction of urban development (Ibid). This is because urban industrial, service and market development is based on rural labor, agricultural product and natural resource. In the same way, cities have matchless role in making the rural development fast and continuous (see 2.3.2 a. of the policy).

Another development strategy focuses on industrial development to make big cities industrial centers and even small towns become the centers of

agricultural and industrial development by using the local agricultural product and excess labor (see 2.3.2 b. of the policy). Hence therefore, the main cities become more relevant for small towns development by its service and its educated man power, at the same time small towns including the rural areas should readily provide agricultural products and its excess manpower that the city industry requires.

To sum up the ongoing discussion reveals that the vision of the policy is Bahirdar city should be a facilitator for Meshenti and Tis abay surrounding development and model for democracy, such as participate the surrounding dwellers on decision, hearing the voice of dwellers, involve the community in every development and providing services to make the rural-urban linkage healthy and smooth.

3.3.2. The role of cities for national development

3.3.2.1. Cities role as market centers

Whereas cities are the markets where agricultural and industrial goods from rural areas, other cities and from abroad are traded, cities need to have different service providing organizations and quality infrastructures suitable for market. The infrastructures serve to link industries with agriculture and industries with other industries (see 3.1.2 of the policy). Obviously the Bahirdar city is well known for marketing and trading activities, however the central issue must rise here is, is the city link these incorporated towns with adequate road infrastructure to make the linkage fast and smooth.

3.3.2.2. Role of cities as service providers

As services, higher and middle level standard, are found in cities in a way they can be delivered both to urban and rural residents, they should not serve the urban public only. They serve the rural public, support rural service and enable cities to compete with a competent service (see 3.1.3 of the policy). In rural-urban linkage both on international guideline and federal policy, it is

recommended that the interface must be inclusive and concentrated on mutual interdependency. The issue is, is the city of Bahirdar equally favored for these towns in terms of service delivery under equity framework.

3.3.2.3. Cities role as centers of industry

Be it agricultural or other modern industries, they expand in the cities. It is in the cities where a suitable condition is created for agricultural products and natural resources in which they are consumed by industries and cause to add a value and contribute to the national industrial development. Moreover, cities are the places where proper infrastructure, service and trained man power necessary for industrial development is found (see 3.1.4 of the policy). When the rural-urban linkage takes place there might be categorizing the land, for industry, particularly for the investment and for resident houses. This categorization should consider the future development of the area, the land owners' wellbeing, the water and electric consumption of the investment as well as it is mandatory to check whether the investment usage is by the cost of the public or not (UN habitat III (2015)). The issue is whether the investment programs consider such activity for dwellers of the area or not?

3.3.3. The role of cities for democratic system

Democracy has strong economic foundation in industrial economy that is created in cities than the strength and guarantee it has in the rural areas with scattered farmers. Industrial economy in cities develops science and technology that strengthens democracy and make the public be aware of duties and rights by increasing a civilized society that can be easily organized (see 3.2 of the policy). The more cities develop, the more they build strong democratic culture and become exemplary for democracy. As mentioned in chapter two, the rural urban linkage particularly, incorporation needs public participation at large before the linkage come in to the real and after it comes to the reality. The central issue here to be noted is, is the dwellers of the case town and peasants'

of surrounding participated or consulted in the incorporation and investment, on the other hand are they currently participating as a stakeholder of the city.

3.3.4. Policy implementation directions

The federal urban policy instructs full involvement of government organs and the community, Cooperation between service providers, and a service delivery based on international standard for City dwellers.

Based on the policy direction, each level of government is expected to discharge certain responsibilities. In doing so, IGR must be taken in to consideration by all to realize the policy vision, principles and objectives

The federal government should prepare necessary strategies and laws to execute the policy, Cut and divide budget necessary for, and provide capacity building support to create a proper structure and insure good governance that can accelerate urban development. The federal urban development and construction minister mainly implements the policy, coordinate the implementation and supervises it (see 6.1of the policy). The federal urban and construction bureau on this regard has regulatory, supporter and shadow box supervisory role. Hence the issue is evaluating the implementation of rural urban linkage, particularly incorporation measuring the Federal urban development and construction minister's regulatory role has nothing to do with this topic.

The regional governments have the responsibility to implement the policy in their respective regions. They issue laws and regulations as well as strategies and programs to implement the policy, provide capacity building support and formula based subsidy to cities, declare lawfully cities' income/revenue, issue categorization and level of cities, and pass a house construction minimum and infrastructure level. They also provide a decision when incorporating a rural land in to an urban raises an argument (see 6.2 of the policy). This regional power is completely reserved for Amhara regional state urban development and construction bureau.

City governments, on their behalf, are required to issue regulations and directives to implement the policy. And also they are responsible to organize and strengthen institutions, grant necessary power to the lower administrative levels, conduct an inclusive and sustainable developmental work that enables cities to be center of development. Public ownership of power and beneficence should be insured (see 6.3 of the policy).

The principal owner of the subject is Bahirdar city administration, to implement the policy agenda, since it is the last tire of government to implement the rural-urban linkage smoothly.

3.4. Regional proclamations and directives on urbanization

In Ethiopia Regional states can formulate and execute economic, social, and development policies, strategies and plans (Federal constitution of Ethiopia (article 52(2(c)). Again based on the revised regional constitution art.49 (3(1))) the regional state council of Amhara formulates a policy related to urbanization with the objective to make the cities conducive, competitive, and to expand its destination as well as to go beyond physical change and to bring cities both economically and socially comfortable for the dwellers as well as new comers (Amhara proclamation no. 91 2003).

3.4.1. Proclamation no.91/2003/ founder of incorporation

This proclamation is the founder of rural-urban linkage particularly incorporation in Amhara regional state. As the proclamation illustrates cities/towns with in the Amhara regional state for the purpose of administrative organization, management and accountability, they will be categorized and sub-categorized in to; city administration cities, municipal towns, and emerging towns.

Under city administration category there will be city administration, amalgamated city administration, metropolitan city administration. Under the municipal town category there is lead municipality and sub-municipality category (proclamation no.91/2003 (art. 4-11). The criteria of classification

were determined by the regional administrative council regulation and its categorization was based on lasting development visions, and the current level of socio economic development of each urban center (Ibid). Here, under rural urban linkage the linkages might be consider rural or semi urban areas since incorporation of surrounding rural or urban areas is one aspect of rural-urban linkage.

The objectives of City administrations include creating the environment where public efficiency, transparency, and accountability prevails over the mess; creating a conducive environment for urban development to facilitate rural-urban development; ensuring infrastructural development and service delivery for city residents and service seekers; fighting against poverty by creating small and micro finance; making cities free from environmental pollutions; and ensuring public participation on issues of politics, administration, development and provision of services.

3.4.2. Proclamation no.245/2017 (current) and its directives

This proclamation came in to effect in 2017 repealing all the previous and proclamations before it (proc.no. 245/2017; art.94). But this proclamation discloses two transitory provisions i.e. regulation no. 65/2009 which is about cities organization, category determination, and establishment, and proclamation no. 91/2004 about regional cities establishment, organization and powers and duties determination (proc.no. 245/2017; art.93).

In the part about categorization and organization, this to date proclamation directs rural incorporation in to urban areas must be lawful and the incorporated areas must get a status of lead municipality, sub municipality or emerging town. In addition, the proclamation instructs that the incorporated rural areas' power, duties and accountabilities be determined.

The proclamation classifies the cities in to three categories (art.6) the first category is the city administrations which include region-politan, category one

and category two. The second is the municipality cities (category three and category four). The last category includes emerging towns as category five.

Region-politan city administration is any urban area in the region elected to be promoted from the surroundings being a fundamental center to speed up the overall development of the surrounding towns.

3.4.2.1. Accountability

The region-politan city administrations are directly accountable to the head of the regional state, and those categorized under category one and two are directly accountable to zone or nationality zone (proclamation 245/2017, article 8). However, the various sectors in the region-politan city have professional accountability for their respective sectors in the regional government. Accordingly, Bahir dar city administration is accountable to the regional urban development and construction bureau in implementing aspects of urban policy, hence urban rural linkage in our case. The regional urban development and construction bureau have a supervisory role in urban-rural linkages in the region. A question to be risen here is whether this bureau is (have been) discharging its supervisory role efficiently.

When rural-urban linkage administered by the same admin, there is a need to prepare administrative structures which suits the scenario. Municipality and emerging towns are accountable to wereda administration therein (Ibid). But the fact on the ground, even though the rest former kebelles (equivalent to municipality) are accountable to their respective sub-city, Meshenti and Tis abay are politically, economically, and socially accountable to the region-politan city administration. This is not defined yet. The municipality and emerging towns will look forward appropriate professional assistance from concerned city administration office. The important thing to be noted here is the rural urban linkage might be harmed when the administrative structure is not practicable and vague. Had it not been better to arrange these towns with in the structure of sub municipality anyway? If incorporation genuine?

3.4.2.2. Geographical boundary

Unlike proclamation no.91/2003, this proclamation includes geographical boundaries of cities. “The established city within a national region in accordance with this proclamation shall have its own geographical boundary. To determine its boundary the regional executive council has exclusive power (proc.no.245/2017). Since article 93 of this proclamation made regulation no.65/2009 as transitory provision, this regulation has a legal ground to decide the boundaries of cities in the region.

This regulation determines the boundaries of city administration, municipal cities and emerging towns on the basis of population size, potential revenue, occupation of the resident, strategic importance.

According to the regulation no.65/2009 (art.3-7), Cities can be categorized under sub-categorization of the cities.

For city administration there are; metropolitan city administration level city, medium city administration level city, and small city administration level city, and according to the regulation no 65/2009 (art.9) its radius should be like Metropolitan boundary includes; average 20 km radius, if there is local administrative towns from the center and 10 km geographic region. Middle city administration includes; 5 km geographic region. Small city administration includes; 3 km from the center.

Sub-categories of the municipal city can be; lead municipality and sub-municipality should be like; 1 up to 2 km radius geographic region depends on their development and population living therein.

There is no sub-categorization for emerging towns because their status is allowed to kebele only. Their boundary covers from 0.5 up to 1 km radius geographic region and the population living therein.

Generally, In accordance with the regulation, boundary demarcation of the cities zonal committee is responsible in zonal administration office. However

the boundaries demarcation committee of municipal and emerging cities is assigned by respective administrative woreda council. Hence therefore, With regard to approval of detailed boundaries “the boundary delineating committee shall, having detailed boundary it delineated for city administration level reviewed and evaluated by regional bureau of work and urban development, cause same to be approved by zone administration cabinet” (regulation no.65/2009(art.14/1)).However concerning delineation of municipal and emerging towns will be evaluated by zonal work and urban development department then approved by woreda administration council (regulation no.65/2009(art.14/2)).

3.4.2.3. Power and functions of city

As mentioned in chapter two, according to the international guidelines on urban and territorial planning (2015) local governments and their associations should carefully discharge their responsibility in the preparation, implementation and monitoring of urban and territorial plans.

A city administration that is established and organized in the region in accordance with proclamation number 245/2017 have its own legal personality and capacity to enter into contracts including the power to borrow from the local financial sources, to own and manage property as well as to prosecute in accordance with law. A city administration categorized under any level has the power and duty to enact local regulations and directives to execute, and a judicial power over city affairs in accordance with the constitution (art.10-11).

3.4.2.3.1. Power and functions of city administration

According to this proclamation 245/2017, a city administration has distinctive powers and duties. It should Plan, design, direct and support urban development, study and revise master plan of the city and supervising the implementation, issue the regulation and directives which fall under city

jurisdiction, impose tax and administer regulations and directives; on financial matters and other income generating activities, administer and develop land and natural resources in accordance with law Cooperation with the region, rural administration organs, private sector, civic society, city from other region and with the consent of federal and regional government, with international association.

A city administration also needs to promote micro and small trade enterprises, represent and transfer the opinion of the community which is not the jurisdiction of it, expand and facilitate secondary schools kindergartens, health centers and other social services, establish service rendering institutions where the private sectors has not been involved. Sharing its power and revenue with the incorporated kebeles sub-cities and determine service at these level is vital.

Other branches of functions of city administration include directing and supervising municipal service; provision of road light, construction of drainages, sewerages, roads with the exception of cross country roads; Construction for abattoir service, organizing the bus station, market places, public libraries, theater halls, museums, monuments, squares as well as sport frequenting sites and youth centers, ambulance service of the city residents and HIV/AIDS campaign, ensuring supply of water, electric, telephone, and transport service, and to check whether it is equitable and fair, setting up of solid waste disposal systems, security of traffic safety, preventing soil erosion, fire protection, land slide disaster, as well as environmental pollution, Caring the handicapped persons, the aged people and abandoned and orphaned children's those lost their parents with different reason; poverty reduction strategy, administering urban land in an efficient and effective manner and establish data system for it; Controlling illegal constrictions, trade...etc.;

3.4.2.3.2. Power and functions of the city council

Higher city administration power is given for the city council including; issue the regulation, directives, as well as pass decisions on the matter of the entire city. Specific powers of the council according to the current 245/2017 proclamation; (art.14), are to elect and appoint the house speaker; to nominate the mayor of the city; from majority seat party; to establish various committees, institutions, and checking its implementation; to examine and approve annual work plan and the budget proposal of the city; to examine and approve annual master plan of the city and ensure its implementation; to examine and approve agreement made in the country as well as outside the country sister cities; to checking whether the finance and property of the city administration utilized based on the purpose through auditors; to call and question the mayor and mayoral committees. This indicates the city council has these all powers to serve the community, through from their legislative authority to supervise the implementation as well as call and question the executives in the city.

3.4.2.3.3. Power and functions of mayor's committee

According to the proclamation all the city administration of the region supposed to establish mayoral committee in accordance with this proclamation (art. 14). This will be created for the reason that, the highest executive power is given for the mayor and this committee (Ibid). The specific powers are; to follow-up and ensure the implementation of laws issued by the regional and city council as well as the federal government within the city limit; to determine the organization of the executive bodies of the city administration and other institution within the city; to prepare work plan for the enforcement of annual budget; follow up the implementation, social, economic strategies and plans of the city; to ensure observance to the law and order within the city and perform any other duties ordered by the mayor.

3.4.2.3.4. Power and function of manager of city service

Every city administration invented to have the manager of the city service according to this proclamation, it is accountable to city mayor, and it is general of city service. According to (art. 29) of the same proclamation its specific powers are; to recruit, manage, hire and fire the employees under his jurisdiction; to follow-up the mayor committee and meeting with the city council without voting right; to enforce the implementation of laws of the regional and federal governments as well as regulation and directives by the city council concerning urban services; to submit periodic work plan and the report to the mayor; to give information for mayor and mayoral committee on financial and future need of the city; Conduct a study, to keep residents security and the provision of integrated services as well as implementing it based on the decision of the mayor; to receive, examine the petition and complains rose by the resident people in case of service delivery and react thereon.

3.4.2.4. Power and functions of municipal towns

According to the proclamation, any towns failed to full fill the requirement of city administration is allowed to have municipal status. It can be sub-municipal and lead municipal status (art. 35-39). Generally municipal functions and duties are; to deliver annual work plan and draft execution budget of the towns; to participate broadly on the issue of resident population in local development activities; to Follow-up property handling and finance of the town; to ask the upper administration to make local growth plan or partial urban plan and administrating the place of towns; to construct the city's internal roads and flooding lines; to organize abattoir service, bus station and the market places; to prevent and supervise illegal construction. But the issue must be raised here is, are these towns organize abattoir service, bus station and market place by its local finance or by the main town finance. The proclamation particularly says nothing for such kind of incorporation. If the

construction is covered by the city administration it does not specifically show how far incorporated areas are owner city budget.

3.4.2.4.1. Power and function of municipal chief executive officer

According to the proclamation the executive officer of the municipality has power; (art.37) the officer is the highest accountable officer to the municipal residents; to execute the laws of senior administrations; to preparing municipal plan and budget; to report its work performance for the residents, woreda council, and woreda government; to periodically prepare public meeting openly to gather public opinion. The question to be pose here is, this officer is appointed by the city administration and this officer is fired by the city administration, however this proclamation ordered the chief executive officer of the municipality is supposed to be accountable for the municipal dwellers. It might be difficult to plan and implement its jurisdiction when the main administration is not allowed to do so. Does it not seem the accountability of the chief executive officer of the municipality just superficial? Being hire and fire supremacy is held by the city administration only. Had it not been fine if the city dwellers have a say on this regard?

3.4.2.4.2. Power and function of manager of a municipal

This branch of the municipality is the second for the municipality in order to implement the policy issues. The power includes to Prepare annual development work plan and exclusion budget draft submit municipal management committee; to enforce the order and law by the upper including the municipal chief executive officer.

3.5. Area description of the study

Bahirdar is located in north western part of Ethiopia, in Amhara National Regional State, West Gojam Zone at a distance of 565 km from Addis Ababa. Its geographical location is 11°38' north latitude and 37°15' east longitude and the *city* was founded in 1922 (*MUDHO, 2017*).

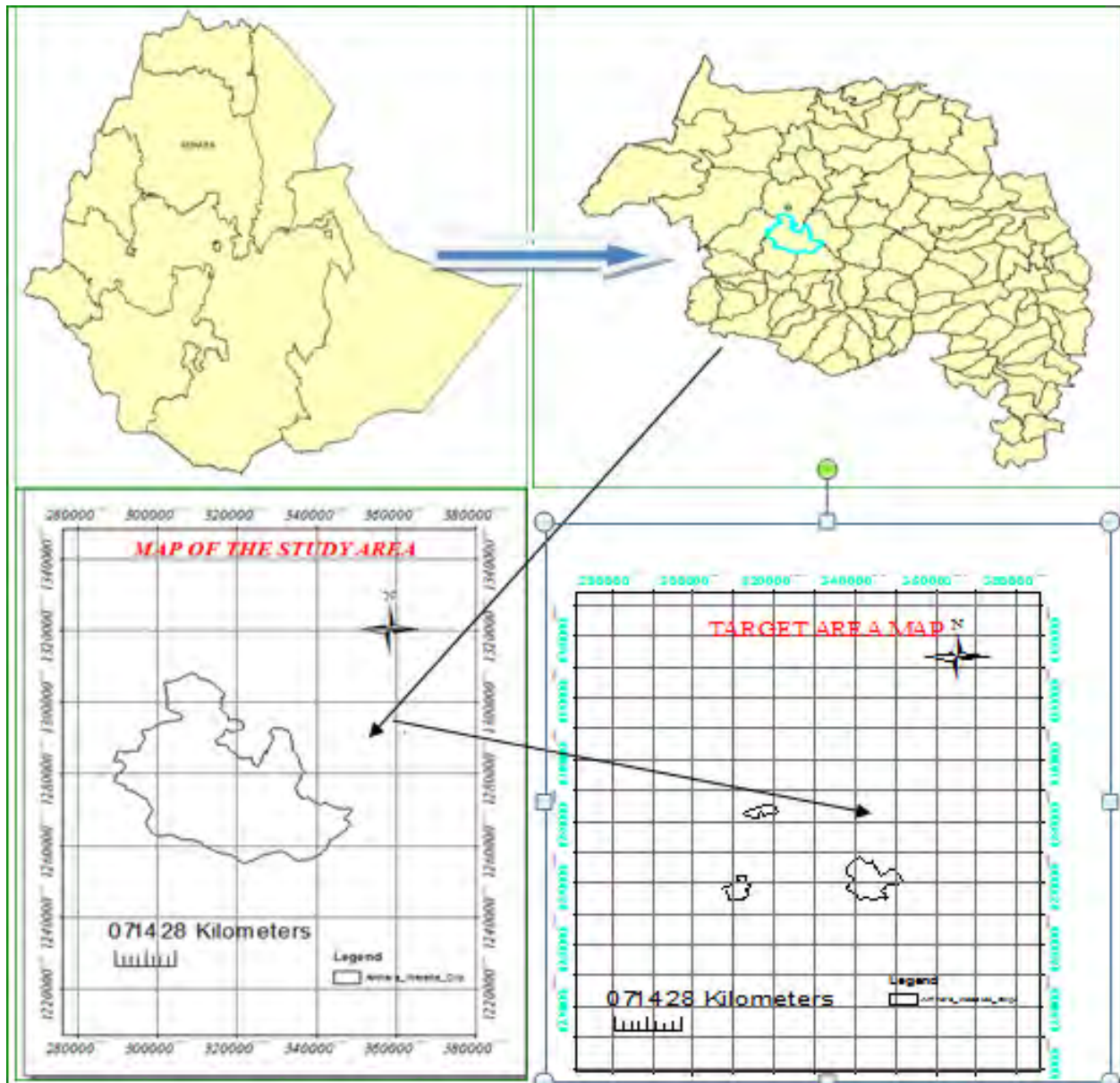
Bahir Dar is one of the city administrations in the Amhara Regional state. This *city* shares a border with the surrounding *woreda* (*zuria-woreda*). And it is situated near Lake Tana, the source of Blue Nile River and the leading tourist destination in Ethiopia (CSA 2007).

With regard to urban-urban and rural-urban linkage Bahirdar city is taken as a center for south Gonder zone and west Gojjam zones with its expected influence on economic and social aspect, such as from Bahirdar *zuria woreda*, Meshenti, Tis abay, Zege, from Yilmana densa *woreda*, Adet, from Achefer *Woreda* Durbete and kunzila, from Mecha *Woreda*, Merawi and Wetet abay, and on the direction of south Gonder zone, from Fogera *woreda*, Wereta from Dera *woreda*, Ambessamie and Hammusit (BDIDP, 2006).

The city incorporates four direction of its surrounding such as Tis abay, Meshenti, Zege, and zenzelma tips (regulation 17/2003). Meshenti was part of Bahirdar surrounding *woreda* structure before incorporation and its current population size is 7,800, its foundation was during Italian conquest, the setting up of a substitute armed camp in the area had set for its foundation (BDIDP, 2006). Meshenti is well known for its productive farming land on chat, teff, etc., and has huge potential for investment and surrounded by rural *kebeles*.

Similarly, Tis Abay was administered by the surrounding *woreda* structure before incorporation and it is/was well known for its tourist attraction, sugarcane, fruits etc., its foundation was 1959, by Dejazmach Dires, the formerly administrator of the *woreda*. The establishment of hydroelectric power station and the existence of Tis Abay fall in the adjacent area are the main factors, which contributed much for the foundation of the center as urban neighborhood. What is more, the title of the town that is “Tis Abay” is directly driven from the term of the “Tis Abay fall” (sometimes called as Tis Issat) of Abay River (BDIDP, 2006). its current population size 19,378, Unlike these towns between the city and incorporated towns there are rural *kebeles*

which is not included by the incorporation and currently leading by zuria worda.



Map 3.1: Location map of the study area

Source: own survey (2018)

3.6. Conclusion

As any developmental issues emanated from the constitution, individuals have the rights to participate on development, access to service on publicly funded

social services, property rights or obtaining land without fee (peasants) and to be safe to removal from it.

Constitutionally, to protect these rights the state has a duty to ensure social equity, promote equitable distribution of wealth among the people, special assistance for peoples that left behind in terms of development. Particularly promoting young generation, transforming youths in to a responsive citizen and build them capable both physically and mentally. Pursuing policies which aim to expand job opportunity; pro-poor programs and public work projects are state functions.

On its principle, interdependent rural urban linkage, expanding developmental opportunity, making cities having deferent economical role, poverty reduction, and public participation on development, strong partnership and decentralized administrations are the key pillars of the policy.

The policy has stated directions for each level of government to implement the policy. It orders the full involvement of government and public, legislation of laws and regulations for the implementation, rendering of international standard service delivery for city dwellers, cooperation of service providers and intergovernmental relations in order to implement the policy. On this regard the federal government has more of supervisory and budget giving role however the technical assistance and implementation for the sector is rely on for regions and particularly the local governments.

Proclamation number 91/2003 for its purpose of administrative, organization, management and accountability categorize cities in to municipal towns and emerging towns and to facilitate the rural-urban development. its working principles was democratic leadership, good governance, development, self-sufficiency, performing functions based on observing regional and federal laws, cooperation and coordination and partnership.

The proclamation aimed to achieve and facilitate rural-urban development, ensuring infrastructural development and service delivery for city and adjacent

rural service seekers, fighting against poverty by creating small and micro finance, making cities free from environmental pollutions and ensuring public participation on political, administrative, developmental issues.

Following this proclamation regulation number 17/2003 was declared to implement the policy. The regulation defines the municipal, sub municipal and emerging town statutes to manage the implementations and each geographical boundary in rural urban linkage.

Consequently, Tis abay, Meshenti and zega incorporated in to the city jurisdiction. Tis abay and Meshenti were given a sub-municipal and emerging town status and these kebelles include the rural areas.

The political, social and economic aspects of towns are given to the main city to administer.

Proclamation number 245/2017 is a current legislation, and it is not different by its content with the previous one. What makes different is definitions like metropolitan and region-politan, and the recent proclamation is clearly defined the boundary demarcation aspects of the entire city. The question to pose here is, are the case towns practically grown when their status upgraded?

With regard to accountability the cities and its sub-municipal and emerging towns have political and administrative accountability to the city. The city in its turn is politically and administratively accountable to the regional government as well as professional accountability to the different regional sector bureaus. Hence therefore the Bahirdar city is administratively and politically accountable to regional government, and professionally the city accountable for urban and construction bureau of the region on the matter of urban development, service delivery, infrastructural development, etc.

Regulation 65/2009 is prepare the boundary demarcation criteria with no difference of the previous regulation, on top of that concerning boundary demarcation of municipal and emerging towns will be evaluated by zonal work

and urban development and then approved by the woreda administrative council.

Proclamation number 245/2017 states that for the implementation of the policy city administrations generally has planning, designing, directing and supporting urban development power or rural urban linkage. On the other hand the city council generally has the power to establish various committees, institutions, checking implementation and call and question the mayor and mayoral committee.

Municipal towns by their turn have a general duty of participating on the issue of resident population in local development activities, follow up property handling and finance of the town. Simultaneously asking the upper administrations, organization of abattoir services, bus stations and market places as well as prevent and supervise illegal constructions.

To sum up, this chapter leaves the issue for the next chapter, whether the responsible government body did their part to implement the policy direction or is service delivery of the case towns are still stagnant. The next chapter will examine the implementation and consequence of incorporation, including legality and process of incorporation based on the data which gathered from the subjects of the study.

Chapter Four

The implementation and consequence of incorporation

4.1. Introduction

Chapter two and chapter three of this paper basically discusses about the how of rural urban linkage, incorporated town's service delivery and its management. And it is already addressed what the theoretical framework looks like.

International literature on theoretical framework posed that an urban policy should dictate the future benefits of an area and its surrounding community. Furthermore, a policy should indicate the roles and mandates of each level of government to perform their activity with knowledge and awareness so that they become accountable for their weak implementation (Haward Whi tton, 2001).

As mentioned in chapter two, rural urban linkage or contextually incorporation of adjacent towns and its implementation should consider political, economic linkage and its mutualism in social aspects. Furthermore, the incorporation must specifically show its aim and how the process goes on to achieve the desired outcome. Urban rural linkage should take in to account individual and group rights according to the international guideline, domestic dogmas and constitutions as well as institutional mechanisms about rural-urban linkage.

Therefore, this chapter will discuss about the legality of linkage, the process, implementation of linkage and the dwellers wellbeing in terms of service delivery based on the collected data. Structurally this chapter starts with the legality of incorporation and the process. And the implementation of incorporation such as service delivery, job creation, health and education, road, water, electricity, other municipal functions, inclusive development, master plan of areas, the peasants' wellbeing continues. Then after the

executive overlook on linkage, based on their mandate, is observed finally a conclusion is provided.

4.2. The legality of incorporation

The incorporation of the adjacent secondary towns in to Bahridar was held in 2004 based on proclamation number 91/2003.

To examine the legality of the incorporation, the first thing to be considered is if the incorporation was based on the criteria and preconditions stated in the proclamation. The second parameter is the feasibility of the stated benchmarks.

The first legal requirement for the incorporation was; the existence of the towns within 20 km radius from the center and the importance of the towns to the main town's development in terms of their land for investment, tourist attraction, and marketable raw products.

According to regulation 17/2003, the city was allowed to incorporate areas only within 20 km radius from the center. But Tis abay and Zege were not within the specified radius. Tis abay is 25 km and zege is 28 km away from the center. Hence the incorporation of these towns was illegal since the proclamation and regulation of the incorporation does not allow and specify so. Actually Meshenti was within the specified distance; hence its incorporation was legal.

With regard to feasibility, regulation number 17/2003 states that emerging towns, sub municipalities etc can grow in terms of status and territory when they grow in terms of their non-farming population, their annual finance collection, strategic importance for woreda and regional development. Accordingly, Meshenti and Tis abay has achieved and grown to a sub-municipal and lead municipal status from emerging town and sub- municipal status respectively. However, their physical enlargement is still static. This is because there are surrounding woreda administration kebelles between Bahirdar and the case towns that are not part of the city. These rural kebelles are not accountable both to the city administration (administratively) and the

regional urban development and construction bureau (professionally). Hence, areal expansion of these towns has not been feasible because there is no real physical proximity between the main city and these secondary towns.

According to a subject of the study from regional urban development and construction bureau, the areal expansion of the case towns will only be possible after incorporation of the other areas in between Bhirdar and the towns. This indicates it was already known that these towns will not expand practically even when they fulfill the legal requirements for expansion and status achievement. Hence, the legality is contradictory when it comes to practice. And incorporating of them was not purely legal even though it is prescribed by regulation.

Another critical issue in incorporation is dwellers' participation and representativeness. International literatures and policy directions on rural-urban linkage show that to make developments inclusive, to know the root problem out there and to work on the remedies for underprivileged areas, the governments, its policy and implementation should consider the dwellers in particular area. However, the fact on the ground shows that no participation of dwellers and their representatives (interview and FGD with two case towns).

It is acceptable that, these towns were incapable to provide proper services to their dwellers and the main city was capable in terms of finance, skilled man power and better opportunity to collect some funds for the developments of these towns. However the reality on the ground shows the city and its administration does not give adequate attention for future development and physical enlargement of case towns.

4.3. The process of incorporation

As mentioned in chapter two rural urban linkages are created to serve both the rural and urban interest.

The modern rural-urban linkage doctrine advocates sustainable development should consider inclusive development. This indicates rural and urban

interests should be taken in to account before the implementation of development programs. According to the international guideline, preferences and future needs of any development area should be selected by public participation and scholars of the subject. To put this in to context, area dwellers have legal rights to participate and decide in matters that affect them and their area.

Proclamation 91/2003 states that incorporation of adjacent towns should actively take in to account the “principle of participation” (art.7/6 of 91/2003).

During a territorial incorporation the consult and good will of the public is paramount for it will finally prevent grievance from the public side. Moreover, it is constitutional right of the dwellers to be consulted. However, during the incorporation of these case towns, no one from the public side was consulted (FGD from two case towns). Concerned stakeholders such as dwellers, representatives, and leaders of the kebele did not participate and were not consulted on the matter of their town. As the former kebele administrators stated it, the incorporation was simply an order from higher officials stating “now onwards these towns are part and parcel of the city”. This indicates, instead of consulting the dwellers, it was only the kebele council and cabinets who were made to know the case through meeting. Even these officials did not participate in the discussion on how the towns will be incorporated and what will be the responsibility of the respective officials to implement the proclamation.

According to the subjects of the study from Tis abay and Meshenti, including the previous administrators of the kebele, “the incorporation had not considered the public’s interest and stand”. They were not communicated as to what the aims of the incorporation were, what benefits they will accrue, the down side of incorporation, what economic development will come about, what political representations will there be etc. Even the roles of the dwellers on

areal expansion and their positive understanding/patience during displacement were not defined (previous administrators of the kebeles).

During incorporation, the dwellers of the kebele learnt about the incorporation by rumor and they were happy even though they were not consulted; they thought being a part and parcel of the city would bring them a better service and infrastructure. Their feedback carried proud and wished new life (interview with two former kebele administrators and personal interview with elderly city dwellers).

The executive summary of Bahirdar integrated development plan (BDIP) prepared by the federal urban planning institute and Bahirdar city administration (july, 2006) shows that only 58 - 80 individual kebele dwellers from the former 17 kebeles of the city were allowed to participation during preparation. The rest participants were stakeholders such as ANRS trade, industry, UDB and federal urban planning institute (see Executive summary of BDIDP, 2006: 2-3). This indicates that the saying of dwellers of the case towns was ignored.

Thus, from legal perspective, the process of the incorporation is questioned for it was not implemented according to the principles of the incorporation.

4.4. The implementation of incorporation

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Metropolitan enlargement or rural-urban linkage can substantially advance access to amenities such as health, education, better transport, access to information for rural areas , rise political decision-making structures to rural and peri-urban areas, it will also provide necessary information for rural dwellers, such as current marketplace rates. This permits rural houses to answer more successfully to buyer preferences and town labor bazaar requirements.

The greater access to modern materials and better-quality infrastructures increase the movements of people, goods and services. This falsifies the

boundaries between urban and rural areas, and is acute means to constructing it.

The issue to be noted here is, if the incorporation of the case towns has blurred the boundary in terms of service delivery and physical characteristics, and if it has brought about the expected positive changes from rural urban linkage.

Therefore, from the initial time to the present-day, service delivery of these towns, the peasant's wellbeing and the consequence of the implementation (positive and negative side) are presented as follows.

4.4.1. Service delivery and wellbeing of kebele dwellers

So long as rural urban linkages doctrine is about mutual interdependency between adjacent rural areas and the city, things should move hand in hand with the wellbeing of citizen and healthy rural urban linkage. Both the proclamation 91/2003, 245/217, and the federal urban policy reveals that the manifestation of the implementation of rural urban linkage is determined by its service delivery and just doings of the implementers.

Job creation

In a FGD at Meshenti the subjects stated "these youths are under poverty and addicted at the same time". The city administration has tried to mitigate the grievance of youths by providing business container cells after organizing selected deprived youths in Meshenti and Tis abay.

According to Meshenti entrepreneurship officer, the city administration has built 36 containers for 108 youths out of 384 unemployed youths. According to the Tis abay entrepreneurship office, the city administration has built 9 containers while the demand rates up to 382 unemployed youths.

The requirement was income and unemployment status. However among those who took these container cells, there is no one who has started work so far. One of the youths key informant answered it was because of financial problem that he was not able to open the container and start business. The city

administration has not taken strong measurements beyond building the containers. Another key informants from Meshenti answered it was because of problems in organizing the youths. Every single container was given to three unemployed youth but the loan service was not made to be equivalent and convenient to that. The loan was allowed only for five youth in every group. The youth has stated their complains to the concerned bodies. As an effort to overcome this problem, kebele officials have tried to write a supportive letter to ASCI with special circumstance but the teams are not ready to collect the interest based money with unworkable market area (interview with Meshenti chief administrator). The youth are just waiting the federal budget that was proposed for youth's job creation in 2016-2017 budget years (ibid).

Consequently, the youths are about to give the key of the containers back the kebele officials. Five containers are already submitted in Meshenti. The Youth gave their key on their consent. The kebele has warned the rest through board notice that their containers will be taken if they fail to open up and start business (FGD with two case town dwellers).

On the other hand, the container shops that were built for the unemployed youth around Meshenti were not pleasant for trade and entrepreneurship for they were far away from the resident area. In addition, according to the head of Meshenti kebele, the places were chosen without considering the muster plan of the area (interview with Meshenti chief administrator). The construction of the containers did not consult the elders in the kebele. Both the international guideline and rural urban linkage philosophy promote elders' participation and consideration in future plan of the area. However the construction of the containers and the selection of the area were not inclusive and gave no space for well knowledgeable elders in the town.



Installation of containers for entrepreneurship of youths at Tis abay and Meshenti, respectively

Source, own photograph

The kebele administrator answered “we chose the area since we have no other alternative place to provide; moreover the place was selected to quickly answer the grievance of youth”. However the FGD revealed that there was an alternative place. The elders of the kebeles stated that, had the kebele administrators consulted them on alternative potential free places to be given to unemployed youth, they would have helped them. However, they said, there is no culture for participating elders in such activity.

Few time after the provision of the misplaced containers to the unemployed youth, kebele officials warned on board notice the youth who did not started the job. The spillover thing here was, despite the inconvenience of the place for trade, there was no financial support given to the youth to get started. When asked on why the youth were warned for not starting business in an inconvenient place, administrator of Meshenti kebele answered “The reprimand was as part of a solution to lead them to get in to their job quickly”. This indicates that the kebele officials simply jumped on to pushing the youth

towards work where there is no favorable condition instead of fulfilling the necessary inputs first. Asking the city administration for help, searching for potentially favorable places for business, and facilitating the finance support with pro poor perspective, were the prior home works of the kebele officials instead.

Health and education

As the federal urban policy suggest the health and educational services and its implementation should be based on the minimum standard of the federal health and educational policy with urban development and urban governance frame work (Federal urban policy, 2013).

After incorporation, these towns received considerable support by city administration to build secondary education and primary health care services which were not available previously during zuria/surrounding woreda administration (FGD with two case kebeles). On education side most of the expenditures was covered by the city dwellers support and its man power. Before the incorporation the kebele students who pass the primary school examination was forced to learn their secondary education at Bahirdar and Merawi.

According to FGD, the grievance of Tis abay dwellers is, because of the inopportuneness of the area, senior and well knowledgeable health officers mostly migrate to the main city. Due to that, the dwellers are always forced to be treated by fresh health officers. The quality of health service in the kebele is substandard. For this reason, most of the dwellers who can afford health payment choose to go to Bahirdar and get treated in private health cares (interview with elder dwellers).

Another big challenge these towns are facing is ambulance service, especially Tis abay kebele. The kebele health centers have no their own ambulances. They are using the main city's ambulance service for emergency. The limitation here is, the "stand by" area of the ambulances is in Bahirdar which makes it

cumbersome to provide the service for distant kebeles in urgent cases. One pregnant woman has died because of ambulance delay (FGD and personal interview with city dwellers). Moreover, it is difficult to travel 50 km driving with bad road to deliver patients to hospital in the case of emergency. Another point is, most of the time, when the ambulance service is needed during night, service calls are not answered positively. What they say is “we are on another duty” (FGD with Meshenti dwellers).

Infrastructure

Both the federal policy and the proclamation effect after it agreed that infrastructure is the back bone of rural urban linkage. Indeed, without achieving sufficient road infrastructure, water, electricity etc. it is difficult to achieve healthy rural urban linkage.

Theoretical and legal grounds of rural urban linkage indicate that during incorporation the main city has the lion share to link the socio-economic and political circumstances of the two areas through infrastructure. The adjacent rural kebele become end users of incorporation through road, water, electricity and the main city by its turn will get more agricultural products, man power, land for investment and residence etc.

Road and transport

“Still, these towns have no good roads constructed either by the city administration or the regional government” (FGD with two towns). Tis abay uses 25 km rural road to link to the main city. There is no pleasant road for tourists and the residents before and after the incorporation.

During the winter times, the road is full of staking mud which makes it almost impossible for vehicles to drive. During the summer, the road is full of dust that causes to some diseases. An interview with the current chief administrator of the city showed that the road problem in Tis Abay will be solved by the coming year (2019) because the road construction is under designing.

The road between Meshenti and Bahirdar was constructed before the incorporation by of the federal roads authority since it links Addis ababa to Bahirdar. But unlike the 12 meters width standard for cities, the road is only seven meters width asphalt. For this and other related reasons, there is frequent car accident in the town especially on market areas on the two sides of this narrow road. According to subjects of the study Meshenti is well known for its traffic accident since the market area is by the side of the road. Because of water erosion, the two sides of the road are wiped hence the road's edge is separated from the side ground causing car slide.

With regard to transport, Meshenti town has regular taxi service from the center with 13 birr current tariff. But, since there is no good road to drive, Tis abay has no regular taxi service from and to the center or other surrounding towns. The routine transport flow is being covered by a 2nd and 3rd level private buses. Generally, the road's quality and its travel speed are very low, or it is not as conducive as what a healthy rural urban linkage requires.



Tis abay road during winter

Source; 2017 tourism day photograph by ANTV

Water

The question of water was addressed by the collaboration of city administration and the dweller public before 5 years, after incorporation (FGD with two kebeles). A water tank was built; hence there has been water service at household level since then. The problem is, especially in Meshenti Kebele, the water tank is repeatedly damaged with thunder attack /mebreQ/. It was attacked three times after the construction. When the service stopped, after each thunder damage kebele dwellers and officials have raised funds for the repair. China road construction and the city administration were among the funders. But still, as proactive prevention mechanism, no one has considered anti-thunder mechanisms. Due to that, dwellers of Meshenti kebele are suffering from shortage of water service for 3-5 months on average annually (FGD at Meshenti). Moreover, what makes this issue more pressing is, there is no clear ownership and accountability as to who will be the concerned body to cut budgets and address this problem. Every time the thunder damaged the tank, it has been on the shoulder of the dwellers to fix it (FGD with Meshenti dwellers).

Electricity

The electric power in Tis Isat was constructed by Yugoslavians in 1960/61 (BDIDP, 2006). This indicates that Tis-Abay town has electric light back in 1960/61. Currently the town faces the problem of electricity. This shortage started after incorporation; when the city controlled the electric line and its flow (FGD at Tis abay). The grievance of the dwellers in Tis abay starts with saying “we lost what we had; let alone to benefit from the new one” (interview with chief administrator of Tis abay). Around Tis abay there are no strong light poles that resist natural factors (interview with representative of Tis abay in city council). Meshenti and Tis abay have no street lights. As FGD at Meshenti testimonies that the street light was functional during the election time, then it stopped following the end of election phase.

Municipal functions

Construction for abattoir service, organizing the bus station, market places, public libraries, theater halls, museums, monuments, squares as well as sport frequenting sites and youth centers are the main task and duties of city administration for its city dwellers (see article 11/V of proc.245/2017). However none of these service areas were constructed for the case towns after the incorporation (FGD at two case towns). In Meshenti, because of lack of safe market place, as mentioned above, annually 5-10 persons were injured in a car accident while trading in the main road that link Addis Ababa to Bahirdar (interview with current Meshenti chief administrator). Due to lack of sport frequenting sites and youth centers, the youths of the kebele has developed habit of chewing chat. They spend much of their day time chewing (interview with case dwellers). There are no libraries that serve public readers in the area.

Municipal towns have a duty to organize abattoir service, bus stations and market places. However, taking their current situation in to account, Meshenti and Tis Abay are not capable enough to shoulder these responsibilities. Their annual revenue, mostly from chat and wood fees, only covers the month salary for the kebele employees. There is no any other surplus revenue to discharge other responsibilities of these two kebeles. But, these kebeles were granted a sub-municipality and led-municipality levels by the main city (interview with chief administrators of the kebeles). Here, a question to be raised is “what is the essence of giving a municipal and led-municipal status to towns that even cannot fund themselves?”. This shows that the financial capacity of towns was not carefully considered in doing so.

Inclusive development and equity

As mentioned in chapter two “equity”, “efficiency”, and “effectiveness” are some of the measures with which urban/ municipal amenity distribution is assessed (UN habitat, 2002). To say a development is sustainable; there is a need to

achieve equity and reasonable implementation. And to make the development sustainable and inclusive, there is a need to participate concerned dwellers.

The city dwellers and surrounding town administrators should take part in every decision making activity of their city since it will directly or indirectly affect them (federal urban policy). To bring an inclusionary development, the city administration should create a strong relationship with other stake holders like private sector institutions, civic societies, rural administrative organ, cities from other regions and in the region (see article 11/N of the proc.245/2017 and see UN habitat guideline on urban and territorial expansion, 2015).

However, as stated above, in the process of incorporation of the case towns, all levels of government have not consulted the dwellers. Even the kebele officials were not able to discuss and argue the issue with city administration. They just obeyed the order of the city administration unconditionally (FGD at Tis abay). This indicates there was no participation of dwellers as stakeholders on the social and economic aspects of the city in general and the kebele in particular.

These towns had police investigation offices when they were under the administration of Bahirdar surrounding woreda. But now, from the incorporation time till now, there is no police investigation office. These areas are towns of peasants that serve as market centers for the surrounding rural areas where traditional drinks are sold especially at weekends.

The farmers usually get intoxicate and quarrel at these areas. Interviewed member of the city council from Meshenti town stated that fights usually occur between peasants during rainy seasons. Due to that, “one day a victim has died in a fight and the suspect escaped”. The police command center for these towns is inaccessible because it is located in the main city. Meshenti police service is commanded from the 9th police station in Bahirdar city and Tis abay police service is centrally commanded by the 4th police station. Police officers cannot arrive rapidly during urgent cases; and because of road inconveniency, the distance and transport cost, witnesses are not willing to go to Bahirdar police

stations to give their statements. For this reason, when the problems happen in these towns, the people do not want to rely on the police forces (FGD at Tis abay).

Currently, Tis abay lead municipality is working to build police investigation office on its own, after the city administration and city council failed to answer the request (interview with Tis abay representative on city council).

Another criminal justice organ, these towns used to have before the incorporation, is a mobile court. This movable court was considerably good relief for the residents in terms of cost and distance from their home. It was also important to adjust alternative dispute resolutions (ADR) for minor cases. Today, the mobile court is not functional and the dwellers are forced to go to Bhirdar for all court adjudications and legal services. Due to this, they are disposed to much time, money, and physical costs; especially the Tis abay dwellers.

This indicates the incorporation has taken some necessary services that the kebeles used to enjoy before.

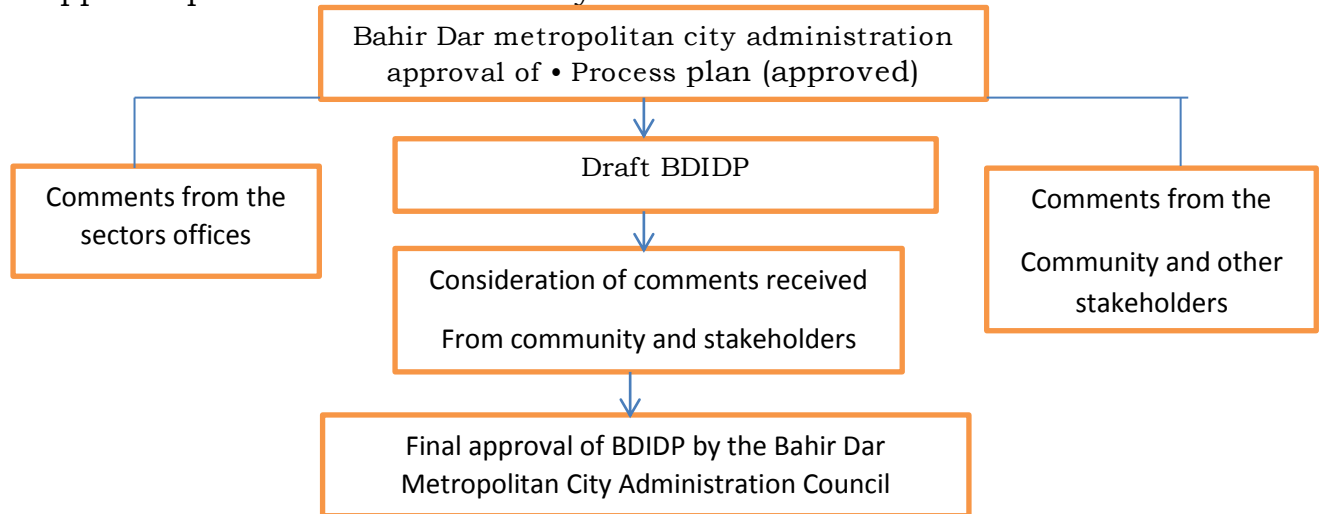
Legally, these towns are part and parcel of the city. Every activity done and every opportunity created by the city administration should have taken in to account all youth's in different directions of the city and treat them equally. However, the city have not conducted any notable development activity in the towns unlike in the other kebeles; have not created an inclusive job opportunities for the youths of the kebeles; the vacancy announcements of the city administration are posted only within the city and even there is no a vacancy announcement board in the case towns. "The vacancy announcement that the city administration always post in these kebeles is the defense and police force recruitment vacancy" (FGD with two kebeles).

Consequently, as can be inferred from the data presented above, the towns' development and wellbeing is weak and still stagnant. Both the physical

boundary and social distance of the towns is not blurred, which is anti-thesis for healthy rural-urban linkage.

4.4.2. Master plan of merged areas

The approval phase of the BDIDP study in 2006



The Approval Process of BDIDP

Source: Executive summary of BDIDP, July 2006: 129

The most important thing to be noted from the above approval phase is that the whole community and stake holders affected directly or indirectly by the BDIDP plan were meant to participate in the process. However, both FGD from two case towns and interviews from selected elderly dwellers as well as the previous kebele officials depicted the absence of consultation and no comment was given by case dwellers.

The master plan of the city was designed to expand the city and to integrate the expansion with rural-urban linkage. This master plan has been there for ten years and expired without implementation (interview with deputy head of RUDCB). Because of weak implementation, the bureau allowed the city administration to extend its term for two year (Ibid). The city administration did ample of works with in the city for the past ten years based on the BDIDP (interview with chief executive of city administration). Even though the BDIDP is measured as weak enforcement, from development plan perspective, the

main city became developed through BDIDP (interview with regional urban development and construction deputy head). However the implementation of the plan in the case towns was unattainable because the city administration was not able to afford the compensation payment in executing the plan (interview with chief executive of city administration).

When city master plans are halted, because of financial constraints, the federal urban plan strategy suggests, city administrations should prepare neighborhood development plan as a short term contingency plan until the master plan become feasible (see page 9 of urban plan strategy, 2014). This plan should be implemented in consistence with the master plan that guides the villages' future (ibid). However, in our case, the main city has not designed an alternative neighborhood development plan; then no effort was exerted after the stop of the master plan. For there is no master plan, today, the municipal kebeles are putting containers arbitrarily in different areas of the kebeles to answer the problem of the youths.

The grievances of the public shows that the surrounding woreda administration achieved what the case towns did not. They found the progress in the surrounding woreda, like “Yinessa Sostu”, a promising. “Yinessa Sostu” is administered by zuria woreda, growing good under a program called “peasants get-together” (interview with deputy head of RUDB). This program brought considerable development when compared to the case towns. This peasant development area is found between the city and the case towns.

The fail of the master plan and the promising progress in surrounding rural areas regret the dwellers of the case towns to be under the administration of former woreda (interview with case town dwellers and FGD). The following Amharic figurative speech in the area

“ከትፍ ከትፍ አርጎ ይበላል ጉበት፤ ዝቅ በይ መሸንቲ መራይን ልይበት” አለች ይነሳ

Literally shows a former small town called Yinesa mocking Meshenti town to bend the knee for another small town, merawi. Yinesa found Mshenti to be

unchanged and poor; then demanded Meshenti to get down so that it can see the good looking Merawi town (found next to Meshenti). Yinessa and Merawi are small towns around Bahridar, outside of the city jurisdiction.

The dwellers said “it is mocking that we are left with after the incorporation” (Interview with representative of Meshenti in city council). This shows the regret of the dwellers to stay in the previous woreda.

The absence/fail of the master plan has directly or indirectly affected job opportunity and entrepreneurship in the case towns. For instance, the dwellers do not have a house ownership certificate (from the city administration) to use it as guarantor to lend money from banks or other financial institutions to start a business. Similarly, the absence of the master plan had a lion share on youth’s unemployment in the case towns.

4.4.3. The peasant’s wellbeing

In accordance to regulation 17/2003, Meshenti and Tis abay in their turn incorporated rural kebeles such as wofargif, dasra and Workemlaachader etc. Workemlaachadir rural surrounding was proposed for investment and peasants were compensated after the incorporation. The regional investment commission prepared and provided the investment land both for internal and foreign investors (interview with regional investment commission public relation directorate director).

However, the peasants were not consulted about the compensation before the displacement. Agricultural experts in the rural area were sent to persuade the farmers. They were not convinced to give their land. But the land was taken anyway, with the principle in Amharic proverb “YewudetaGideta” literally mean you cannot refuse but conform unconditionally (interview with surrounding peasants at Meshenti).

In 2007 the peasants got the compensation. However, the procedure did not consider the awareness of peasants. They do not know how and where to invest

their money on non-farming activity. They did not get any kind of consultation and support from the city administration and the tourism bureau in this regard. Then the farmers spend their money on unstudied and unproductive businesses. Moreover, the farmers were promised job opportunities in the industries that will be constructed in their farming lands (ibid). However no enough jobs were created and there is no good salary (interview with Regional investment commission support and supervision directorate director).

According to an evaluation made by the investment commission, the promised jobs are not created and more than half of the land taken for horticultural production is not functional; awareness of peasants were not created; the compensations given were not fair (interview with investment commission public relation directorate director). Even the compensation amount was less compared to other places; e.g. the compensation in the surrounding woreda (Ibid).

Currently, many of the peasants are either plowing in rented lands, hired by another land owner, or working as a daily laborer in the city. Significant number of peasants have left the area and migrated to Pawi/Metekel (interview with peasants).

Most of the peasants bought a weapon using the compensation money. They bought the weapon to be hired as guard personnel at the surrounding investment firms. Customarily buying firearms is a manifestation of high social status in the area (interview with peasants). However, after buying the firearms, the peasants could not get guard positions and daily work at the investment firms (interview with regional investment bureau public relation directorate director). Due to that, the peasants frequently fire their weapon for the sake of fun and finally lose their money sadly (ibid). Ato Genet Tesffie, a former peasant, has become insane and is living in a street after he finished his money (interview with peasants).

The peasants were living in harmony before incorporation; they were productive than today. For instance Ato Eskezia Adgo, a well-known farmer from the surrounding, used to produce 5800 kg teff/ dagusa annually and he was compensated with 78, 000 Ethiopian birr, averagely as equal as the annual profit of a single year production.

More importantly, as mentioned above, following the incorporation, Meshenti and Tis abay in their turn incorporated rural dwellings. And the rural dwellings were administratively led by these towns. Now their administration is divided for the reason that their question and their area of development is different (interview with city chief executive officer). And they are accountable to the city admin directly. The rural administration personnel are not full timer and no personnel is hired with civil servant status. Due to that, the peasants' demand for fertilizer, loan and other administrative issue require the physical searching of the administrators for there no office to go to find them. This directly affects the urban agriculture which promotes rural-urban linkage. Had it been possible even to hire one full time civil servant in the rural kebeles, it would have solved many problems in the area (i.e. chief administrator).

4.5. Executive overlook on linkage

More of the federal government's authority is regulatory; and therefore, since this function is not the dominion of this thesis, the executive overlook presented in this chapter is limited to regional government and the city administration on rural-urban linkage enactment.

4.5.1. Regional administration

4.5.1.1. The RUDCB

The regional urban development and construction bureau has a general duty of supervising rural urban linkage and providing professional assistance to city administrations. The three metropolitan cities in the region, Bahirdar, Gonder and Dessie, have professional accountability for the RUDCB.

According to a data collected from an interview with the deputy head, RUDCB is aware of its weaknesses in the implementation of the incorporation of the case towns in to Bahirdar; the supervision was not strong and no corrective actions were taken in collaboration with the regional government. Proclamation number 245/2007, article 88/6, states that the bureau will report to the regional government in case city administrations fail to discharge their activity. Having this taken in to account, the bureau has evaluated the limitations of the incorporation and reported to the regional administration. But no feedback was given; hence, no corrective actions were taken (Interview with deputy head, RUDCB). What can be inferred from this is, in additional to the regional government's failure to provide corrective feedback and guidance, the proclamation has centralized the power to take corrective actions in the hands of the regional administration. The RUDCB is given a supervisory role without punitive power. Then, it cannot control and deter city administrations to obey the urban policy principles and execute their responsibilities accordingly. What it can do is just reporting the problems to the regional administration. But it would have been better if the bureau was given additional power of taking corrective actions in the proclamation.

According to RUDCB deputy head, in addition to the weak implementation capacity and supervision, another core reason for the weak implementation of rural urban linkage in bahirdar was finance. Cities are not able to finance such activities by their own revenue. Then solving financial problem might be a significant solution (interview with RUDCB deputy head).

Due to the above mentioned constraints, the rural-urban linkage in general and the incorporation of the case towns in particular is not based on the principles in the urban policy. "For this reason, the objective of the incorporation has not achieved its desired outcome" (*ibid*).

4.5.1.2. The Regional investment commission

In rural urban linkages investment must take three primary issues in to account. One is rural areas should become beneficiaries of public service. Secondly, government should finance to promote diversified non-farming activities in the countryside. And lastly, investment has to play a supportive role on rural urban ties (OECD, 2006).

The Amhara regional investment commission is responsible to collaboratively work with city administrations and the RUDCB in rural-urban linkage matters. After selecting potential lands for investment and deciding to take the land away, the commission is responsible to sufficiently compensate the land owners. It also has a supervisory and measure taking role on the investment firms to make them discharge their responsibilities.

Following the incorporation of Meshenti and Tis abay with Bahirdar city, a farming land in Meshenti was taken for horticultural investment and fenced. But, more than half of the fenced investment land is not yet functional. Main reason for this was a supervision weakness from the investment commission. Another reason is because some investors took the land to sell it for profit (interview with regional investment commission public relation directorate).

The investment commission was expected to check the proposal of each investor. The investments' capacity to embrace employee, contribution to social services, and other potential contributions should be examined before giving the investment lands.

During the land confiscation, the commission promised the peasants for job opportunities with good salary in the investment firms (interview with regional investment commission public relation director and interview with peasants). But, no agreements were made with investors in this regard. The promise of the commission was not binding. It is up to the investors to hire and fire the peasants as they please based on a free market economy. Then, according to the interview with peasants, the job opportunity they expected was not created;

first, the investment firms do not embrace large unemployed power, second, many investment firms have not started work yet.

Another notable responsibility of the investment commission was rehabilitating the peasants whose land is taken and influencing investors to discharge their social corporate responsibility. However no rehabilitation was made for peasants, other than the compensation, and no social corporate responsibility was discharged by investors (interview with regional investment commission support and supervision director).

Another challenge is weak salary for employees. The commission was not satisfied with payment amount of the investment firms in Meshenti/ Workemla Achader and has argued with the investors (interview with regional investment commission public relation director). However, since cheap labor price was one attraction mechanism of the investment commission, no enhancement was made. The commission has no power to determine labor price; hence it cannot enforce the investors to pay a reasonable salary. Interviewed officials of the investment bureau did not deny that the investment and its amenities for the surroundings cannot achieve the expected outcome (interview with regional investment commission support and supervision director and public relation directorate).

4.5.2. City administration

As mentioned in chapter two, local administrations, especially urban local governments have pivotal role in healthy rural urban linkages; whether the rural areas exist at certain distance from city or just nearby (Cecilia Tacoli, 2003). The linkage might be incorporated areas administratively.

According to the founder of rural-urban linkage proclamation 91/2003, Meshenti, zege and Tisabay kebeles are part of Bahirdar city. The three metropolitan cities (Bahridar, Gonder, and Dessie) are obliged to lead the

political, social and economic aspects of the towns they incorporate (Art.21 of the regulation).

Similar to the former proclamation, the current proclamation 245/2017 also states that Bahirdar city is expected to be the fundamental center for the incorporated towns like Meshenti, Tis abay, Zege, and other surroundings to speed up their overall development. The purpose of the rural urban linkage created was to ensure that the rural towns benefit from infrastructural development of city and its amenities. Similarly, the city will get raw material and agricultural products from rural communities. The question here is; is Bahridar really paying off its responsibility as fundamental center for the incorporated towns and surroundings?

However, as per to the data collected from the informants in this study, in the 13 years after the incorporation, the city administration did less to benefit and serve the surrounding towns. There is no master plan implemented, almost no municipal services realized, no roads constructed by the city to facilitate the rural urban linkages, no dwellers participate in communal development plans, the job opportunities created for the dwellers are insufficient, no vacancy boards for these towns' dwellers especially graduate students, no crime investigation office and not even temporarily prison to keep the suspects (interview with key informants, FGD with dwellers).

As part and parcel of the city, the towns were denied their right to benefit from the regional financial grants, the World Bank support, and the regional revenue sharing, unlike the other kebeles in the city (interview with city administration chief executive officer, previous kebele administrators). But the city has been benefiting from the incorporated towns with land for investment and house construction, gravels to build the city internal roads, agricultural products, tourism sites, cheap labor force etc.

After incorporation, the city administration introduced an asset management program. This program first registered every property of the city then a plan

was designed to fix the damaged roads, canals, lights, and other municipal functions based on the registration. However, this asset management program did not include the case towns (see, Bahirdar city AMP report, November 2017). The chief executive officer of the city stated “it did not include these towns because we had no budget”. This shows the annual budget of the city does not consider the case towns and attention given for the towns’ service delivery and their future development is inadequate.

The plan and its scope of implementation were narrowed from the very beginning. It seems that Meshenti and Tis abay were incorporated for the great burden sharing importance to the main city instead of benefiting from the city’s municipal services. The mutual interdependency between the city and surroundings was not planned and managed well. For instance, the city administration is frequently taking gravel from Meshenti for road constructions in the main city; however, it brings no importance for Meshenti. The land has now become eroded for agricultural production.



Meshenti gravel production area

Source: own photograph

Another critical problem in the rural urban linkage is the communication between the city administrators and the dwellers of the case towns is blue-penciled. According to proclamation 245/2007, the municipal administrators are responsible to hear and reflect the public voice and grievance to city administration. But the fact on the ground showed that the municipal leaders have no smooth relationships and do not regularly meet with the dwellers (FGD with dwellers of the two case towns, interview with current administrators). The dwellers themselves are not interested to attend town meeting (interview with two municipal administrators and FGD). The dwellers reacted that “we are not interested to go to meetings anymore because no single question have been answered both by the city administration and the municipal officials” (interview and FGD with the two case town dwellers).

4.6. The other features of incorporation

The purpose of incorporation of adjacent towns with metropolitan city, Bahirdar, was to bring a potential advantage for investment and to share burdens of city for residential area. On the positive side of it, the incorporation of these towns has brought the expected advantage: a land for investment in the region for potential house construction to main city dwellers (Interview with city chief executive). However, there is no house construction and land adjustment in the case towns so far.

On the negative side of it, the limitations in the incorporation and the management problems that followed has created grievance among the dwellers of the case towns. Mohammed Mahyub and Awoke Ayana are vegetable and horticultural production projects which are among the projects that received land in Meshenti Workemla Achader. However these projects have faced theft and burn by surrounding community. According to the investigator group from regional investment bureau, Mohammed Mahyub project loss 10,842,350 Ethiopian birr worth property and Awoke Ayana project loss 483,770 Ethiopian

birr worth property. This loss was covered by the federal government (interview with regional investment commission public relation directorate director).

Investment firms have social corporate responsibility to engage with public social activities, to support the wellbeing of surrounding dwellers, so long as their investment is linked with the community. Building water services, religious areas, health centers, schools, sport fields and other recreational services are some among the social responsibilities (regional investment regulation 17/2014). However, there are no such services built by investors in the case towns. The promised services for peasants and the surrounding city dwellers both by the investor's and the government bodies are not fulfilled. Thus, these issues get aggravated with time. This might be the reason for burn and theft. And this might also be the manifestation of a weak rural-urban linkage.

4.7. Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter has revealed what the implementations of rural-urban linkage, particularly incorporation, seems in Bahridar. It reviewed the effect of the implementation on the towns.

The opening of secondary school and access to electric light are among the benefits that Meshenti town benefited from the incorporation. Tis abay lead municipality has achieved a municipality status after incorporation.

But the incorporation has also deprived some services of the towns they had before the incorporation. E.g Tis abay used to have a regular electric service of its own, but today it has less access to it.

From a political decision making perspective, the process of the incorporation is argued for it did not participate the dwellers. Moreover, incorporating Tis abay and Zege, towns outside of the allowed 20 k.m radius, was illegal.

As part of the trial to create job opportunities for the unemployed youth in the case towns, container shops were built. However, these containers were

symbolic than practical. This is because they are built far in an inconvenient place for business and it was not possible for the youth to start work in absence of funds.

The exclusion of the case towns from the master plan directly hindered job creation and entrepreneurship in the towns.

The peasants, whose land was taken for investment, are not leading a settled life today; this is because, for one thing, the compensation was not sufficient, and, another thing, the peasants were not consulted and sustainably empowered to invest their money on no non-farming diversified activities. They were also unable to get job opportunities in the investment firms as promised.

Generally, the incorporation was not well planned and managed. Absence of municipal services, job opportunity, political participation /decision/, and failure of master plan are principal indicators of the weak rural-urban linkage in Bahirdar and its surroundings.

Chapter five

Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

The principal question in this thesis is whether the objectives of rural-urban linkage, particularly incorporating rural kebeles in to Bahirdar city, have been achieved or is likely to be achieved.

To answer this question, chapter two discussed the theoretical part of rural-urban linkage based on international literature, and chapter three dealt with the legal grounds of rural-urban linkage in Ethiopia including the constitutional matters and policy framework. Chapter four presented, in detail, the implementation and consequence of the rural urban-linkage in Bahirdar city, particularly taking the incorporation of Meshenti and Tis abay kebeles. Therefore this chapter is the summation of the inferences from these chapters.

5.2. The legality and process of incorporation

Today, Tis abay and Meshenti are part and parcel of the Bahirdar city. However, legality, the incorporation is found to be somehow illegitimate and questionable. The proclamation that governs urban rural linkage and incorporation in the region allowed Bahirdar city administration to incorporate some areas; but the law prescribes certain radius for incorporation and this incorporation has exceeded the limit. During the incorporation, Tis abay and Zege were not within the allowed radius. Incorporation of Meshenti was exceptional to this and was definitely legal since the kebele was within the specified distance. However, after incorporation, even though the proclamation states these incorporated kebels (towns) can expand and grow, practically they were made to be stagnant in physical (geographical) expansion. This is because there is an extended land with many villages between these towns and the main city (Bahirdar). This extended land is neither part of the villages nor part of Bhirdar. It belongs to Bahirdar Zuria-woreda administration. According to

the realities on the ground, the incorporated kebeles cannot expand in to the neighboring rural lands of Zuria-woreda administration. Therefore, what the proclamation stated about geographical expansion of the kebeles was and has been impractical.

On process of incorporation international guidelines, the Ethiopian urban development policy and respective proclamations suggest that the public and concerned dwellers should participate and be consulted. However, in the process of incorporation of the case towns in this study, the public and other concerned bodies were almost ignored for no resident was made to participate and consulted to decide up on the incorporation. Both the regional urban development and construction bureau and the city administration decided the incorporation without public participation and consultation.

5.3. The well-being of merged areas and benefits from the incorporation

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the incorporated towns are /have been/ facing some social service problems such as lack of job opportunity, health and education, road and transport, electricity, and water service. The linkage did not help the towns to possess municipal services of their own. They do not have services such as abattoir, bus station, garbage collection, market place, public libraries, theater hall, sport frequenting sites, youth centers etc. Thus, the incorporated area dwellers haven't got inclusive development or equity.

5.4. The role of government (providing service and supervision)

The regional urban development and construction bureau has a duty to supervise and render professional assistance in rural urban linkage. Practically, on Meshenti and Tis abay's linkage with Bahirdar, no supervision was conducted in the last 13 years by the bureau. Moreover, there has been no check and balance mechanism to follow these bodies in discharging their responsibility. The law also states nothing on the possible measurements that should be taken in such situations.

Regional investment commission is not exceptional; it did not play its part supervision. The commission fails to supervise investment firms so that they can function as per to proposals and business plans they submit to the bureau. In the case towns, more than half of the land given to investors after incorporation is not functional today; neither the investors nor the farmers or the previous owners are cultivating the land. It is just unexploited. In addition, the commission did not enforce the horticultural firms in the area to discharge their social corporate responsibility. The responsibilities of the regional investment commission on rural urban linkage such as rehabilitating displaced peasants' sustainably and rising entrepreneurship awareness after compensation were not done well.

In rural urban linkage, city local governments and their institutions have pivotal role to administer the surrounding rural areas in a well manner. However, in this regard, what Bahirdar city administration has done is few. The city administration has provided some financial supports to the towns for water service, construction of secondary school, and container shops. But more than half of expense was covered by the area dwellers and a chines road construction agency. The city administration did not provide municipal functions to the incorporated towns; no vacancies announcements, no roads that link the rural areas with the main city (i.e Tis-abay), no police station and no transitional court.

With regard to service delivery there is/was no asset registration held in these areas; even the asset management plan states nothing on future service and development in the kebeles.

On the contrary, the city administration has and is benefiting from the incorporated areas with an extensive land for investment, residency construction, a soil, gravel and stone for the construction of roads and houses. Due to that, the land in Meshenti is eroded and has become valley following the excavation.

5.6. General conclusion

The incorporated Kebeles have their own administration. However, there is poor service delivery (such as garbage collection, abattoir service, micro finance etc) compared to other kebeles in the city. General municipal functions such as market places, terminals, public gardens, and recreation areas, miscellaneous services including fire protection, libraries, public toilets, straight lightings, nursery schools, and ambulance service are not visible in these kebeles.

The lead municipal town, Tisabay, has been facing economic and social problems and inadequate public service delivery; there is no good road that links the kebele with the main city. This has exerted its own impact on tourism development of the region in general and the municipality in particular.

In the surrounding lands, especially around Meshenti sub- municipality, there are horticultural farms given to investors to promote investment and to benefit the local people with job opportunity. But these lands are not yet utilized while peasants who were making their living from that have now become daily laborers. Most of the people who were displaced from their land were farmers. They received compensation and were promised job opportunities in the horticultural industry. The money received from the compensation was not wisely used by farmers because of lack of awareness and the absence of business counseling /guidance from the local administration. As a result, after spending their money unwisely, most of them have now become job seekers and some of them become out of health. But, a spillover effect to this, the currently functioning horticultural firms couldn't embrace the unemployed population in these kebeles.

These problems have created dissatisfaction and dissent against the policy among the peasants. In last year's turmoil, around Bahir-Dar and Gonder, vital horticultural farms were partially destroyed.

Currently there is no temporary mini-police station to keep suspects and wrong doers in the kebeles and no investigations are being held. There is no court service. Even for flagrant offence suspects are being transported to Bahirdar. The dwellers are paying costs when going to and coming back from Bahridar to get the service.

Generally, the practice indicates, it seems Bahirdar city administration attracts investors and is maximizing their benefit at the expense of these kebeles. Dwellers of these kebeles are not entertaining equal service to the other dwellers of the city. Furthermore, these kebeles are deprived of their services they use to enjoy before the incorporation. Former services such as farmers training center, fertilizer service, and police station are absent today.

One might expect or it will lead someone to judge such things, as homogeneous preference might harm the local (periphery people) on urbanization process, rather, for having better service, praying for taking in to account heterogeneous preference for public services among the lead urban areas and peripheries might be an option, because in the new wave of democracy ethnicity has a lot to do with heterogeneity. But, in the name of homogeneity, preference of the periphery local peoples is/has been ignored.

Hence therefore, the policy objective and vision has not achieved its desired outcome due to weak supervision and lack of professional support from the regional urban development and construction bureau. The city administration was not able to implement the policy effectively and has not achieved the desired outcome. Less emphasis was given to the incorporated areas. Absence of vocal and vibrant dwellers and representative from the incorporated areas has exacerbated the situation.

Moreover, if the regulation/proclamation is not strategically analyzed based on the parameters in the policy, the policy will not achieve its desired outcome. Tis abay is far beyond the possible distance (radius) for incorporation according to the proclamation. Practically, Meshenti and Tis abay have no space to

expand geographically. Moreover, the physical, social and economic boarder between the city and rural areas is not blurred or not likely to be blurred.

The incorporation might achieve good end if the regional government solve the financial problems of the city, if the city administration consider the incorporated areas as part and parcel of the city in terms of service and wellbeing of the dwellers, if the asset management plan revised, if the next plan (the BDIDP) of the city understand and participate respective areas and dwellers, if administrative structures is clear for accountability and intervention, if the city administration deployed educated and well trained personnel for the area, if bank and other financial institutions are opened, if the surrounding area peasants are rehabilitated sustainably through non-farming activity.

5.6. Recommendations

Policy implications

The regional urban development and construction bureau must do its part to insure the parameters on the proclamation are obeyed during incorporations (e.g. incorporating areas within 20 km radius). The incorporation must be participatory and inclusive that respects the right of dwellers to decide on matters that affect them in any way. Decision must be guided, analyzed, and calculated with its cost and benefit for the area to be incorporated.

Administrative implications

It is better to re-organize Tis abay lead municipality as independent administration of its own with its rural-surrounding. This is because it is far away from Bahirdar, difficult to administer from the center, and there is huge back log demand. And it is better to re arrange Meshenti sub municipality as a part of nearest sub-city in Bahirdar and allocate sufficient finance since it is within 20 km radius, relatively not difficult to administer, and the sub-city administration might be cautious and can follow its development frequently

than the city administration. The assumption here is the city administration might be busy then the emphasis given to the kebeles might be insufficient. In addition, behaviorally, city administration might not deal with particular jobs unlike the sub cities. It is also better if incorporation or such areal expansion is planned and implemented in a contiguous setup. And it is better to build clear administration for accountability, to minimize mistake and to avoid inefficient service provisions.

More importantly, the outcomes of incorporation must be evaluated in certain period of time and it is necessary to take corrective measurements through supervisory role. And this measurement should include punishment role.

Necessary finance must be allocated for territorial expansion. Implementation standards, expected outcomes, and the necessary finance should determine in advance, before incorporation (feasibility).

The investment commission should collaboratively work with investment firms, city, and regional and federal government bodies to engage the displaced peasants in non-farm employment, raise their awareness, and sustainably rehabilitate them. Better and just land compensation should be given. Proper corrective measurements should be taken on investment firms that do not discharge their social corporate responsibility and those that do not start work timely. Continuous follow up and evaluation is vital.

So long as the incorporation orders it, the city administration should treat the kebels as part and parcel of the city, equal to the other kebeles. A genuine administrative structure like sub-city pot should be allowed.

City administration should quickly implement master plans, open banks and other financial institutions, create sustainable job opportunities for youth, deploy educated personnel and administrators on particular field, and pay attention for alternative voice of elderly and knowledgeable dwellers of the peri-urban areas. Municipal services such as markets, terminals, public gardens,

recreation areas and other public facilities, miscellaneous services including fire protection, libraries, public toilets, straight lighting, nursery schools, ambulance service etc. should be reconsidered.

The existing kebele officials must stand on the behalf of the people they are leading. They must be vocal and aware. More importantly, the kebele officials must work together and have good rapport with the public. The public, on its turn must be alert and questioning in implementation of plans that affect it; it also needs to help the local administration thorough finance, idea and man power.

Research implications

Finally, this paper poses and leaves the issue for other researchers that whether it is constructive to create rural-urban linkage without physical contiguous. Again the paper poses further that whether there is any laws that prohibit or permit incorporation without adjoining.

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Appendix I

List of interviewed officials

No	Name	Duty	Date of interview
1	Mr. Sewalih Abu Mola	Deputy head of RUDCB	12/06/10 E.C
2	Mr. Yihenew Alem	Director of RIC Public Relation directorate	7/06/2010 E.C
3	Mr. Ebrahim Dawed Yeshaneh	Director of RIC support and follow-up directorate	7/06/2010E.C
4	Mr. Gebeyehu Tirusew	Head of Bahirdar city office of mayor	14/06/2010 E.C
5	Mr. Melak Alemu	Head of Bahirdar city administration chief executive	14/06/2010 E.C
6	Mr. Alemayehu Bable	Tis-abay representative on city council	9/06/2010 E.C
7	Mrs. Lakech Muche	Meshenti representative on city council	7/06/2010 E.C
8	Mr. Solomon Yigzaw	Current Tis-abay administrator	3/06/2010 E.C
9	Mr. Gizachew Ayal	Current Meshenti administrator	2/06/2010 E.C
10	Mrs. Agere enyew	Previous administrator of Tis abay (during	3/06/2010

		incorporation)	E.C
11	Mr. Alebachew Tewelde	Previous administrator of Meshenti (during incorporation)	2/06/2010 E.C

Appendix II

Guiding questions

- 1.1 interview questions for regional urban construction bureau head/deputy
 - What power is reserved by the policy as well as the regional proclamation for the bureau regarding incorporation of rural-urban linkage?
 - Whose power is it to determine incorporation and dissection? Does the bureau have any power regarding incorporation and dissection? If yes to what extent is it being exercised?
 - What benefit was anticipated for the incorporated kebelles during incorporation to the city jurisdiction. What benefit was expected for the main city out of the incorporation?
 - Is horticultural industry functional? Is it having a capacity to embrace the unemployment?
 - does the bureau facilitate the next fate of the peasants who lose their land to the investment?
 - How is the regional urban and construction bureau discharging its role of supervision?
 - is there any measure taken by the bureau?
 - Are the kebeles allowed to plan what their level deserve?
- 1.2 interview questions city administration head/deputy
 - Do you think the incorporation was important for both the kebelles and the city?
 - Importance for kebelles?
 - Importance for the city?
 - How does the city treat these kebelles in terms of service delivery?
 - What was youth's involvement in sport and other social issues as a city member?
 - What kind of support the city giving for these kebelles?

- Do the city officials frequently consult the community problem on the entire city in general and these kebelles in particular?
- Are there any implementations to make these kebelles end users for the incorporation? If yes...1,2,3
- Does the city collect the tax from these kebelles?
- Does the kebele get enough public servants to the service of the people?
(Why these kebelles not to investigate the crimes even the case of flagrant?)
(why other public offices not opened as a municipal kebele?)
- How the administrations see the tourist attraction of the city?
(What about Tis abay infrastructure?)
- Can the kebele administrators refuse to accept the order of the administration if the order directly costs its resident population?
- Is there any proposed plan for these kebelles?
- What do you think was the cause for the past turmoil and the damaged property of the investment?
- Can we conclude that these kebelles are end users of the incorporation? (If yes why 13 years stagnant their development?)
- Was incorporation the question of the kebelles or its embracing woreeda?
- Generally, does the administration consider them as equal as kebele of the city? (If yes what about “asset management of the registration” of the city held last July? was it consider these kebelles?)

1.3 Interview questions for city council members who are representatives of these kebelles

- Have you argued with the council concerning the people that represent you? If so...1, 2, 3...
- How do you see local administration and urban development on these kebelles as a council member and a representative of these kebelles at the same time?
- What decisions has been made by the council that directly benefits these kebelles?
- Have you visited these kebelles with a member of the council and have you make meeting with dwellers? (How the council listen the kebelles grievance?)

1.4 interview questions for kebele administrators/current

- Do you know the aim and objective of the incorporation of these kebelles?
- Have you ever referred to any statute which dictates the incorporation and how to implement it?
- How the kebelles receive the grievance of the dwellers and how the chairperson delivers to the city council as well as the administration of the city?
- Does the administration of the kebeles consider themselves as a member of the city or any other part of it?
- Can the kebele officials participate in the whole socio-economic issues of the city as a stake holder?
- Have you ever been argued with the city officials on the matter of the kebele?
- Does the kebele administration know about the clear demarcation of the kebele boundary before and after incorporation?
- How are the surrounding farmers treated by the city as well as by the kebele (fertilizers, farmers training, awareness of credit and saving)?
- What do you think about the past turmoil of the city in general the kebele in particular?/damaged the investment property/(Meshenti)
- What do the kebeles gain from the investment? (Meshenti)
- How does the kebele treat the farmers who lose their land for investment?(Meshenti)
- Do the kebeles benefit from the income from tourism activity in the area? (Tis Abay)
- Have you talked about the road infrastructure with the city administration and tourism office of the city?(Tis Abay)

1.5 Interview questions for previous adjacent woreda administrator/during incorporation

- Was the incorporation based on the consent of the woreda administration? (was there any disagreement and abstain from the administrative organ?)
- Was the promised advantage for the kebeles out of the incorporation? Or is it simply an order?
- What kinds of service have the kebeles would get if they were still with the woreda?
- Was the peasants' interest considered when the administration permits the incorporation?

1.6 Interview questions for previous kebele administrator/during incorporation

- Were the kebele administration and the resident consulted regarding the incorporation?
 - Were you aware of the importance of rural-urban linkage and its draw back?
 - What was your involvement during the incorporation decision?
 - Generally how was the incorporation process?
- 1.7 Interview questions for dwellers/service receiver of the kebele
- Have kebele residents participated on the decision of incorporation?
 - Is there any infrastructure that built by the city administration?
 - What is your view about this incorporation? Is productive for,
 - ✓ Youths job creation?
 - ✓ Micro finance?
 - ✓ Good governance?
 - ✓ Recreation?
 - ✓ Abattoir services?
 - ✓ Garbage collection?
 - ✓ Public participation?
 - What do you think if the kebele would still stay with the adjacent woreda structure?
 - Is there any official from the city administration who visits this kebele?
 - What was the progress of the kebele after incorporation?
- 1.8 Interview questions for peasants of the kebele/those who gave their lands to the investment
- Were you consulted when the land proposed to the investment?
 - How much is your annual revenue before compensation?
 - What seems the compensation procedure?
 - How much money you have received and with how much you have left?
 - Did you aware about saving or changing capital in to another profitable work?
 - Generally are you user or loser of this incorporation?
- 1.9 Interview questions for regional investment commission
- Does the incorporation bring the potential advantage for investment of city in particular the region in general?
 - Why large part of horticultural industries still not functional)
 - does the bureau evaluate the nature of investors before?

- What legal power the bureau has if the investors fail to do as per the agreement?
- what measurement has been taken?
- Is there any trend that working together with urban plan construction bureau?
- When the bureau was proposed the area for investment? Was it following the incorporation?
- Was the compensation procedure considering the fate of the peasants?