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The Constitutional Options for Realizing Sustainable Development in Federalist Ethiopia, By Solomon Emiru Gutema

Abstract
Constitution is a steppingstone for all affairs of the nations in the modern democratic governments of the world. It is a document, which gives frameworks on every aspects of certain state including politics, social and economic objectives. Most of the time democratic constitutions are incorporating various commitments in their preambles as well as in their contents in order to improve the socio-economic and political life of their people in general and realizing sustainable development in progress in particular. Hence, transforming certain societies in their socio-economic and political aspects is unthinkable, unless one can have a genuine and legitimate constitution, which guarantees for sustainable development in its contents; and limited government, which is, committed itself to practicing and enforcing these constitutional promises to achieve sustainable development. Accordingly, this research assesses the contents of the 1995 FDRE Constitution in line with the constitutional options to ensure sustainable development under the present federalist state of Ethiopian legal system and the prevailing challenges encountering in the attempt of realizing sustainable development. It employs a qualitative research approach like analyzing legal documents to achieve its purpose. This research finds out that there are a number of problems to ensure sustainable development in Ethiopia, like gaps in enacting specific laws for these constitutional promises, eroding these constitutional principles by the government, lack of having genuine institutions to enforce these constitutional principles in achieving sustainable development. This research concludes that though there are constitutional principles exist to realize sustainable development; there are legal and practical problems in enforcing these constitutional promises in Ethiopia.

Key words: [Constitutional guarantees, Human rights, Laws]
1. Introduction

In the history of states formations, constitutions have enacted in different manners and for various purposes. Whereas, the concept of sustainable development, constitutionalism (limited government), rule of law and other principles of democratic governance are incorporated and collaborated in a legitimate and ‘grantiste’ constitution (which guarantees rights). Accordingly, some constitutions are imposed by the rulers for suppressing the subjects/citizens without the interest and participation of the ruled. In this governance system, the model of state formation and political organization is hierarchical (Daniel, Volume 3). State formed through conquest, dictatorship, and Monarchical government systems represent these forms of political organizations.

For instance, Ethiopia was practicing hierarchical leadership in her political history in the era of monarchical governments/during Menelik II up to Hailesellasie I (from 1889-1974), as well as, she was under dictatorial government during the Derg regime (from 1974-1991). Both the 1931 and 1955 Constitutions were imposed rather than outcomes resulting from due considerations of historical, economic, cultural and social realities of the Ethiopia (Assefa, 2006). Hence, the type of Ethiopian government was hierarchical during the monarchical and military dictatorship periods. Under these systems, leave alone ensuring sustainable development, the concept of development itself is hardly possible. On the other hand, some states were evolved organically out of more limited forms of human organization and which over time concretize power centers, which govern their peripheries (Daniel, Volume 3). Polities which are founded and organized on the organic model seemingly grow naturally, and as they develop, the
more powerful or otherwise talented leaders form a political elite at the polity's center that rule over the vast majority in the polity, who are relegated to the peripheries (Ibid). The constitutions of the organically created states are enacted through evolution from the traditional body of accepted rules and customary practices (Ibid). The apotheosis of this model is Westminster-style parliamentarianism with the parliament sovereign (Ibid). This system may be existed in the form of parliamentarian democracy, like United Kingdom.

Furthermore, some states are founded by design through covenant or compute in which power is shared through a matrix of centers formed by the government of the whole, based on federal principles (Ibid). The covenantal model is different from the above ways of state formation. Since, under the covenantal model of polities formation, at least two states, one is the federal state and the other is the regional states must bargain between themselves on all political, social and economic aspects of the nations living in that polity (George, 2008). This covenantal model of state formation is all about federation or federal way of organizing a polity in certain country. Hence, federations are originated from particular bargains on various issues related to political and socio-economic aspects of the public at large, which struck at a particular time and designed to serve for generations (Assefa, 2006). In these bargaining between the federal and sub-units on a number of issues, a written and supreme constitution necessitates mandatorily (Ibid).

Therefore, in a federation written and supreme constitution is considered as the covenant among the peoples or ethnic groups living in that particular federalist state on one hand and between the citizens and the government on the other hand. Accordingly
“Every covenant involves consenting, promising and agreeing” (Daniel, Volume 3); and the same scenario is workable for the federal constitution, since it is considered between the nations, nationalities and peoples of certain federal country. The peoples living in federation give their consents on their political, social, economical, cultural and historical aspects in detail manners as much as possible for them by directly or indirectly involved through their legitimate representatives (FDRE Constitution, Preamble). Consequently, after giving consents and bargaining on all affairs mainly on the fate of their political and socio-economic affairs, they put promises or guarantees for the violations of their agreement under the fundamental constitution (Ibid, Preamble and Article 39). Apparently, the rationale behind in bargaining in all their political, social, economic, cultural and other affairs by multi-diversified societies in the form of covenant under their supreme constitution in federation is to ensure everlasting peace and thereby to realize sustainable development. Hence, unless the various ethnic groups are empowered to participate and determine on the fate of their political and socio-economic affairs; it is hardly possible to ensure sustainable development especially in federation. So the core question is what does sustainable development mean? The concept of sustainable development is broad; and so it is difficult to define it in a single and precise manner. But it is possible to expound the concepts of sustainable development in various ways. The best-accepted definition is that says, “Sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland Commission, 1987).
Another definition was given by the Swiss ‘Monitoring of Sustainable Development Project as follows:

‘Sustainable development means ensuring dignified living conditions with regard to human rights by creating and maintaining the widest possible range of options for freely defining life plans. The principle of fairness among and between present and future generations should be taken into account in the use of environmental, economic and social resources.”

Kofi Annan the former secretary General in his statement to the 53rd session of the commission on Human Rights on 9 April 1997 defined the right to sustainable development in fantastic manner as follows:

“Truly sustainable development is possible only when the political, economic and social rights of all people are fully respected. They help to create the social equilibrium, which is vital if a society is to evolve in peace. The right to development is the measure of the respect of all other human rights. That should be our aim a situation in which all individuals are enabled to maximize their potential of society as a whole.”

From the above definition, the concept of sustainable development is all-inclusive that requires implementing the political, social, economic, cultural, and environmental rights those guaranteed under the constitution and international treaties in holistic and balanced manner to satisfy the needs of the present and future generations. Hence, the mere facts of increasing GDP, ensuring rapid development in the way that violates the rights of future generations, or warranting economic growth in violation of human
and democratic rights cannot be considered as sustainable development by any means.
Accordingly, the Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and Peoples enacted the 1995 FDRE Constitution based on their consents through their direct and indirect participation by their representatives, to realize sustainable development, as well as, for eradicating the impoverishment and thereby guaranteeing democratic governance. They put the right to self-determination as a remedy for the violations of their rights recognized under the same constitution (See Preamble of FDRE Constitution as follows):

We, the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia:
Strongly committed, in full and free exercise of our right to self-determination, to building a political community founded on the rule of law and capable of ensuring a lasting peace, guaranteeing a democratic order, and advancing our economic and social development; Firmly convinced that the fulfillment of this objective requires full respect of individual and people's fundamental freedoms and rights, to live together on the basis of equality and without any sexual, religious or cultural discrimination; Further convinced that by continuing to live with our rich and proud cultural legacies in territories we have long inhabited, have, through continuous interaction on various levels and forms of life, built up common interest and have also contributed to the emergence of a common outlook; Fully cognizant that our common destiny can best be served by rectifying historically unjust relationships and by further promoting our shared interests;
Convinced that to live as one economic community is necessary in order to create sustainable and mutually supportive conditions for
ensuring respect for our rights and freedoms and for the collective promotion of our interests; Determined to consolidate, as a lasting legacy, the peace and the prospect of a democratic order which our struggles and sacrifices have brought about;

Have therefore adopted, on 8 December 1994 this constitution through representatives we have duly elected for this purpose as an instrument that binds us in a mutual commitment to fulfill the objectives and the principles set forth above.

As clearly elaborated hereinabove, the FDRE Constitution is used as a covenant of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Since, they give their consent as they expressed that, “We, the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia.....” Hence they have bargained and agreed on their political fates as they reveals this by saying, “Strongly committed, in full and free exercise of our right to self-determination, to building a political community founded on the rule of law and capable of ensuring a lasting peace, guaranteeing a democratic order, and advancing our economic and social development;”. Thus, they determined that their politics is founded up on rule of law and prop up by the right to self-determination, which guarantees democratic order and lasting peace among the nations, nationalities and peoples. In addition to this fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals and groups are recognized, as well as, the right to equality is ensured. Furthermore, Socio-economic related affairs are negotiated and in that way they agreed and committed to advancing their economic and social development. As a result, they convinced that to live, as one economic community is necessary in order to create sustainable and mutually supportive conditions for ensuring respect for their rights and freedoms and for the collective promotion of their interests.
Therefore, it can be deduced from the preambles of the FDRE Constitution that the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have bargained and agreed on their political, social, economic, environmental and cultural agenda through their representatives and in so doing enacted the covenantal based democratic constitution in 1995 in their political history for the first time. Accordingly, this Constitution establishes a Federal and Democratic State structure (FDRE Constitution, Article 1). Thus, this shifts the political paradigm of Ethiopia from unitary to federalism and decentralizes the governmental power from the center to peripheries or regions. It answered the old aged quest for nationality or ethnic identities, as well as, the right to equality; by this means, recognition is given for the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia (FDRE Constitution, preamble, Article 25 and 39).

Furthermore, this constitution introduces the principles of sanctity of human and democratic rights, as well as, it guarantees the right to live together on the basis of equality and without any sexual, religious or cultural discrimination (Ibid, Preamble and Article 10). Moreover, it calls for striving to create common outlooks by continuous interactions of political, social, economic and cultural lives through rectifying historically unjust relationships and by further promoting their shared interests, thereby, guaranteeing for sustainable development indirectly since the end goal of this constitution is ensuring everlasting peace and sustainable development (FDRE Constitution, Preamble).

Consequently, the 1995 FDRE Constitution introduces and guarantees various constitutional options to maintain sustainable development under its contents. Firstly, under its preambles it guarantees the advancing of economic and social development,
consistently to the principles of rule of law and democratic governance (Ibid, Preamble). This constitution strengthen the relationships among the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia to live as one economic community in order to create sustainable and mutually supportive conditions for ensuring respect for their rights and freedoms and for the collective promotion of their interests (Ibid).

Specifically, this constitution incorporates various constitutional provisions, which claim for ensuring sustainable development in all aspects. Hence, any political and socio-economic development must be sustainable to consider them as a healthy development. Accordingly a community within its locality (Ibid Article 18(4) (d) must voluntarily perform any economic and social development activity. As per Article 24(2) of the same constitution, “Everyone has the right to the free development of his personality in a manner compatible with the rights of other citizens.” Development policies must not affects the vulnerable groups like women, children and disabled peoples. For instance, women have the right to full consultation in the formulation of national development policies, the designing and execution of projects, and particularly in the case of projects affecting the interests of women (Ibid, Article 35(6) and 41(5)). On the other hand, this constitution guarantees for the Ethiopian farmers and pastoralists have the right to receive fair price for their products, that would lead to improvement in their conditions of life and to enable them to obtain an equitable share of the national wealth commensurate with their contribution (Ibid, Article 41(8)).

Additionally, Article 43 of the same constitution puts the right to have sustainable development as a ground norm in the following manners:
Article 43: The Right to Development

1. The Peoples 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.

2. Nationals have the right to participate in national development and, in particular, to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting their community.

3. All international agreements and relations concluded, established or conducted by the State shall protect and ensure Ethiopia’s right to sustainable development.

4. The basic aim of development activities shall be to enhance the capacity of citizens for development and to meet their basic needs.

Moreover, the FDRE Constitution imposes a duty on the government both at federal and regional level to formulate and implement the country’s policies, strategies and plans in respect of overall economic, social and development matters which supports sustainable development (Ibid, Article 51(2) and 52(2(c), 55(10), 77(6)). Likewise, the constitution puts the issues of development in general and sustainable development in particular as its core objectives as per its Article 89. So, government has the duty to ensure that all Ethiopians get equal opportunity to improve their economic condition and to promote equitable distribution of wealth among them (Ibid, Article 89(2)). Additionally, government shall provide special assistance to Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples least advantaged in economic and social development (Ibid, Article 89(4)). Beside this, government shall at all times promote the participation of the People in the
formulation of national development policies and programs; it shall also have the duty to support the initiatives of the People in their development endeavors (Ibid, Article 89(6)).

Generally, duty is imposed on government to ensure social development of the peoples. To the extent the country’s resources permit, policies shall aim to provide all Ethiopians access to public health and education, clean water, housing, food and social security (Ibid, Article 90). Again, government shall have the duty to support, based on equality, the growth and enrichment of cultures and traditions that are compatible with fundamental rights, human dignity, democratic norms and ideals, and the provisions of the Constitution (Ibid, Article 91). More than this the government is under duty to protect the environment. Therefore, government shall endeavor to ensure that all Ethiopians live in a clean and healthy environment; and the design and implementation of programs, as well as, projects of development shall not damage or destroy the environment (Ibid, 92).

Broadly speaking, the above explanations point out the major constitutional options for ensuring sustainable development in the federalist state of Ethiopia. Not only have these, Ethiopia ratified a number of international treaties like UDHR, ICCPR, ICESCR and others based on its Article 9(4) and 13(2) of the FDRE Constitution. These internationally ratified treaties support the sustainable development in additions to the constitutional options explained hereinabove.

A lot of things had done by the drafters of the FDRE Constitution, and golden principles those claiming for the entrenchments of human and democratic rights, rule of law and democratic cultures for transforming the political and socio-economic status of Ethiopia from worse to better. So there are numbers of options
under the preambles and contents of the same constitution, as well as, the international treaties ratified by Ethiopia as explained above to ensure sustainable development.

Albeit all these constitutional options recognized as constitutional guarantees; still there are numerous challenges which retard the realizing of sustainable development in practice under the federalist state of Ethiopia. Some of these problems include: the failure of the government to enact specific laws in comprehensive manner in order to implement these constitutional promises appropriately to ensure sustainable development. The other problem is lack of having genuine and well structured and functional institutions to enforce these constitutional principles to realize sustainable development. Additionally, encroaching to the right to sustainable development by the government, even whilst practicing and enforcing other constitutional guarantees or certain policy of the government is another challenge. As a result, the main objective of this research is to evaluate the contents of the FDRE Constitution in order to explore the constitutional options available and their practical and legal challenges to realize sustainable development under the present federalist state of Ethiopia.

2. Material and Methods

This research has attempted to make an appropriate review of the existing literature on sustainable development and explores the constitutional options for sustainable development under the FDRE Constitution. Moreover, it endeavors to scrutinize the challenges encountering in practicing constitutional options for enforcing and ensuring sustainable development under the federalist state of Ethiopia.
Additionally it strives to explore legal and practical opportunities prevailing in Ethiopia to establish sustainable development. To fulfill these objectives various literatures written on constitutional options for sustainable development were reviewed and the FDRE Constitution of 1995, as well as, other relevant laws including national laws and international treaties were critically analyzed. Therefore, the research methodology employed was qualitative one. Hence, various related literatures, FDRE Constitution, other relevant laws, international treaties ratified by Ethiopia and the practices in Ethiopia on the matters of constitutional options for sustainable development were analyzed and compared in detail in order to show the existing possible challenges and constitutional options for warranting sustainable development under the current federalist state of Ethiopia.

3. Result and Discussions
Ethiopia enacted a well comprehensive, the best democratic and the more legitimate constitution in 1995 which is named as the ‘FDRE Constitution’. This constitution guarantees various constitutional rights for the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Hence, it grants plenty of constitutional options for the people of Ethiopia in all aspects including political, socio-economic, cultural and environmental affairs. First, this constitution recognizes five pillars of constitutional principles, which include sovereignty of nations, nationalities, and peoples, constitutional supremacy and constitutionalism, sanctity of human rights, secularism, and transparency and accountability of government (FDRE, Article 8-12). Chapter three of the same constitutions strengthen the principles of fundamental rights and freedoms and thereby not less than
thirty-one kinds of rights are recognized and granted a constitutional guarantee (Ibid, 14-44). Here the principles of human rights are entrenched. Political, social, economic, cultural, and environmental rights are recognized and guaranteed under chapter three of the FDRE Constitutions. The constitutions establish parliamentary system of government (Ibid, Article 45). Furthermore, bicameral parliament is established (Ibid, Article 53). The power to interpret the constitution is vested in the hand of upper house of the parliament (in the hand of House of Federation), (Ibid, Article 62 and 84).

Power is shared/ divided between the regional states and federal state. Accordingly, the enumerated power is given for the federal government whilst the reserved or residual power that is not given expressly to the federal government alone, or concurrently to the federal government and the states are given for the regional states (Ibid, Article 52). Moreover, the highest executive powers of the Federal Government are vested in the Prime Minister and in the Council of Ministers (Ibid, Article 72). Furthermore, an independent judiciary is established by this Constitution (Ibid, Article 78).

Consequently, all these constitutional guarantees are recognized under the FDRE Constitution and the three government wings are under duty or duty bearers to implement these guarantees whereas the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia are beneficiaries of these constitutional rights including political, socio-economic, environmental and cultural rights as recognized under chapter three of this constitutions and other international treaties ratified by Ethiopia. All these constitutional options of developments on all areas including politics, socio-economic, environmental and cultural aspects must be implemented in line with the principles of
sustainable development. However, in enforcing or practicing these constitutional guarantees to enforce and ensure sustainable development, various challenges will be encountered under the federalist state of Ethiopia as explored and analyzed hereunder.

a) Lack of Specific and Comprehensive Legislations
To have constitutionally limited government, having constitutional text with its golden principles and guarantees is not enough. However, additionally to the contents of the constitution, the constitutional guarantees must be practiced through day-to-day government actions, decisions and enactments. Because of its inherent features, constitutional laws are comprises of very general principles and provisions. Hence, without having specific legislations, it is unthinkable to apply the general principles or constitutional guarantees recognized under the text of the constitutions. Therefore, the researcher would like to assess the concept of sustainable development and critically analyzes whether or not the Ethiopian constitutional options and specific laws enacted is satisfactory enough to realize sustainable development and thereby point out the possible challenges in enacting specific legislations under the federalist states of Ethiopia. Accordingly, the concept of sustainable development may be explained as follows:

Sustainable development is a comprehensive concept, which synthesizes environmental protection, development and democracy. Contemporary international law is expected to enrich this important concept through collaboration with other disciplines, and make it gradually positive rules (Y. Matsuura, 2005).

Here, this shows that the concept of sustainable development is too broad which comprises of various agendas including environmental, development and democracy and collaborating these and other discipline is mandatory to ensure sustainable
development. So to realize sustainable development it needs specific legislations on the issues of environmental affairs which includes protections of forests, land conservations, protections for endemic and other animals, avoid or reduce air pollutions and generally ensure the right to healthy for human beings and other living things, as well as, using natural resources in the way that will not prejudice to the rights of the current and future generations. Concerning development, it is also broad which may include economic, social, cultural, political, and other sectors of development. Therefore, we need specific laws on every sectors of development to ensure sustainability or balanced development in all affairs. Furthermore, the concept of democracy is too broad and without democratic governance, talking about sustainable development does not hold water. This democratic governance only realized in democratic systems where the governments are established by the people, for the people and changed by the people and so in such states the principles of rule of can be enforced.

Furthermore, the concept of sustainable development in relation with human rights can be evaluated and defined as follows by different scholars:

*Sustainable development law has been described as an intersection between three fields of international law, namely, international environmental law, international economic law and international human rights law* (Dire Tladi (2007)).

Pursuant to this quotes, sustainable development cannot stand by itself, so it is a multidisciplinary concept appeared from the intersections among various fields of study or concepts like international law, international environmental law, international
economic law and international human rights law. From this wording, one can deduce that it is not possible to ensure these concepts lonely or separately. They are inseparable and indivisible concepts. So it is mandatory to have consistent and comprehensive specific laws on the area of environment, economy, social affairs, and politics to ensure sustainable development in certain country. Now the researcher would like to explore the constitutional options exist under the FDRE Constitution in line with the above explanations as follows:

First, the FDRE Constitution ensures the principles of accountability and transparency of the government as one of its five pillars (FDRE Constitution, Article 12). Additionally this constitution imposes duty on all government organs to enforce the constitutional guarantees recognized in favour of the people/citizens (Ibid, Article 13(1)). So the constitutional rights on all affairs, including socio-economic, political, cultural, and environmental sectors are guaranteed for the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Specifically, “The Peoples 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” (Ibid, Art. 43). Human rights is guaranteed as inviolable and inalienable rights which may extends from the right to life to the right to have sustainable development (Ibid, Article 10, 15, 43). In addition, the right to have clean and healthy environment is constitutionally guaranteed (Ibid, Article 44, 92).

Moreover, government shall have the duty to support, based on equality, the growth and enrichment of cultures and traditions that are compatible with fundamental rights, human dignity, democratic norms and ideals, and the provisions of the
Constitution (Ibid, Article 91). In addition to this, every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history (Ibid, 39(2)). Furthermore, in relation with respecting and enforcing human rights guaranteed under the FDRE Constitution especially on the issues of freedoms, liberty, privacy, protection from inhuman treatment, free from discrimination, equality, presumption of innocence, fair and speedy trials, democratic election and others the FDRE Constitution incorporates an excellent principles consistent with the international human rights treaties and covenants (Ibid, Chapter three, see Articles like 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26 and others). So to enforce and practicing these golden principles we must have comprehensive and consistent Criminal Codes, Criminal Procedures and other specific legislations to enforce this general constitutional principles. But, the challenges are lack of comprehensive, consistent and perpetual legislations to enforce these political, socio-economic, environmental, cultural and other constitutionally guaranteed rights to enforce, practicing and ensure the right to sustainable development guaranteed under the FDRE Constitution. The first challenge is that majority of the specific laws and codes are not comprehensive enough to address the right to ensure sustainable development. For instance, the current government fails to update many laws in line with current federal based legal system. Laws like Commercial Code, Civil Code, Civil Procedure Code, and Criminal Procedure Code are still not updated for the past fifty years. These codes were enacted during the emperor Hailesellasie under the feudal system and absolutely centralized government of Ethiopia. Now days the federal system was
introduced to Ethiopia before two decades and federal oriented constitution was enacted in 1995. Though this FDRE Constitution incorporates the right to have sustainable development, the survival of these old and imperial oriented codes and laws in the era of federation remains a paradox. Since having these old laws, it is too difficult to ensure the right to sustainable development recognized under the current legitimate and grantiste constitution. However, sometimes efforts have done by the parliament to enact specific proclamations or codes to update these old laws, but these efforts are not satisfactory. For instance, the Federal Criminal Code of Ethiopia was enacted in 2004. Nevertheless, the Criminal Procedure Law is yet not enacted or enforced. Hence, it is difficult to apply the federal based criminal laws by using imperial based criminal procedure code.

On the other hands, the issues related to socio-economic affairs were incorporated under the 1960 Ethiopian Civil Code. For instance, land related laws like environmental laws, planning laws, housing or building laws, lease laws, and water laws are generally governed under the Civil code, but specific proclamations and regulations are enacted on each of these specific areas. But there is no comprehensively enacted codes on these land related issues even like the civil code of 1960. This highly affects the tackling to ensure the right to sustainable development in the federalist Ethiopia. Because, many of the civil code provisions are obsolete or not cope- up with the current federal spirits and on the other hand, the newly enacted proclamations on the specific areas are not comprehensive enough to address all the issues of sustainable development affairs. For instance, law of succession is incorporated under the 1960 civil code of Ethiopia under part V (Civil Code, Article 826-1125). The aim of this succession law
was to establish centralistic law of successions and did not recognize diversity even in private cases (Ibid, 3347(1)). But the FDRE Constitution accommodates diversity on private matters like succession and family areas in addition to cultural and ethnic based diversities (FDRE Constitution, Article 34(5), 9(1)). But Ethiopia did not enact law of successions consistent to the spirit of the FDRE Constitution; still yet judges are employing this imperial succession law in federal system both at federal and regional level.

Besides this Ethiopia uses the imperial Commercial Code which was enacted in 1960. Again employing the old and imperial based commercial law in federation is unthinkable. Since the nature of commercial and business activities are changeable from time to time, commercial law must be updated from time to time to cope-up with the changing world. But the Ethiopian government fails to enact a well comprehensive and consistent commercial code or laws in line with the federal legal system. But the parliament enacted various proclamations, which are distributed here and there, so it is far from satisfactory to manage issues of commerce and business interactions in comprehensive manner.

Therefore, since ensuring sustainable development touches all aspects or the intersections of these private and public laws, it is too difficult to ensure and realize it in practices under the current federalist Ethiopia. Consequently, all these laws, which deal with socio-economic affairs, Peace/Criminal laws/, Commercial laws and other related laws, must be updated and comprehensively enacted to substantiate the concepts of sustainable development under the present federalist state of Ethiopia.

The second challenges are related to enacting specific and comprehensive laws by both the federal and regional states to
support sustainable development consistent to the spirits of the FDRE Constitution. As known from the federal system the government is established both at federal and regional level (George Anderson, 2008). Power is constitutionally shared between the federal and sub-national states (Ibid). The same is true under the FDRE Constitution (FDRE Constitution, Article 52). So each of this state is enacting laws on the subject matters constitutionally fall under their jurisdiction. For instance, the federal government or parliament enacts laws on exclusive federal subject matters enumerated under Article 51. And the regional states enacted laws on subject matters left from the listed or enumerated subject matters (on residual matters) (Ibid, 52). But in doing so, the federal and regional government must execute their duties mutually with one another.

“Federal and State powers are defined by this Constitution. The States shall respect the powers of the Federal Government. The Federal Government shall likewise respect the powers of the States.” (FDRE Constitution, Article 50(8)). Hence, laws are enacted both by federal and regional government to ensure and practice the right to sustainable development which is recognized as constitutional guarantees under the same constitution. But if laws are enacted on political, social, economic, cultural, environmental affairs inconsistent with the spirits of the constitution, it is impossible to ensure sustainable development. Because, the laws enacted to ensure sustainable development must first of all, compile with the spirits of the constitution, to ensure balanced and constitutional based development, which respects the ideology of federalism and finally guarantees the right to self-determination of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.
But there are problems concerning with enacting codes or laws on certain subject matters. The best example is the 2004 FDRE Criminal Code of Ethiopia. Clearly, to ensure sustainable development criminal law has paramount importance. Since the government use criminal laws to ensure peace and security, to protect the environment, to conserve natural resources, to punish criminals who violates the constitutional guarantees, to respect human and democratic rights and the like. Accordingly, the FDRE Constitution gives the power to enact penal legislations for the federal government and states have also home to enact penal laws. The same constitution claims, “The House of People Representatives shall enact a penal code. The States may, however, enact penal laws on matters that are not specifically covered by Federal penal legislation.” (FDRE Constitution, Article 55(5)). But a closer look at the provision of FDRE Criminal Code of 2004 reveals that it is all inclusive and all the issues of crimes and criminalities are incorporated under the same code. Even minor crimes like petty offences are covered by the federal criminal code and this criminal law is very centralistic like the 1957 imperial penal code of Ethiopia. So it is very difficult to conclude that it is a federal criminal code in reality or in practice though the cover pages claims it as federal criminal codes. Therefore, the challenge is that the act of having centralistic criminal law in federation may affect the constitutional guarantees of the regional states to administer and determine the fates of their socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental affairs at regional levels and indirectly retards the attempt of ensuring the right to sustainable development in particular regional state. Since, without having the power to enact criminal laws to enforce, fulfill and respect the constitutional guarantees in practice the mere fact
of recognizing the right to sustainable development in particular and other affairs in general is senseless.

The third challenge is lack of specific and comprehensive laws to nurture the traditional justice system in federalist Ethiopia. *Every people that does not want to lose its identity must link up with its past* (Ruch & Anyanwu, 1984).

Of course, the FDRE Constitution recognizes the right to use traditional justice system or institutions (FDRE Constitution, Article 34:5), indicates as follows:

> This Constitution shall not preclude the adjudication of disputes relating to personal and family laws in accordance with religious or customary laws, with the consent of the parties to the dispute. Particulars shall be determined by law.

Additionally, the right to access to justice is recognized for all people of Ethiopia as per Article 37 of the FDRE Constitution. However, it is unthinkable to conclude that the formal justice system is accessible and affordable for all peoples under the current Ethiopian federation. Since majority of the peoples are living in rural areas, poor and lack legal awareness and even their constitutional rights (Aberra Degafa, 2013). Hence, in the context of developing multicultural countries, for the realization of the right to development, engagement with customary justice systems becomes imperative (Harper, 2011). Therefore, litigating all the issues related to socio-economic issues, cultural and environmental affairs and others overall through the formal justice process is unthinkable under the current Ethiopian federations. However, failure to enact specific laws and establish genuine institutions for customary institutions negatively affects the realization of the right to sustainable development in Ethiopia,
since ensuring the right to sustainable development through formal mechanism exclusively by the state machinery is too difficult for various reasons as explained hereinabove. The fourth challenge is lack of specific and comprehensive laws and policies which empowers citizens in determining on all government policies and strategies which affects their interest. This may includes the mega national projects which will affects the political, socio-economic, cultural and environmental rights of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia either positively or negatively. For instance, the projects like the Renaissance Dam of Ethiopia, Master plans, large scale investment, and others. At least the government must ensure the public participation to determine such mega projects, which will result in expropriation of their land and property of certain groups up on fair compensation. If not this may resulted in serious political crisis, which will demolish the concept of sustainable development rather, strengthening it. The best example is the Oromia and Addis Ababa master plan, which cause serious disaster in 2014, even though that master plan was proposed for ensuring sustainable development between Addis Ababa and the surrounding Oromia towns as the government claims. On the other hand, the renaissance dam of Ethiopia mobilizes the whole nations to ensure sustainable development. However, Ethiopia lacks specific and comprehensive laws and plans which involves the public at large before hand on such important national projects which will ensure sustainable development in long run. So whatever the project results will be, it must be communicated to the interested party or to certain ethnicity or to the public at large before running the projects only up on the government decision. If not it is against the right to self-determination guaranteed for the people under the
constitution and therefore, it will erode the right to self-governance which will result in violation of the right to sustainable development.

b) Lack of Establishing Genuine and Functional Institutions
To ensure development in general and sustainable development in particular, in addition to laws, having genuine and functional institutions, which based their systems on the principles of good governance, has paramount importance. Without having such institutions, it is unthinkable to ensure sustainable development in any country.

As regards to the significance of good-governance, Larry Diamond stated that:

_For the past several decades there has been a broad assumption that countries are poor because they lack resources, infrastructure, education, and opportunity. By this logic, if we could only transfer enough resources and technology, build enough schools, roads, ports, and bridges, we could generate development. These types of improvements in economic output and capacity, physical infrastructure, and public health are crucial to development. But they are not enough, and they are not the most crucial factor. No amount of resources transferred or infrastructure built can compensate for - or survive bad governance. Corrupt, wasteful, abusive, incompetent governance is the fundamental bane of development. Where governance is endemically bad, rulers do not use public resources effectively to generate public goods, and so improve the productivity and well-being of their society. More often, they appropriate these goods for themselves, their families, their parties, and associates. Unless we_
improve governance, we cannot foster development (Diamond, 2004).

According to this quote, the mere facts of enacting well democratic and comprehensive legal system and the availability of resources or strong economic basis cannot ensure sustainable development, unless the strong government institutions substantiate it, which is functioning, based on the principles of good governance. Hence, having professional, ethical and well skilled civil servant is needed to ensure the sustainable development. There must be accountability and transparency of government institutions and officials at all levels to ensure sustainable development in Ethiopia. In addition to this, the institutions must be functional. Sometimes institutions are established but they are not functional in an effective and efficient manner. For instance, the Regional Constitutional Interpretation Commissions are not functional in many regional states. So it is very difficult to adjudicate the issues of constitutional rights in relation to the constitutional right to sustainable development if violated by the government or non-governmental institutions. Hence, it is too difficult to enforce the right to sustainable development in regional states under such conditions.

Again the watchdog institutions like Human Rights Commissions and the Office of Ombudsman are constitutionally recognize (FDRE Constitutions, Article 55, (14 and 15)). These watchdog institutions have a great role in investigating and giving recommendation, as well as, giving reports to the concerning organs if the government violates the constitutional right to sustainable development. But they are established in big cities only; so they are not accessible for the public at large. In case they are not functioning effectively and efficiently, their contributions
In supporting sustainable development by checking or controlling the government is far from satisfactory in the Ethiopian federation. In addition to the above challenges, there is a great discrepancy among regional states on the extent of development in general and sustainable development in particular. Especially the difference between the emerging state like Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, Somale, and Gambella regional states and the other relatively developed regional states like Amhara, Tigray, Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities and peoples and Harari regional state is serious. In the emerging regional states the extent of development is less even though majority of them are rich in natural resources when compared to those relatively developed states. The lacking behind of these emerging states in relation to development is only because of historical prejudice as a result of the past discriminatory government system of Ethiopia. As a remedy the FDRE Constitution guarantees the rectification of historical prejudice among the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia under its preamble; in practice a lot of works are yet not done and the difference is still ongoing between these groups. For instance, there is a great difference in rate of infrastructure, health services, educations, clean water, electricity, literacy rate, proportional representation at federal level, and others. Hence, this reality will erodes the concept of sustainable development in the long run, unless checked seriously, since development must be proportional and balanced among all regional states, as well as, all regions must have relatively functional government institutions which give services effectively and efficiently. Besides this some institutions established at federal levels are contested for their partiality or politically dependent institution. The best example is the House of Federation. As explained some
place hereinabove, House of Federation is empowered with the power of interpreting the constitution (FDRE Constitution, Article 62, and 84). Many scholars’ contests the House of Federation as a political organ since the organ that elects its member is from the ruling parties of the regional states (Assefa Fisseha, 2006). But the House of Federation adjudicates all constitutional disputes including the issues related to the right to sustainable development (FDRE Constitution, Article 83 and 84 (2)). So it is not genuine institution to resolves or decides the issues of right to sustainable development impartially like the ordinary courts, if this right is violated by the ruling party as it is politically dependent institution.

c) Encroaching to the Right and Sustainable Development by the Government

Whilst implementing and fulfilling their constitutional duties, the government may encroach to the constitutional guarantees in general and the right to sustainable development in particular. As clearly elaborated hereinabove, the duty is imposed on all wings of government to enforce the constitutional guarantees recognized under chapter three of the FDRE Constitution as per its Article 13(1). The three wings of governments are duty bearers to enforce and implement the fundamental rights and freedoms, as well as, the right to sustainable development specifically in the current federalist state of Ethiopia.

But these government organs both at federal and regional levels may contravene the fundamental constitutional guarantees including the right to sustainable development; while they are enacting laws, executing laws, and interpreting laws unless seriously checked practically by comprehensive laws. Consequently, sometimes the Ethiopian parliament is criticized for enacting restrictive laws/proclamations, which erodes the
constitutionally guaranteed rights. The best example is the Charities and Societies Law of Ethiopia (Proclamation No.621/2009). According to this proclamation, only Ethiopian charities and societies are allowed to participate in the advancement of human and democratic rights. Many commentators believe that the commitment of the government to safeguard fundamental rights and freedoms including freedom of associations, assembly, and expression is questioned as a result of this restriction (Debebe, 2014). Hence, this restrictive law retards the enforcement of the right to sustainable development by preventing or at least reducing the role of charities and civil societies in enhancing sustainable development.

The other restrictive law is on the area of freedom of mass media and the right to access to information. For instance, Freedom of Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation (Proclamation No. 590/2008) impose restrictions on freedom of access to information. It provides that defamation and false accusation against “constitutionally mandated legislators, executives and judiciaries” will be prosecutable “even if the person against whom they were committed chooses not to press charge” (Proclamation No. 590/2008, Article 43(7)). Here the mass Medias may be frightened by this seriously restrictive laws and refrain themselves from criticizing the unconstitutional acts of the government enactments and decisions. Consequently, the government officials will abuse their powers or acting beyond power given for them freely and thereby negatively affects the enforcements of the right to sustainable development.

Additionally the issues of incorporating ouster clauses under various legislations are another problem, which may hold up the progress in ensuring the right to sustainable development. Ouster
clauses are provisions in the statutes that take away or purport to take away the jurisdiction of a competent court of law (Abdulfatai O. Sambo et al, 2013). It denies the court the ability to make any meaningful contribution with respect to matters relating to sustainable development and good governance brought before the court. In fact, it seeks deny the litigant any judicial assistance in respect of the matter having bearing on sustainable development and good governance brought before it. The legislature seeks, by the enactment of ouster clauses, to deny the court the power of judicial review in respect of the matter in which its jurisdiction has been ousted (Ibid). In the same manner, the problem of ousting the ordinary judiciary from adjudicating the constitutional issues related to the right to sustainable development is one main challenge to enforce and claim the right to sustainable development under the current Ethiopian federalist state. As a result, if any contestation is raised concerning the rights guaranteed under the FDRE Constitution, the power to adjudicate these constitutional issues is vested in the House of Federation not in the hands of ordinary courts (FDRE Constitution, Article 62, 83, 84 (2)). Hence, the right to food, housing, healthy, education, clean environment and others recognized under chapter three of the same constitutions cannot be claimed for their enforcement if violated by the government as per the same provisions. Since, the powers to entertain constitutionality issues are given for the House of federation under the FDRE Constitution. This erodes the right to have sustainable development in various manners since the right to sustainable development is not justifiable under the same constitution.
4. Conclusion and Recommendation

The concept of sustainable development is too general and the total aggregates which can be squeezed from the intersections of various types of developments, including political, socio-economic, cultural and environmental aspects. Hence, we must assess the issues of sustainable development in the holistic and harmonized manners. As a result, one cannot view the matter of sustainable development in disaggregated approaches. To ensure sustainable development, all sectors of developments must be progressed in balanced manners in the way that cares for both the current and future generations.

Therefore, the concept of sustainable development comprises of not only the issues of economic development or growth, rather it consists of the matters of environmental protections, political freedom, protection of human rights, alleviation of poverty, practicing good governance, ensuring rule of law, respect for diversified cultures, and ensuring the right to self-determinations in all aspects of human life in a certain country. In order to guarantee the right to sustainable development, democratic governments are incorporating and practicing numerous constitutional principles which support and enhance the concepts of sustainable development in various sectors; including human rights, environmental protection and conservations, warranting political rights like free and fair elections, multiparty system and ensuring public participation in decision making process. Furthermore, accommodating multiculturalism especially in federations, rectifying historical prejudices, transform the socio-economic rights of the impoverished societies in progress, guaranteeing the right to healthy, educations and equal access to
resource or benefit and burdens sharing among the regions and their ethnicities proportionally.

Accordingly to warrant all these constitutional rights and guarantees, the constitution of certain countries must be legitimate enough; i.e. it must be democratic at is making process (all inclusive, or participatory in its making process), its contents must be genuine and comprehensive enough which incorporates plenty of human rights principles consistent with international human rights instruments, treaties, declarations and covenants, rule of law, constitutionalism (limited government), as well as, which grants the unconditional right to self-determination in all aspects for the nations, nationalities and peoples living in that federation. Consequently, the 1995 FDRE Constitution has a number of options for ensuring sustainable development under its contents. It guarantees human rights starting from the mother of rights (right to life) to the extent of ensuring the right to have sustainable development for the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia (FDRE Constitution, Article 15 and 43 respectively). It ensures the principles of limited government and rule of law thereby made the accountability and transparency of government and government officials as per its Article 12 and 13 of the same constitution.

Regardless of all these attempts to ensure the right to sustainable development, there are prevailing challenges, which retards the practicing and enforcing the right to sustainable development under the current Ethiopian federalist state. The core challenges include: Lack of enacting specific and comprehensive legislations; failure to establishing genuine and functional institutions which enforce the right to sustainable development practically, and ousting the ordinary judiciary from adjudicating the constitutional
disputes in relation to the right to have sustainable development and making the right to sustainable right non-justifiable. To sum up this discussion, the right to sustainable development can be enforced, only and only, if the government gives its due care to the political freedom or rights, economic development, environmental protections and entrenching the culture of human right and good governance at all levels and in all sectors. But the mere facts of increasing one sectors of development like ensuring economic growth only does not show the sign of sustainable development and human well-beings. So the government must able to improve all sectors of development strengthen freedom for the nations, protecting and make the environment conducive for the citizens, ensure the economic development, fulfill, respect and enforce human and democratic rights, constitutionally limits the power of government; plus ensuring that all these improvements will be underway in the manner which shall never affects the interests of the present and future generations. If these conditions are not fulfilled as much as possible for the government, it is hardly possible to ensure and enforcing the right to sustainable development in any country including Ethiopia. Consequently, the current Ethiopian government must worry about these principles and commit itself to fulfill and warrant the principles of sustainable development in its actions, inactions and day-to-day decisions.
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Economic Linkage between Urban Development and Livelihood of Peri-Urban Farming Communities in Amhara Regional State, Ethiopia
By: Idris Mohammed and Abdella Kosa

Abstract

Urbanization in Ethiopia is the old practice but newly recognized concepts by development actors and its recent development are at the fastest pace, however, primate urban development. As urban expands into peripheral areas, the peri-urban farmers are vulnerable to the negative externalities of urbanization. The aim of the study was to assess economic linkage of urban development and the livelihood of peri-urban farming communities. From Ethiopia, Amhara regional state was selected. Through ordinary multi stage sampling, five municipalities of Debre Berhan, Shoa Robbit, Kombolcha, Dessie, and Woldia were taken as the sample from eastern part of Amhara regional state. Data were collected through 30 conducted interviews with municipalities’ officials and 200 collected questionnaires from peri-urban evicted farmers. As the findings of the study suggests urban sprawl in Amhara Regional State negatively and significantly affect the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. In Amhara Regional State context, Municipality intervention positively affects the economic livelihood of farmers. Attitude and skills of farmers moderately intensify the negative impacts of urbanization on the economic livelihood of Suburban farmers. Attitude and skills of farmers moderately intensify the positive impacts of the municipality intervention on the economic livelihood of farmers.
Livelihood strategies moderately influence the impacts of urbanization and municipality intervention on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. The result of the study is also contrary to Lewis model of 1950s, existing theories and proclamation in terms of better economic development for suburban farmers from urban sprawl in Amhara Regional State current practice. The study helps to create a roadmap for policy makers in order to design integrative and participatory policy, Municipalities should have fully implemented urban policies, and farmers’ background should be recorded and continuous follow up. Scholars in a future should identify the enabling environment & strategies in which urban development can benefits all stakeholders.

**Key words:** Urban expansion, Economic Linkage, Attitude, Challenges

1. **Introduction**
Urbanization, rapid population increase and changing socioeconomic pattern are the driving forces that influenced special change in peri-urban areas (Jongkroy, 2009). In 1900, worldwide, there were 7 rural dwellers to each urban dweller; now there is less than one and projections suggest close to three urban dwellers to two rural dwellers by 2025. UN projections suggest that the world’s urban population will grow by more than a billion people between 2010 and 2025 (United Nation, 2008). It is common that as the population increases in urban areas, urbanization expanded to rural areas. Currently, rapid expansion of urbanization of the world is high, particularly radical urban expansion predicted in developing countries (Marshall et al., 2009). According to population revision of United Nations, (2012:17), half of the population of Asia will live in urban areas
by 2020 while Africa is likely to reach at 50% urbanization rate in 2035. However, high growth rate is not often accompanied by development in socio-economic services and infrastructure, and economic and employment capacity of the urban centers to support the growing population (Teller and Assefa, 2010). Rapid urbanization process is demanding a transformation of land use in surrounding rural area to cater the needs of urban areas (DFID, 2000). The Land is the primary asset that can be affected by intense pressures of the land conversion process in peri-urban areas. Changes in land use from rural to urban activities affect the economic features of the peri-urban interface (DFID, 1999). Peri-urban areas largely occupied by Agricultural communities in rural settlement pattern to which urban settlement expands (Adem and Fenta, 2010). Peri-urban areas are those areas adjacent to build up areas of high population concentration, zones where traditional farming activities come into conflict with alternative economic, residential and recreational interest (Mandere et al., 2010). Peri-urban is an area neither urban nor rural but an interface where there is increasingly less provision of various urban services when compared to the urban system and increasingly less provision of ecological services when compared to the rural system (Adeboyjejo, 2007).

Ethiopia has the long history of urbanization and has an urban settlement like Aksum, Lalibela, and Gondar (Adem and Fenta, 2010). However, urbanization in Ethiopia faces a number of economic problems due to its fast pace (Egziabher, 2002). Ethiopia is characterized by low level of urbanization even by African standard, where only 16% of populations live in urban area. Despite this, it has recorded a relatively high growth rate of urban population (4% annually), double that of rural areas.
However, such high growth rate is not often accompanied by the development of economic services and infrastructure, and economic and employment capacity of the urban centers to support the growing population (Egziabher, 1999). Moreover, urban growth and urbanization process in Ethiopia is characterized by high primate city development. In Ethiopia, commercial farms, protection of parks, villagiation, resettlement, road construction, urban expansion, & similar state organized national plans were caused population displacement (Feleke, 1999). The horizontal expansion of cities is, however, at the expense of prime agricultural lands and agricultural productivity which of both are the main livelihoods of peripheral communities (Zerihun, 2015).

The main reason for urban development in the Amhara Regional State is derived from favorable reform in the country in terms economic policy that has created the conducive environment for private investments. They focused on how to attract potential investors but not consider the livelihood of peri-urban dwellers. On the other hand, the rural farming community has little knowledge and know-how to adapt the situation of urban life as most of them are unskilled to compete for the urban job opportunity. As a result, most of the dislocated families could be exposed to economic disadvantage that lead them to impoverishment. The study uncovers the impact of urbanization on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers in Amhara Regional State, focus on urban policy and current practices. The study also considers other factors than urbanization that affect the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers.
2. Theory and Hypothesis

2.1. Urbanization

Urbanization refers to a growth in the proportion of a population living in urban areas and the further physical expansion of already existing urban centers (Alaci, 2010). There has been remarkably fast and extensive urbanization in low- and middle-income countries in recent decades, and urban areas are growing faster in low-income countries today than they did in now high-income countries during the 19th century (Jedwab et al. 2014). As urban population increases, there should be space in which that population will be accommodated. People firstly strive for residential house then for investment. Therefore, urbanization and urban growth has become the main contest in transformation of agricultural land to non-agricultural use. The urbanization process in developed countries was gradual and related to social and economic conditions improvement, while urbanization in the Third World Countries is a sudden explosion caused mainly by rural-urban migration and without significant development of industrialization (David, 1996). Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in the world; however, the rate of urbanization is increasing at a rate of 4.4% (MoFED, 2006). The policy which is designed by federal government and its actual implementation in a local area may/may not suitable for indigenous farmers who are supposed to leave their place for urban expansion.

2.2. Peri-urban Farmers Economic Livelihood

According to Adell, G. (1999), peri-urban is usually not easy to define because of the “complexities of building a spatial framework around what is essentially an amorphous and mobile site for the interaction of various social, economic and cultural processes and inter-linkages between the rural and the urban”.
Different scholars agreed that peri-urban refers to a zone or area where urban and rural development processes meet, mix and interact on the edge of the cities. However, (Aguilar, 2008), asserts that it is indeed not possible to come to a consensus on place-based definitions of the term in terms of proximity to or distance of locations from the city. Rather he argues that peri-urban is “a mix of agricultural and non-agricultural land uses flows of goods, services and resources between villages and urban centers and a social profile that is very heterogeneous and in a state of flux”. In general, peri-urban is place very close to urban in which livelihood of society is neither pure urban nor rural but combination of both. They are easily access urban services and infrastructure but affected by external negativity of urban expansion. Urbanization often leads to declining household land holdings which, potentially, diminishes the economic significance of agriculture in urban peripheries. At the same time, new urban activities constitute an opportunity for new livelihoods in urban-based employment. Urbanization may also be synergistic to some forms of agriculture such as horticulture and dairying, due to increased urban demand for fresh farm produce (Raphael, 2013).

2.3. Rural Urban Integration
In developing countries people are migrating to urban centers. From the Centre the poor move to the periphery for urban renewal. These areas need provision of infrastructure like road, power line, water pipes and drainage line. This requires high development cost that draws on the financial capacity of the municipal government. In many cases the municipality cannot afford to provide and people remain deficient of basic means of life. Because of this most of the residents are exposed relatively to high cost of living. There is also limited work opportunity in the area (FAO, 2007).
The challenge is perhaps more intense to the dislocated and evicted farming community since they lose their means of livelihood. As Mougeot, (2000) explains Urban agriculture is located within (intra-urban) or on the fringe (peri-urban) of a town, a city or a metropolis, and grows or raises, processes and distributes a diversity of food and non-food products, uses largely human and material resources, products and services found in and around that urban area, and in turn supplies human and material resources, products and services largely to that urban area. Those centers and surrounding rural communities have to be undertaken inclusively through micro-level area-based rural-urban integrated planning which specifically takes into account socio-economic variables and characteristics of the area (Kim, 2012).

2.4. Urbanization on Economic Livelihood of Peri-urban Farmers

The interaction of urban to rural was described in modernization theories of economic development. The main paradigm shift in this regard is the structural transformation model formulated by W. Arthur Lewis in the mid-1950s (Adem, 2010). The main focus of this model was the transfer of agricultural labor and growth of output and employment to the modern urban industrial sector through wages that is higher than subsistence agriculture. The theorist postulated that the city offers cost reducing advantages in economic services. Though, this structural transformation has traditionally a great deal of turmoil, clash, disruption and dispossession in which the process involves winners and losers. In opposing to this structural transformation theory, the dependency theory maintains that cities grow parasitically by exploiting and holding back their surrounding regions. This is also supported by Balchin(2000), established economic development in the city is only at the expense of the surrounding peripheral
areas. The poor farmers are the net losers while largely better off urban settlers get the benefit of obtaining land at subsidized prices (Mohan, 1996). Urbanization process is demanding a transformation of land use in surrounding rural area to cater the needs of urban areas (DFID, 2000). Land is the primary asset that can be affected by intense pressures of land conversion process in peri-urban areas. Changes in land use from rural to urban activities affects economic features of peri-urban interface (DFID, 1999). Rapid urban growth is the increasing demand for urban land, particularly for housing, but also for various other urban uses. In many countries, the increasing demand is most likely to affect (or is affecting) rural-urban fringe areas (Aguilar, 2008). The mainstay of peri-urban livelihoods, its dispossession is one of the contributing factors for the prevailing vulnerable livelihoods of peri-urban farmers in Ethiopia (Kasa, et al. 2011). In most cases, particularly in developing countries, some negative consequences that come with land conversion and displacement is not critically considered. Yet, it can have adverse effects on displaced households in terms of livelihood disruption, and social and cultural consequences (Jongkroy, 2009). Furthermore, the level of urbanization has been associated with numerous positive societal outcomes such as technological innovation, economic progress and high standards of living (Bradshaw and Frasaer, 1989). Level of urbanization has also been linked to; societal, environmental problems and perceived mismatches between population distribution and economic development (Kasadra and Crenshaw, 1991). In Ethiopia, the livelihood impact of urbanization on peri-urban areas is least studied (Abdissa, 2005). The horizontal physical expansion has led them a complete dispossession of agricultural land or farm size reduction. This in turn forced them
shift in their livelihood strategies (Kasa, et al. 2011). Given the direct relation of urbanization and economic development, the country still deserves promoting urbanization.

H1: Urban sprawl negatively affects the Economic livelihood of peri-urban Framers in Amhara Regional State of Ethiopia.

2.5. Municipality intervention on Economic Livelihood of Suburban Farmers

Administration body of developing countries cities expropriates peasant agricultural land by appropriation of minimum compensation. The compensation given is valued based on the legal price called ‘state price’ in that the price is fixed by the government body which resulted very low compensation (Jongkroy, 2009). The challenge is perhaps more intense to the dislocated and evicted farming community since they lose their means of livelihood. Government interventions in both the urban and rural areas in the construction and improvement of roads, provision of educational and health facilities, electric, and communication facilities have increased the mutual interdependence of urban and rural areas with enhanced linkages (Kim, 2012). These interventions have been undertaken both in the rural side and urban side. On the urban side, towns have catered to the needs of the rural and agricultural sector through developing improved marketing facilities, information, and infrastructure. Employment opportunities in towns have been fostered to provide access to the rural people. However, unguided urbanization, like in most developing countries, negatively affects the natural environment and livelihoods in peri-urban areas (UN-HABITAT, 2010). The impact of urbanization on peri-urban livelihoods can be evaluated as like any development intervention effects. The impact of livelihood strategy is the systematic identification of
these positive or negative effects, which are intended or not, brought by a given development activity on households (World Bank, 2004). According to Alaci (2010) well planned and managed urban growth can serve as a positive development factor for farmers’ economic livelihood. Municipality Intervention are considered as a key for improving economic livelihood of farmers. 

H2: Positive Municipality intervention favorably affects the economic livelihood of peri-urban farming Communities in Ethiopia.

2.6. Moderating Role of Attitude and skills of Farmers

The money received as compensation due to expropriation spends quickly on unplanned expenditure and unproductive goods such as consumable goods (Elias, 2005). Moreover, lack of education and skill training prohibit them to obtain non-agricultural jobs especially middle age and older people. Therefore, the poor usually engage in low paid casual employment, petty trading and other low return activities (DFID, 2008). Once they leave they are usually unable to get a foothold on the urban economy due to their limited skills and age, and in such cases, some have ended up in illegitimate economy such as a life of crime, illicit activities such as drug peddling, prostitution among other social vices (Thuo, 2013). Even though they received compensations, given the absence of parallel business and skill development interventions, most of peri-urban farmers could not engaged on alternative livelihood strategies that can grant them comparable income (Kasa, et al. 2011). The loss of land is equivalent to loss of livelihood (Jongkroy, 2009).

H3: Attitude and Skills of Peri-urban farmers in Ethiopia moderately intensifies the negative impact of Urbanization on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers.
Pre-displacement precautionary measures and post-displacement adaptation measures need to be taken by municipality. The former helps to reduce livelihood vulnerability of urbanization-induced displaced people while the later enhance their resiliency (Kasa, et al. 2011). As described by (Siciliano, 2012), the process of determining and implementing compensation are illogical, ad-hoc and lacking clearness and more importantly exposing the farmers economic vulnerability to unemployment and food insecurity. Since compensation paid to evicted people is usually inadequate, it is advisable to municipality money compensation with alternative development plans to rehabilitate economically the evicted farmers (Siciliano, 2012). Urban expansion towards the periphery agricultural community through the process of reclassification ignites farmers’ involuntary displacement when rural population is to become urban counting (Benhart, 2004).

H4: Attitude and Skills of peri-urban farming communities in Amhara Regional State of Ethiopia moderately intensifies the positive influence of Municipality intervention on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers.

2.7. Moderating Role of Livelihood strategies of Farmers

Kasa, et al (2011) identified three adaptive livelihood strategies, namely, agricultural sector related, industry sector related and Service sector related. Since early times, there were several households used to grow coarse grain on the slopes of hills surrounded the village. Moreover, non-agricultural activities in rural settlements are not well developed yet, it is necessary to slow the pace of the abandonment of agriculture (Kim, 2012). This shift to urban lifestyle in itself becomes a challenge as it needs relatively higher cost of living (Kasa, et al. 2011). The benefits could be seen in terms of high demand on agricultural produces,
access to developed extension services, and opportunities to non-farm employment (Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2003). According to Tacoli, (2003) divisions of labor affect the way individuals access the opportunities availed by the urban growth and also on the way they respond to constraints resulting from such growth. There is, however, a problem in that rights of livelihood necessities, especially to those still practicing farming, is mostly dependent on land resources (Thuo, 2013). These factors considered, it may be said that urbanization has led to the diversification of rural non-agricultural economy. This could be attributed to changes occurring in land use, water resources management, waste dumping, and increasing competition between agricultural and residential use of natural resources (Bah et al., 2003). As a result, urbanization could bring a dramatic increase in the concentration of poverty in peri-urban zones (Marshall et al., 2009).

H5: Livelihood Strategy of Suburban farmers moderate the relationship of Urbanization on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farming communities in Amhara Regional State of Ethiopia. Maxwell, et al. (1998) pushing out of relatively self-reliant small scale holding farmers without replacement by any economic system that guarantees community or individual survival is the negative consequences of urbanization in terms of loss of agricultural land. According to (Belay, 2014), coping strategies define as a response to unfavorable events or shocks. Garrett, L. J. (2000) Policies should focus on improving the effects of inevitable urbanization that could support the livelihood strategies of peri-urban farmers through providing support rather than discriminating against them. Peri-urban areas surrounding the urban areas are characterized as one of the most vulnerable geographic areas for the risk subjected to
farm lands loss in the expansion of urbanization that make farmers loss of livelihood assets (Belay, 2014).


Generally, by taking into consideration the above literature review and hypotheses, the researchers developed conceptual framework presented on Figure 1.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework
Livelihood strategies of Farmers

Attitude and Skills of Peri-urban Farmers

H3

Urban Expansion

H1

Economic Livelihood of Peri-urban Farmers

H4

Municipality Intervention

H2

Control variables
- Family social composition
- Environmental factors

H5

H6
3. Materials and Methods Used

The research is descriptive and explanatory type. The quantitative approach was used. According to Dawson, (2007), quantitative research generates statistics through the use of large-scale survey research, using methods such as questionnaires or structured interviews. In order to make a closer investigation of the economic linkage of urban development with local community's livelihood situation, attitude and perception, data were collected from the localities covered by the study through survey method. Accordingly, the required data were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected from evicted peri-urban farmers and municipality officials. Secondary data were collected from relevant literature and Proclamation.

As to Kothari, (2004), ordinarily multi-stage sampling is applied in big inquires extending to a considerable large geographical area, say, the entire country. For research design, the ordinary Multi-stage sampling was adopted due to a) easier to administer than most single stage designs mainly because of the fact that sampling and, b) large number of units can be sampled for a given cost under multistage sampling because of sequential clustering, whereas this is not possible in most of the simple designs (Kothari, 2004). From Ethiopia, in the first stage Amhara regional state was selected. In the second stage, the eastern part of Amhara region was selected because of high urban growth rate. In the third stage, all highly growing urban areas in eastern part of Amhara Regional state were selected. Those towns were Debre Berhan, Kombolcha, Dessie, Shoa Robbit and Woldia. The justification behind the selection of study area was highly vulnerability to the identified problems and they are the fastest pace of urbanization in the eastern part of Amhara regional state after economic policy reform. The target
Population of the study are evicted Farmers who were expropriated from periphery areas of study areas and their respective urban municipality officials. According to Kothari, (2004), the size of sample should neither be excessively large, nor too small. It should be optimum. If the total population is unknown, the suitable method is Purposive sampling (quota and Judgmental sampling). For the study, total population was unknown. Two hundred survey questionnaires were determined through sampling determination formula of (Bartlet et al, 2001) and Copper and Schindler, (2006). Both open and closed-ended questions were included in the questionnaires. Sometimes a retrospective data collection method was used while respondents were asked to provide updated information and remember and reconstruct significant events and aspects of their assets, strategies, and poverty. Structured interviews were also carried out with community leader, urban administration; experts from the Urban Land Administration and investment office were interviewed.

Through snowballing sampling, researchers were contacted with displaced farmers who were moved to the unknown location. However, urban land administration knew the permanent location of evicted farmers and who has housing plot. Total 200 questionnaires were distributed and collected from peri-urban farmers. For the purpose of collecting sufficient data from target respondents, 30 structured interviews were conducted with all sampled municipality officials. To obtain relevant and sufficient information and to administer key informants around the issue, the check list was prepared. Hence, a sample of 200 households was purposively determined and individual respondent was selected through convenience and snowballing. In each urban area, a list
of the affected households was collected then generated from roasters of urban administration and formed sampling frame. Prior to analysis, completed questionnaires were coded, inputted and organized. A coding system of some variables was prepared at the time of the questionnaire design. After the completion of coding, all valid questionnaires were inputted in a coherent format of SPSS version 20. Finally, survey data were interpreted through descriptive (mean and standard deviation) and inferential statistics (multi regression analysis). During data analysis and interpretation, qualitative and quantitative data were combined in explaining, confirming, refuting and enriching data from one approach to another. Moreover, secondary data that were obtained from various data sources were analyzed through content analysis.

### 4. Results and Discussion

Proclamations which were adopted at the different time like FDRE Exprpriatuion of land holding and payment of compensation Proclamation No. 455/2005, FDRE urban Land Lease Holding Proclamation No. 721/2011 and Amhara Regional State Regulation No.51/2007 were assessed.

#### 4.1. Main Drivers of Urbanization

Most of the interviewers argued that, in Amhara Regional State of Ethiopia, there are different factors contributing to the horizontal expansion of urban to peripheral areas. The main determinant factor for urban expansion in Amhara Regional State was economic policy reform in 2004. This policy reform created enabling the environment for private investors. They are freely participating in the construction of different industries including manufacturing industries, service sectors, recreational sites, agricultural activities and different developmental activities. The
second main factor for urban expansion was increasing the demand for the residential house of urban dwellers. As the report urban land planning and management of Amhara regional state, there are more than 150,000 people demanded peri-urban land for the residential purpose. In Debre Berhan town, more than 120 cooperatives were organized that includes more than 3000 members demanded land for residential purpose and in Shoa Robbit, more than 1872 to requested land for the residential house. In Dessie more than 5000 people and in Kombolcha more than 2500 need land for residential houses. The third factor was Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP). This encourages expansion of micro and small enterprises, expansion of educational institutions and health stations. The fourth main factor is mega projects which were undertaken by the federal government. Especially in Kombolcha municipality, due to the construction of the railroad, more than hundred farmers were evicted. Asphalt road construction and industrial zones evicted many farmers. The fifth factor was rural-urban migration. The sixth factor is the availability of basic infrastructures (enabling environment). The others factors are increased awareness of investors and increased foreign direct investments.

4.2. Impacts of Urbanization on the Economic Livelihood of Peri Urban Farmers

As the mean value reveled, the economic livelihood of suburban farmers is highly affected. Concerning Rehabilitation strategies, peri-urban farmers are not satisfied by the current practice of rehabilitation mechanism. They are more concerned on the rehabilitation due poor practice of rehabilitation strategies. Family social composition is not more functional to improve the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers in Amhara Regional State.
Majority of family members are not productive to improve economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers in Amhara Regional State. Urbanization is the main factor that has adverse effect on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers in Ethiopia. Not only urbanization but also municipality intervention is poor to improve economic livelihood of farmers and provide necessary support. This is also presented in the following table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic Livelihood of peri-urban Framers</td>
<td>4.4150</td>
<td>0.91520</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization</td>
<td>4.0700</td>
<td>0.93782</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality intervention</td>
<td>3.9400</td>
<td>1.21030</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihood strategy</td>
<td>3.5750</td>
<td>1.16670</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude and skills</td>
<td>3.5400</td>
<td>1.13704</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Factors</td>
<td>2.4200</td>
<td>1.23722</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family social composition</td>
<td>2.1450</td>
<td>1.25893</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization _ Livelihood strategy</td>
<td>17.96905</td>
<td>6.14719</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization _ Attitude and skills</td>
<td>14.4078</td>
<td>6.45298</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality Intervention _Attitude and skills</td>
<td>13.9476</td>
<td>6.28940</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality Intervention _ Livelihood strategy</td>
<td>14.0855</td>
<td>5.95544</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In our work, there is no value that is greater than 0.8. All tolerance values are also less than 0.10. As a result, there is no collinearity problem. The outcome of regression analysis reveals that in the first model, only independent variables were included and the main effects are added in the second model. Later moderating variables are included and finally, the interaction variables added. Livelihood strategies of peri-urban farmers and attitude and skills of farmers are used as moderating variables which can intensify the impact. The control variables included are family social compositions and Environmental factors. The result of this
analysis shows that the results were statistically significant due to F=11.235, P=0 for model 1, F=16.733, P=0 for model 2, F=20.996, P=0 for model 3, and F=15524, P=0 for model 4. The independent variable alone affects Economic livelihood 72.3% and with its effect signifies at 79.6%. In model 3 after moderators and all control variables are added it affects about 83.5% and it reaches 89.2% after interaction of all variables.

Table 4: Multi level regression results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization</td>
<td>.680***</td>
<td>.732***</td>
<td>.782*</td>
<td>-.815***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.461)</td>
<td>(2.961)</td>
<td>(1.207)</td>
<td>(-1.408)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality intervention</td>
<td>.134**</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>.107*</td>
<td>-.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.93)</td>
<td>(1.501)</td>
<td>(1.834)</td>
<td>(-.349)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihood strategy</td>
<td>-.075</td>
<td>-.009</td>
<td>-.137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-.216)</td>
<td>(-.144)</td>
<td>(-.929)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude and skills</td>
<td>.449***</td>
<td>.187**</td>
<td>-.167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.238)</td>
<td>(2.446)</td>
<td>(-1.339)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Factors</td>
<td>.290*</td>
<td>.244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.754)</td>
<td>(3.225)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family social composition</td>
<td>.333*</td>
<td>.293*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.167)</td>
<td>(3.688)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization _ Livelihood strategy</td>
<td>-.014</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-.364)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization _ Attitude and skills</td>
<td>.114***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.136)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality Intervention _Attitude and skills</td>
<td>-.012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-.338)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality Intervention _ Livelihood strategy</td>
<td>.067*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>.362**</td>
<td>-.634*</td>
<td>-1.529**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.812)</td>
<td>(-1.348)</td>
<td>(-3.395)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.723</td>
<td>.796</td>
<td>.835</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>.240</td>
<td>.376</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>11.235</td>
<td>16.733</td>
<td>20.996</td>
<td>15.524</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***p< 0.01 **p< 0.05 *p<0.1
The result of the above regression model shows urban sprawl significantly and negatively affects the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers in Amhara Regional State. This indicates as urban expanded into suburban areas, the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers will be deteriorated that result in economic impoverishment. As it was presented in the model 1, Municipality intervention is positively affect the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. This is also shows as the municipality intervene to create enabling environment for peri-urban farmers, the economic livelihood of suburban farmers will be improved. However, the main problem is municipalities are not on the way to create enabling environment for peri-urban evicted farmers. Attitude and skills of farmers moderately intensify the negative impacts of urbanization on the economic livelihood of Suburban farmers. Attitude and skills of farmers moderately intensify the positive impacts of the municipality intervention on the economic livelihood of farmers. Livelihood strategies moderately influence the negative impacts of urbanization on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. Livelihood strategies moderately sway the positive impacts of municipality intervention on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. Family social compositions and environmental factors are insignificantly affecting the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers.

4.2.1. Positive Impacts of urbanization for peri-urban farmers

According to the Lewis model which was developed by W. Arthur Lewis in 1950ssuggested that there is an interaction of urban to rural which was described in modernization theories of economic development through the paradigm shift of structural transformation. Its main focus was the transfer of agricultural labor and growth of output and employment to the modern urban
industrial sector through wages that is higher than subsistence agriculture. It also postulated that the city offers cost reducing advantages in economic services. At the preamble of FDRE Proclamation No. 455/2005 also argued that the urban sprawl shall give priority to the interests of the suburban farmers and urban centers to ensure rapid urban development and equitable benefits of citizens. In Amhara Regional State, before expropriation, majority 148 (74%) of target peri-urban farmers have an annual income of Birr 31,001 to 61,001 and few 44 (22%) of farmers earned an annual income of Birr 1000 to 31,000. However, after expropriation most 172 (86%) of evicted farmers earned an annual income of Birr 1000 to 25,000. Only very few 24(12%) evicted farmers have an annual income of more than Birr 25,000. This indicates the economic annual income of farmers was decreased due to urban sprawl. The collaborative factor of urban sprawl and poor municipality interventions to protect the interests of peri-urban farmers in developing countries resulted in economic impoverishment and live in poverty.

The findings of the study contrary to Lewis Model of 1950s, existing theory and government proclamation concerning benefits of urbanization for the Peri-urban Farmers in the poor countries, especially like in the Ethiopia. Though, urbanization in Ethiopia creates numerous job opportunities, increase productivity, cost reducing advantage, increase wage rates and market access, peri urban farmers were not benefited from urbanization in Amhara Regional State, because: (a) they were evicted from their land and move to remote areas, (b) lack of knowledge and skills to get employment opportunities (c) Urban sprawl creates new social composition who have varieties of knowledge, experience, and skills, (d) poor municipality intervention to protect the interest of
suburban farmers. The two main benefits of urbanization for evicted peri-urban farmers were cost reduction and increase of wage rates for those who are living in areas.

4.2.2. **Negative Impact of Urbanization on Peri-Urban Farmers**

In Ethiopia, before expropriation, they have the residential house in the area and they generate income from it (use residential house as land mix use). After expropriation, their houses were demolished and lose their income. They are also subjected to pay rent expense and difficult to cover the cost of rehabilitation. These factors make peri-urban indigenous farmers to live in poverty. Urbanization evicts peri-urban farmers from suitable location resulted in difficult to cover rehabilitation cost and not access to opportunity created by urbanization. Dessie and Kombolcha municipality officials argued that indigenous peri-urban farmers prefer rather than lose their land; they prefer to lose their life. They consider land losing as equivalent with losing life and livelihood. While we conducted the interview with evicted farmers, most respondents were irritated to remember that event and tearing and emotional to the situation. The main economic loss of urbanization on peri-urban indigenous farmers in Amhara Regional State are forcing them to live in poverty, loss of income, food insecurity, loss of suitable geographical location and difficult to cover rehabilitation cost. Although urbanization has some benefits to improve economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers, municipalities have poor practice (no positive intervention) in order to improve farmers’ economic livelihood as the interview conducted revealed.
4.3. **Perceptions of Farmers on the Urbanization**

Evicted Farmers have no bargaining power to refuse the decision of urban administration whereas municipality officials have the poor bargaining power to reach on common consensus. Even some evicted farmers said that rather than losing my land, it is better to lose my life. In Amhara Regional State, rehabilitation mechanisms that all municipalities applying are poor and cannot influence them to politely lose their land. Peri-urban farmers are losing their fixed assets but get temporary benefits so called ‘monetary compensations’. The monetary compensation is spent on nonproductive activities and after few periods, they will consume and finish all amounts. As the real practice on the ground shows that farmers are not interested to politely lose their land, however, due to fear of laws and government officials. Because the majority of people know the risk associated with losing of the land from past experience.

4.4. **Options Open to Dispossessed Peri-Urban Farmers**

Today dispossession threat has become more alarming than ever as the urbanization has begun to sweep over the rural region (Dalvi, 2000). In Ethiopia most of the evicted farmers are participating on day laborers for their future survival strategies. Farmers believe that there are no others survival strategies other than agricultural activities. So, when they are expropriated from their land, they have no other job opportunities except to be as daily laborers. With the recent development and municipality intervention, in a few urban areas, they organize evicted farmers in order to participate in micro and small-scale enterprises. Every policy and proclamation in relation to urban expansion should consider the interest of all those stakeholders. Creating the enabling environment for private investor should not be at expense
of the indigenous peri-urban farmers. As the real on the ground reveled in the peri-urban areas of Amhara Regional State, no other options were provided for peri-urban farmers but monetary compensation.

4.5. Monitoring of the Post-Eviction Circumstances of the Farmers
Peri-urban areas in the Amhara Regional State are the potential areas in which many stakeholders are competing for satisfying of their basic need, economic and social interest. Peri-urban farmers use their land as the means of the economic livelihood. Municipality officials are more interested in urban expansion into the peripheral areas due to generate high income and wealth for the city. Local, regional and federal governments need the peri-urban areas for public sector projects and create conducive environment for private investors. Private investors need the peri-urban area to expand and diversify their businesses and launch investments. Urban dwellers need peripheral areas for residential purposes. Potential conflict arises among the local governments, private investors, urban dwellers, peri-urban farmers and federal and regional governments on the peri-urban areas only for the sake of controlling land and dispossessing of farmers not to protect and improve the economic livelihood of Peri urban farmers. However, no one consider and monitor the livelihood of peri-urban farmers after eviction process was completed. Some evicted farmers also started their own business that has experience of risk associated with losing of land. Some individuals also hired as the security guard of government institutions. Few of peri-urban farmers get job opportunity from private organizations.

4.6. Response of Municipal Authorities to the Problem
As the real practice on the ground shows in Amhara Regional State, peri-urban farmers are not beneficiaries from the urban expansion in Ethiopia. Municipal authorities poorly treat peri-urban farmers on the expropriation and after evictions. Peri-urban farmers get unfair and inadequate monetary compensation, lack of providing training before and after expropriation, lack of municipality intervention on the protecting the interest of Peri-urban farmers, lack of providing updated information, lack of good governance and unenforceable policy which can support the benefits of peri-urban farmers. These problems occurred due to poor municipality intervention in all peri-urban areas of Amhara Regional State.

5. Conclusion
Urbanization and urban development in Amhara Regional State is old practice but recently recognized concept by the government and developmental actors. The economic policy reform that was drafted in 2004 is the main factor for urban sprawl in Amhara Regional State. No one denies the fact that while urban expanded in peripheral areas; peri-urban dwellers have most likely a chance of eviction from their indigenous homeland. Urban expansions in Amhara Regional State significantly negatively affect the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. In Amhara Regional State context, Municipality intervention positively affects the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. Even if there are a number of positive economic opportunities for urban expansion on peri-urban dwellers, municipalities are not doing enough to make peri-urban farmers beneficiaries from peri-urbanism. Attitude and skills of farmers moderately intensify the impacts of urbanization and municipality intervention on the economic livelihood of Suburban farmers. Livelihood strategies moderately influence the
impacts of urbanization and municipality intervention on the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. Family social compositions and Environmental factors are insignificant affect the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. The result of the study is also contrary to Lewis model of 1950s, Existing theories and government proclamation in terms of better economic development for suburban farmers from urban sprawl in Amhara Regional State current practice. On the side of peri-urban farmers, they are not properly utilizing their monetary compensations, poor saving habit and spend the compensation on non-productive activities, not competent to get job opportunity with new social compositions. Peri-urban farmers’ livelihood is not governed by plans and they have a bad attitude toward urban expansion. Generally, un-collaborative and non-participative type of urban expansion in Amhara Regional State, negatively affect the economic livelihood of peri-urban farmers. The cumulative effects of potential conflicts, unplanned livelihood of peri-urban farmers, poor saving habits, lack of municipality intervention, and lack of good governance negatively affect the livelihood of peri-urban farmers, create mistrust on the government and jeopardize the image of government.

6. Practical Implications

The findings of the study create a roadmap for policy makers in order to design integrative and participatory policy, major instruments, stakeholders and strategies to make forgotten part of society’s beneficiaries and to bring better economic development. The Municipalities should have fully implement urban policies, work hard on mutual benefits of all concerned stakeholders, farmers’ background should be recorded and continuous follow up to have self- sustainable normal livelihood and all development actors should be participated to improve economic livelihood of
peri-urban farmers. The limitation of policy is also identified. Scholars in a future should identify the enabling environment & strategies in which urban sprawl can benefits all stakeholders.

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An Investigation into the Manifestation of Oromo Culture in Folklore: Focus on the Oromo Cultural Elements Reflected in Some Selected Afaan Oromo Proverbs (Mammaaksa). By: Wandimu Tegegne

Abstract
Oromo people have a well-developed oral literature such as myths, tales, proverbs, riddles, folk songs, etc which have been socially transmitted from one generation to the other. Particularly, proverb (mammaaksa) is used by Oromo as means of transmitting the culture, values and norms of the society. Despite these, there is little or no study that is conducted on the cultural elements of Oromo people reflected in proverbs. So, the main purpose of this study was to describe the cultural elements of Oromo people that are reflected in proverbs. To achieve this objective, descriptive research design was employed. Afan Oromo mammaaksa were collected from elders and documents using interview and document analysis respectively. Then, the collected proverbs were assessed for their relevance and appropriateness to the purpose of this study. Thus, only Afan Oromo proverbs that reflect Oromo cultural elements were selected and translated to English for analysis. Next, the selected proverbs were grouped according to related themes. Finally, the contents of the categorized proverbs were analyzed and interpreted thematically. The analysis revealed that different Oromo cultural elements are reflected in Afan Oromo mammaaksa. For example, the analysis divulged that trust and friendship, truthfulness, self-respect and value, kinship and background, tolerance, advice, discussion, solidarity, sharing, etc. are reflected as some of the cultural elements of Oromo people. This shows that Afan Oromo mammaaksa reflects the diverse Oromo cultural norms and values. Thus, it is recommended that
proverbs should be collected together and documented in written form. It should be also included in the curriculum of the regional state so that the younger generation can learn proverbs in formal educational setting.

**Key Words:** Afan Oromo, Folklore, Mammaaksa, Norms, Oromo Culture, Proverbs, Values
1. **Background of the Study**

   Culture is the systems of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviors and artifacts that the members of society use to cope with their world and with one another and that are transmitted from generation to generation through the word of mouth (Byram, 1989; Duranti, 2007 and Kattak, 2000). It is the form of things that people have in mind, their modes of perceiving, relating and otherwise interpreting them. Thus, a society’s culture consists of whatever it is that one has to know or believes in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members (Byram, 1989). In short, culture is the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, behavior, and practices that characterize an institution, organization or group.

   There are different characteristics of culture that are common to all cultures across the world. For example, culture is learned. That is, culture is transmitted from generation to generation through learning, technically termed as enculturation (Kattack, 2000). Thus, human beings have the capacity to learn culture (Duranit, 2007). Besides, culture is a shared knowledge. Culture is transmitted in society through the process of sharing and people share believes, values and memories and practices (Byram, 1989). The other feature of a culture is that it provides solution to societal problem. In addition, culture is a social product in that we can acquire culture from a community in which we live and thus, culture is cumulative product of a society. Furthermore, culture is a way of communication. By using cultural signs, we can communicate our feelings, values, norms and beliefs to another person (Durain, 2007).

   In addition, culture consists of numerous elements such as: language, ideas, beliefs, customs, taboos, tools, art, values,
attitudes, rituals, ceremonies and other related components (Kattack, 2000). These elements are habits and capabilities that are acquired by an individual as a member of certain society. The elements of culture can be reflected in various aspects. One way of reflecting culture is through folklore. Gaster as cited in Melakneh (2005) stated that folklore is that part of a people’s culture is preserved, consciously or unconsciously, in belief and practices, customs and observances of general currency in myths, legends, and tales of common acceptance. So, it can be said that folklore is the tradition, art, knowledge, expressions and practices that is arts largely disseminated by word of mouth. In this way, folklore transmits the cultural values, morals and norms of one society to its next generation.

There are various genres of folklore. Some of the genres are crafts, fables, beliefs, myths, legends, tales, proverbs, riddles, ballads, folk art, dance, lullabies, sayings, parable, traditions, etc. Hence, proverb is one genre of folklore (Finnegan, 1970; Melakneh, 2005). The main aim of this study is to investigate the proverbs in Afan Oromo that are used to reflect Oromo culture. Thus, meaning and purpose of proverb is briefly explained. A proverb is a saying in more or less fixed form marked by shortness, sense and salt and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in it (Finnegan, 1970). Besides, proverbs are defined as short statements of wisdom or advice founded on keen observation and long experience in different aspects of the life around (Berhanu, 1999). These definitions indicate that proverbs are short, indirect or obscure, are in statement form, and are relatively invariable or fixed and full of wisdom or truth. According to Schipper (2006) proverbs have many characteristics that can be summarized as follows;
Proverbs are presented in concise and fixed artistic form,
Proverbs have evaluative and conservative function in society,
Proverbs have persuasive function
The origin of proverbs are unknown and
Proverbs express a supposed truth, or moral lesson.

When we see their content, proverbs carry various themes which exist in a given country, language, or area. Thus, they are popularly used in many parts of the world. In addition, proverbs are often browsed across, country, language or religion (Finnegan, 1970). Though proverbs usually consist of one sentence, they are used to reflect different aspects of human life. The theme of a proverb is taken from our daily practical experience and real life situation.

Furthermore, Schipper (2006) stated that proverbs are used by speakers for a variety of purposes. In a society proverb often teaches people what to do in certain situation and formulate ways of doing (Schipper, 2006). They also present how things ought to be from certain perspectives. Such authoritative function has great contribution in molding people’s role, and identity, transmitting the value and norms of the society, and they reveal ways of seeing life (Finnegan, 1970). Proverbs are used to correct misunderstanding, disguise, ignorance that exist in a society. This indicates how proverb is related and important to human life in general and societal culture in particular. Seenaa (2008) stated that proverbs are used by people to exchange their intentions, feelings, comments, criticisms, appraisals, etc., using few words. Proverbs are also used to reflect the daily habit, values and norms of human being which are considered as culture. This means proverbs reflect
the culture of certain society. Therefore, the main purpose of this study was to investigate the proverbs in Afan Oromo that are used to reflect Oromo cultural elements.

2. Rationale for the Study
Afan Oromo is the second widely spoken indigenous language in Africa, south of the Sahara (Mekuria, 1994; Mohammed, 1994). It is one of the major indigenous African languages that is widely spoken and used in most parts of Ethiopia and some parts of the neighboring countries (Mekuria, 1994). Besides, Afan Oromo has long history of and well developed oral tradition (Feyisa, 1996). Despite of this and the size of its speakers as well as its value as a widely spoken language in the Horn of Africa, it remained as an unwritten language for long period of time. As Tilahun (2006:113) stated “Until recently, Afan Oromo remained an oral rather than literary language.” Consequently, there is little or no study that is conducted on the cultural elements of Oromo people as reflected in Afan Oromo proverbs. Therefore, this study was initiated to fill the research gap in the area.

Besides, the past governments of Ethiopia discouraged the use of Afan Oromo for various formal purposes such as for administration, media and education (Dereje, 2010). Under the consecutive imperial as well as the dictatorial regimes of Ethiopia writing in other native languages except Amharic was strictly forbidden. Supporting this, Mohammed (1994:86) stated “--- it was not permissible, to write, preach, teach and broadcast in the Oromo language in Ethiopia until the early 1970s.” Various laws and proclamations were enforced to prohibited the use Afan Oromo from any official purposes such as for governmental works, media, education, etc. (Sheleme, 2016). This means the
political suppression affected the development of Oromo language, culture and the identity. However, after the downfall of the Derg Regime the language policy of Ethiopia was changed from monolingual to multilingual approach (Heugh, et.al, 2007). Accordingly, Afan Oromo was chosen as the official language of Oromiya National Regional State and it is serving various new functions in governmental and private organizations. The change in the language policy of the country creates a fertile ground for the development of Oromo language, culture and identity. (Dereje, 2010). Thus, it is rationale to investigate the proverbs in Afan Oromo that are used to reflect Oromo culture and to describe the cultural elements reflected in the proverbs. This will enhance the development of Oromo language, culture and identity. Besides, proverbs are used to reflect the beliefs, lives, philosophy, values, culture, works, identity, etc. of Oromo people. Thus, the study will enable us to understand how proverbs are used to divulge the cultural values and norms of Oromo people. It can be also used as an input by other researchers to conduct further studies in similar area.

3. Objectives of the Study
The major purpose of this study is to explore the manifestation of Oromo culture in folklore. Besides, the specific objectives of this study are:
- To investigate the proverbs in Afan Oromo that are used to reflect Oromo culture and
- To describe the cultural elements that are reflected in the proverbs
4. **Brief over View of Oromo Culture and the Role of Proverbs among Oromo People**

Oromo have very rich and distinct cultural elements that are shared among their members. During their long history, the Oromo developed their own cultural, social and political system known as the Gadaa system (Asmarom, 2000). It is a uniquely democratic political and social institution that governs the life of every individual in the society from birth to death (Gadaa, 1988). Oromo Gada Institution is the principal all embracing system of political relation, governance, religious belief, conflict resolution, ritual performance, dressing styles and family life. Oromos are best known for their egalitarian social system, Gadaa and their military organization that enabled them to emerge as one of the strongest ethno nations in the Horn of Africa between the 12th and 19th centuries (Asmarom, 2000). Gadaa was a form of constitutional government; it was also a social system. Politically it was practiced through the election of political leaders by adult male suffrage every eight years.

According to Jeylan (2006), the Oromo have many indigenous systems of teaching and learning, peacemaking, religious systems and worldviews. The Oromo perform almost all of their ritual ceremonies at the lake side. They say water is the source of every living being. Whenever praying they say in the name of **Waqqa** who created the lake and expanded the sky. They give due regard to land and water because unless these two exist, lives of they themselves and their cattle would be endangered. Besides, banks of rivers, they use extreme tips of the hills and its surroundings as unique areas for traditional dance. Either lakesides or hill tops are more preferred if there is no **Odaa** (a huge sycamore tree) at the
center (Gadaa, 1988). Every ritual including the Gada is all the
time performed under this sacred tree.
The Oromo have indigenous calendar, which is based on skillful
readings of the astronomical configurations of the moon and the
stars (Jeylan, 2006). They have also indigenous systems of
resolving social, economic and political conflicts (Asmarom,
2000). They have been using these systems to live in peaceful co-
existence with neighboring people. Oromo respect their elders and
value social responsibility, helping others, bravery, and hard work.
Knowledge of history and culture is admired. Oromos can count
their family trees through ten generations or more.
Furthermore, Oromo people have a well-developed oral literature
which has been socially transmitted from one generation to the
other (Feyisa, 1996). Oromos are rich in Oral literature (Soofiyaa,
1999). Particularly, the Oromos are very rich in folk tales, stories,
songs, vocabularies, proverbs and poems (Feyisa, 1996). Elders
teach their children songs, proverbs, games and riddles. Leaders
and elders are expected to quote lines of poetry in their speeches,
or to make up a poem spontaneously to suit an important occasion.
Among the branches of oral tradition, proverb is given due attention
among Oromo people. Oromo elders start and wind up while
settling disputes with proverb or mammaaksa (Tafarii, 2001). It
reflects the beliefs, lives, philosophy, values, culture, works,
identity, etc. of Oromo people and it is used in appropriate time
and place. In this regard, Soofiyaa (1999) and Tafarii (2001) stated
that proverbs are related to the life of the society while Tadesse
(2004) says proverbs are mainly used by Oromo elders or senior
members of the community. In other words, the communication
through proverbs is usually from an elder to a younger person or
among the elderly persons. Thus, it is possible to note that the use
of proverbs is the wisdom of adult people mainly of elders (Soofiyaa, 1999). This is because; elders are rich in life experiences and cumulative values from which proverb usage originates. Proverbs are used by the Oromo elders to beautify and to shorten their speech (Tafarii, 2001). Seenaa (2008) concluded that proverbs are used among the Oromo to keep cultural continuity through their educative nature and to beautify speech; clarify meaning through analogy and to bring a case and settle it at the end in formal situations like settling disputes and judicial cases. This means, proverbs/ makmamaaksa serve as the media through which the society teach one another; control social norms, customs and values; criticize or comment on one another’s personality and a mechanism through which behavior and norm are enforced and practiced to fit the socially and culturally constructed norms. Proverbs are also used by the Oromo to reflect the daily habits, values and norms which are considered as culture (Tafarii, 2001). This means proverbs reflects the culture of Oromo society. Accordingly, the study investigated how proverbs are used to reflect the cultural norms and values of Oromo People.

5. Research Design and Methodology

5.1. Research Design

The main purposes of this study were to describe the proverbs in Afan Oromo that are used to reflect cultural elements and to describe the cultural elements that are reflected in the proverbs. According to Alforque (2008) descriptive research involves the description, recoding, analysis and interpretation of variables. In addition, Glass and Hopkins (1984) stated that descriptive research involves gathering data that describe events and then
organizes, tabulates, depicts, and describes the collected data. Therefore, descriptive research design was employed as it helps the researcher to describe and interpret the proverbs that are used to reflect the cultural elements of Oromo. Besides, qualitative data were collected via document analysis and interview, and then were analyzed thematically.

5.2. Description of the Language and Research Setting

Oromia is one of the National Regional States in the current Federal Government of Ethiopia and it is the largest region that takes 34.3% of total land area of Ethiopia (Jeylan, 2006; Dereje, 2010). According to Tilahun (1993) and Feyisa (1996) Oromiya covers over an area of about 600,000 square kilometers. As to the location and boundary, Oromiya is located between 2 degrees and 12 degrees north latitude and between 34 degrees and 44 degrees East longitude. Oromiya lies between 500m and 4377m altitude above the sea level (Dereje, 2010). Oromia Region is bounded by Sudan and Peoples of Gambela in the West, Somali, Afar and Djibouti in the East, Kenya people in the South and Amhara in the North (Ali and Zaborski, 1990: Feyisa, 1996). Currently, the Oromiya National State is divided into 20 administrative zones, which are further subdivided into more than 3101 woredas (districts) and 6600 kebeles (CSA, 2007). This study was conducted in the East Wallaga Zone of Oromiya Region.

The Oromia Regional State is entirely inhabited by the Oromo people, though there are people of other ethnic groups engaged in civil services and other private businesses mainly in the urban centers (Dereje, 2010). Oromo people have their own language, Afan Oromo. Afan Oromo, Oromo Language, is an Afro-Asiatic language, and the most widely spoken of the Cushitic family. It is one of the major indigenous African languages that is widely
spoken and used in most parts of Ethiopia and some parts of the neighboring countries (Mekuria, 1994). Afan Oromo is spoken by 40 percent of Ethiopian population (Kebede, 2009). In Ethiopia, Afan Oromo is spoken as a lingua franca by other people who are in contact with Oromo people as a means of communication and trade with their neighboring Oromo people. In connection to this, Amanuel and Samuel (2012:32) stated that “It [Afan Oromo] is also used as a language of inter-group communication in several parts of Ethiopia.” Afan Oromo is spoken in a vast territory of Ethiopia ranging from Tigray in the North to the Central Kenya in the South, and from Wallagga in the West to Harar in the East. In these areas, it is spoken with several dialects (Ali and Zaborski, 1990). Besides, outside Ethiopia, Afan Oromo is spoken in Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Tanzania (Tilahun, 1993). These make Afan Oromo one of the most widely spoken languages in Africa (Bender, 1976). Afan Oromo has an officially decided writing script known as Qubee, which is based on the Latin orthography (Girma, 2001).

Currently, Afan Oromo has different official functions: a medium of instructions in primary schools (both 1st and 2nd cycle), in teacher training institutions, in colleges, a field of study in higher educational institutions. It also serves as language of courts, religions, mass media, etc. (Hawine, 2007). Afan Orom is highly developed spoken language. Besides, it has long history of and well-developed oral tradition (Feyisa, 1996). Specifically, Oromo people have a very rich culture and oral traditions. They express their culture in different ways, one of which is by using makmamaaksa (proverb). In this article, an attempt is made to explore how Oromo cultural elements are reflected in proverbs.

5.3. Focus of the Study
The major focus of this study was to explore the proverbs in Afan Oromo that are used to reflect Oromo cultural elements. To describe the cultural elements of Oromo people that are reflected in proverbs, the researcher has collected various proverbs from different sources. Finally, only the proverbs that are relevant and appropriate for the stated purpose were selected and analyzed.

5. 4. Methods of Data Collection and Analysis
Afan Oromo proverbs (mammaaksa) were collected from elders and documents using interview and Document Analysis. Semi-structured interview was used to gather proverbs and to elicit the contents of the proverbs collected through interview. The interview was conducted with four elders on the basis of their adequate knowledge of the socio-cultural issues and oral tradition of Oromo people. Digital audio recording was used to record the interview data.

In addition, documents which are relevant to this study were assessed and analyzed. With this regards, books written on Afan Oromo proverbs (mammaaksa) such as Jildii-7(2007), Wiirtu Jildii-7(1995), Wiirtu Jildii-8(1999), Wiirtu Jildii-9(2001), Seenaa (2008), Taddese (2004), Tafarii (2001) and Soofiyaa (1999) were referred. Besides, some proverbs were added to the collected proverbs from personal experiences and observations.

To analyze the collected data via interview and document analysis, first the interview data were transcribed and transformed into textual form by the researcher. Then, the textual interview data were combined with the data obtained from documents. After combining the two, the researcher assessed the proverbs for their relevance and appropriateness to the purposes of this study. Thus, only Afan Oromo proverbs that are used to reflect Oromo cultural elements were selected and translated to English for analysis.
Communicative translation was used to translate the Afan Oromo proverbs to English. The communicative approach to translation seeks to make a translated text communicable to a reader. Accordingly, the communicative translation was used by the researcher to make the text in the target language smoother, easier and communicable to the readers. That is, the translation was done in a way that they give an image or tell something to the reader in English.

After translating the proverbs to English, the researcher grouped the proverbs according to related themes. Two proverbs were only selected from each theme. Hence, in each category, the proverbs that were almost similar in their themes were discarded from the analysis. Finally, the contents of the selected proverbs were analyzed and interpreted thematically. The results, discussion and analysis data are presented in the next section.

6. Result and Discussion
As it was described in the foregoing discussion, Oromo people have a very rich culture. They express their culture in different ways – one of which is by using makmmaaksa (proverb). In this article, an attempt is made to explore how Oromo cultural elements are reflected in proverbs. To do so, Afan Oromo proverbs (mammaaksa) were collected from elders and documents using interview and document analysis. Then, the collected proverbs were assessed for their relevance and appropriateness to the purposes of this study. Hence, only Afan Oromo proverbs that are used to reflect Oromo cultural elements and values were
selected and translated to English for analysis. After translating to English, the proverbs were grouped according to related themes. Accordingly, 10 categories were identified. Finally, the grouped proverbs were analyzed thematically. Below is the result of the data analysis are presented.

6.1. Category One: Trust
In the socio-cultural life of Oromo people, trust is important. Seenaa (2008) stated that proverbs are used among the Oromo as the media through which the society teaches one another; controls social norms, customs and values; criticizes or comments on one another’s personality and a mechanism through which behavior and norm is enforced and practiced to fit the socially and culturally constructed norms. Accordingly, proverbs are used by the Oromo to reflect that trust is valuable cultural norm of the people. The following proverbs are used to emphasize the value of trustfulness among the Oromo.

Table 1: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflects Trust and Oneness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hiriyyaan wal hinamanne, malkaa ceetutti wal kaskifit</td>
<td>Friends, who do not trust each other, do solemn oaths on every spot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hatii mana hattu hintala hinamanttu</td>
<td>The mother, who cheats home, never trusts her daughter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above proverbs depict that in an Oromo culture value is given to trust and oneness. With this regard, the first proverb is used to express that in friendship mutual trust is important. If there is no trustfulness, it will be difficult to lead peaceful and successful life.
The phrase "do solemn oaths on every spot" is used to indicate that lack of trust will hamper the normal journey that friends took together. The second proverb "The mother who cheat home, never trust her daughter" implies that if someone do not trust him/herself, he/she will not trust others. In other words, “if someone trusts him/herself, he/she will also trust others. This shows that trustfulness starts from one self. The two proverbs reflect that trustfulness is a valuable cultural norm of the Oromo people. For this reason, youngsters and other members of society are encouraged to be trustful.

6.2. Category Two: Tolerance

In the cultural belief of Oromo people tolerance is given a great value. The Oromo people assert that for things are not constant in this world, one has to tolerate the momentary occasions. Culturally, the Oromo people believe that if one tolerates the momentary occasions or challenges, he/she get good result at the end. The Oromo express tolerance as a cultural value in makmmaaksa. See the following examples:

**Table 2: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflect Tolerance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Obsaan aannan goromsaa dhuga</td>
<td>The one who tolerates will drink the milk of heifer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Galaanni darbuu sii hin nyatiin, jarsi du’aa gahe sii hin abaarni.</td>
<td>Let the temporary flooded river do not take you and let the old man who waits for his death not curse you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the first proverb, "The one who tolerates will drink the milk of heifer" the word "heifer" is used to indicate young cow and it takes long time for a young cow to have calf and to give milk. Thus, if one tolerates and waits for the right time, the tolerant will drink milk of heifer at the end. Accordingly, Oromo elders teach the younger generation to be tolerant and if one is tolerant, the reward at the end is good or positive.

Besides, in the second proverb the phrase "Let the temporary flooded river do not take" indicates that one has to tolerate a flooded river. Because, such flooded river will remain flooded only for a given time and then, return to its normal size. Till that the flooded river should be tolerated, unless it leads to lose of life. The phrase “Let the old man who waits for his death not curse you" also implies that if the old man who approaches to his death curse someone, it is difficult to get forgiveness after the old man dies. Thus, it is necessary to tolerate. Here, tolerance is reflected as the cultural element of Oromo. So, it can be said that Oromo people employ the proverbs to emphasize that tolerance to a situation can help someone to survive and lead long life.

6.3. Category Three: Advice

Table 3: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that show Advice as a cultural element

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hima didduun du’a hin diddu</td>
<td>The one who refuses advice, will not refuse death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Olkaa'an fuudhan malee olka'an hinfudhan.</td>
<td>One takes tomorrow what he/she puts by today.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Oromo people value the importance of elders' advices in the daily life as well as in the future generation. Accordingly, the Oromo elders use proverbs to advise their children about different important socio-cultural issues. In these proverbs, the value of advice is indicated. In the first proverb, "The one who refuses advice, will not refuse death" the importance of elders’ advice among Oromo people is reflected by comparing it with death. In the traditional culture of Oromo elders emphasizes accepting advice of someone is necessary and refusing the advice will lead to bad consequences. Thus, if one refuses the advice given to him/her by the community elders, he/she will not refuse death. Accepting an advice is portrayed as a way of saving one’s life. This can be also used to teach the young generation of society about the importance of advice.

In the second proverb, "One takes tomorrow what he/she puts by today “the Oromo elders teach the younger generation about the importance of saving something for the future. They underlined that someone will use what he/she saves in the past. Saving is culturally promoted. In both proverbs, the importance advice of elders is reflected as the cultural values of Oromo people.

6.4. Category Four: Hastiness and Slowness

Table 4: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflect the Discouragement of Hastiness & Slowness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jarjarranif abbaa dura hin dhalataan.</td>
<td><em>Even though one is in hurry, one cannot born before his/her father.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kan suuta deemu qoreen suuta seenti.</td>
<td><em>A thorn slowly gets into the body of a person who walks slowly</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Oromo society, being hurry or hastiness is discouraged. The above proverbs indicate that being hurry is not culturally accepted and younger generation are taught to act normally without being hurry. The proverb, "Even though one is in hurry, one cannot born before his/her father" used to reflect that even though someone is too hurry, he/she cannot do or achieve what he/she can normally do. That is, being hurry is not useful. This shows the need to be slow in the daily life or activity.

The second proverb depicts the value of carefulness in the socio-cultural life of Oromo people. The proverb “A thorn slowly gets into the body of a person who walks slowly" indicates that a person can save himself/herself from a problem when he/she is careful and slow in his/her actions. In other words, the proverb implies that hastiness leads someone into a danger or bad consequences. The proverbs reflect that carefulness and hastiness are aspects of Oromo cultural norms.

6.5. Category Five: Discussion and Agreement

Table 5: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflect the Importance of Discussion & Agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mariin malee, marataan mana hin bulchaan</td>
<td>It is not being crazy, but via discussion that one can administer the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nama mannatti walii galetuu alaa waliin gala</td>
<td>People who agree with each other at home can come back home together.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Oromo have indigenous systems of resolving social, economic and political conflicts (Asmarom, 2000). They have been using these systems to live in peaceful co-existence with neighboring people. One of the systems is discussion. In Oromo culture discussion is given high value. Individuals are culturally encouraged to settle any disagreements and conflicts via discussion and negotiation. Any problem is solved via discussion. That is why the Oromo elders says “It is not being crazy, but via discussion that one can administer the house”. The proverb underlines the importance of discussion in the life of the individuals and society.

Agreement or having common opinion is also valued in Oromo society. Thus, the proverb "People who agree with each other at home can come back home together" indicates that people who agree with each other in their localities or villages can obtain success when they work together on various activities. The proverb is used to depict agreement is the important to become fruitful in social life. Generally, the above two proverbs are used to depict the cultural value given for discussion and agreement in the Oromo society.

6.6. Category Six: Solidarity and Sharing

Solidarity and sharing are also the cultural elements of the Oromo that are reflected in proverbs. The people believe that it is necessary to establish a strong relationship with the other members of the society and to work together to become successful in life. Besides, the Oromo elders teach the youngsters to share what he/she have to the members of the society. The value of sharing and solidarity is expressed in the following proverbs:

**Table 6: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflect the Relevance of Solidarity and Sharing**
The first proverb "By washing alone, one can't avoid dirt" reveals the impact of working alone and the necessity of working together to become successful in the activity one is performing. That is, the phrase "washing alone" is used to indicate working alone and "one can't avoid dirt" is used to reflect one cannot achieve his/her purpose. Hence, the first proverb "By washing alone, one can't avoid dirt" reveals that one may not be successful or may not achieve the objective of his/her life by working alone (without help other people). Through the proverb, the Oromo people show that for it is difficult to achieve an objective alone, it is essential for the members of a society to form strong relationships with the members of a society and to help each other. This proverb reflects the necessities of helping each other to become successful in life. It appears that solidarity is suggested as a solution. This is expressed in the second proverb.

Besides, Oromo elders believe that kindness is important to live with others. They often use the proverbs to teach that the members of Oromo society should share his/her property with another Oromo family. With this regard, the second proverb "A person who eats alone dies alone” shows that someone who is greedy and prefers to use her/his properties alone does not get along with others and obtain friends, therefore, remains alone in difficult situations. It indicates that sharing what we have to people helps someone establish a friendly relationship with them. The proverb "A person who eats alone dies alone” can be also seen in the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
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<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kophaa dhiqanii xurii hinbaasan</td>
<td>By washing alone, one can't avoid dirt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kophaa nyaattuun qophaa duuti</td>
<td>A person who eats alone dies alone.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
context of helping one another or working together. Accordingly, it can be interpreted as “A person who works alone, dies alone” means "A person who works alone will not be successful". This means that working alone leads to failure, but working together leads to success. In short, the two proverbs reflects that sharing and solidarity are the cultural norms of Oromo.

6.7. Category Seven: Truth
In Oromo society truth is given due attention. They value truth and believe that truth is long lasting. The people believe that if one follows the truth, there is no failure and he/she will be the winner in the end. That is to mean that a person with a grain of truth will not fail although he/she is challenged temporarily. According to the Oromo people, a person may hide truth for a short period of time, but it is impossible for him/her to obscure it forever. Truth is bound to reveal itself after a period of time. For this reason, the younger generation is taught to stick to the truth via mammaaksa. Below are examples with this regard;

Table 7: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflect the Importance of Truth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dhugaan ganama huqqattee galgala gabbatti</td>
<td>Truth looks thin in the morning but grows fat in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dhugaan niqallatti malee hincabdu</td>
<td>Although it is thin, truth doesn’t break.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above table, the value of truthiness is reflected as the cultural norm of the Oromo people. The first proverb "Truth looks thin in the morning but grows fat in the evening" shows that that truth will be evident in the end though it appears obscured in the beginning. That is, the proverb divulges that truth may be
obscured at the beginning. It will be revealed at the end. The proverb shows in the Oromo cultural practices truth is considered to be valuable and long lasting. The second proverb “Although it is thin, truth doesn’t break” indicates that truth will not be destroyed at all. That is, even though it is suppressed at the beginning, it will never be destroyed. The proverb also reflects that truth survives and becomes the winner in the end. The proverbs show that truth is valuable in the socio-cultural life of the people.

Table 8: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflect Kinship and Background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sanyii ibidaa daaratu nama guba.</td>
<td>The type of fire, the ash burns [man]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Hadhaa ilaali hintala fudhii.</td>
<td>Marry the daughter seeing her mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these proverbs, the value given to kinship and background are reflected as cultural norm of Oromo society. In the first proverb "A type of fire, the ash burns [man]” a parallel comparison is made between fire and ash. This means that ash is the made or derived from a fire and like the fire, the ash also hurts human being. This shows the value that is given to the background of something.

Besides, in an Oromo society, marriage creates important alliance between the wife takers and wife givers. The two groups establish certain kind of family relationships. Accordingly, the Oromo people believe that that the background histories have relation with the present. Hence, the Oromo society specifically, the wife takers or bridegroom, seriously consider the descendants or ancestors of
the woman he intended to marry at least for five generations. The second proverb "Marry the daughter seeing her mother" is used to reflect that in the Oromo culture, the background of the daughter's mother is studied before marrying the daughter. This is because the background of the daughter can affect her behavior. Thus, the Oromo value the kinship and background.

6.9. Category 9: Self-respect and Value

Table 9: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflect Self-respect and Value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Yaa soogiddaa offif yoo jette miya'ii yookaan dhagaadha jedhani siigatu.</td>
<td>Salt taste for yourself, unless you will be thrown away as a stone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sanga abban gafa cabsee ollaan ija jamsa</td>
<td>When the owner breaks the horn of his ox, the neighbor will destroy the eye of that ox.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the culture of Oromo people valuing oneself is important. In the first proverb, 'Salt taste for yourself, unless they will throw away as a stone' reveals that if you don’t value yourself, others will not value you. This also indicates self-respect starts from home (oneself). In the second proverb, "When the owner broke the horn of his ox, the neighbor will destroy the eye of that ox" reflects that if one do not value him/herself, others will not value him or her. That is, if one disrespects her/himself, others also disrespect him/her. The above proverbs show that the Oromo elders encourage the youngsters to value and respect themselves.
6.10. Category 10: Strive/effort

Table 10: Sample Afan Oromo Proverbs that reflect Strive/effort

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Afan Oromo Proverbs</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Abban iyyatu malee ollaan nama hinbirmatu</td>
<td><em>If one don’t cry neighbor do not cooperate.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dhibee abbaan himaateef dawaa barbaadu</td>
<td><em>Medicine is given when an individual tells his illness.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Oromo people often use proverbs to teach their children to make efforts. That is, Oromo elders use proverbs to encourage members of the society to make effort. Through the proverb, they make the individuals know that they should make every attempt to help themselves so that they can be considered as important and self-reliant persons in the society. The first proverb, "*If one don’t cry, neighbor do not cooperate*" used to reflect that if someone do not strive or do not make an attempt, the neighbor will not support him/her. That is, if you strive or make an attempt effort, the neighbor will support you. The second proverb, "*Medicine is given when an individual tells his illness*" is used to show that solution is given when an individual tells his problem. Thus, making an effort is rewarded in Oromo society.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

Oromo have very rich and distinct cultural elements that are shared among their members. One way of reflecting the elements of culture is through proverbs. Proverb (mammaaksa) is used by Oromo people as mechanism of teaching and maintaining cultural values and norms of the society. Accordingly, the main aim of this study was to describe the cultural elements of Oromo people that
are reflected in proverbs (mammaaksa). The analysis of the collected proverbs revealed that different Oromo cultural elements are reflected in Afan Oromo mammaaksa. For example, the analysis divulged that trust, truthfulness, self-respect and value, kinship and background, tolerance, advice, discussion, solidarity, sharing, etc. are reflected as some of the cultural elements of Oromo people. This shows that Afan Oromo mammaaksa reflects the diverse Oromo cultural norms and values. Besides, the analysis shows that the proverbs reflect the daily habits, values and norms of Oromo which are considered as a culture of the society. Thus, the Oromo people use the proverbs to transmit their own cultural values and norms to the next generation.

The Oromo people use the proverbs to teach the youngsters about the social norms, customs and values of the society. This implies the need of teaching the proverbs to the younger generation so that the youngsters can grow up by knowing and practicing their own culture. To do so, proverbs should be collected together and documented in written form. It should be also included in the curriculum of the regional state so that the younger generation can learn proverbs in formal educational setting. This will, in turn, ensure the sustainability of the proverbs and the culture. As we are in the age of globalization, the contents of proverbs may be distorted and even it can be lost. Consequently, there is a need to study proverbs in detail and preserve it for the future generation. The proverbs analyzed in this paper are not inclusive as there are thousands of Oromo proverbs. Thus, other researchers can conduct further studies on the contents and implications of Afan Oromo proverbs.
References


Mohammed Hassen (1994). Some aspects of Oromo History that have been misunderstood: *Journal of Oromo Studies, 1*(2), 77-91.


