

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF ETHIOPIA:
POST 1991 ASSESSMENT**

By

ABRAHAM ABEBE

Advisor

Mulugeta Abebe(Ph.D.)

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BY

ABRAHAM ABEBE

Approved by Board of Examiners

Muliyeto Abebe

Advisor

[Signature]

Elias Berhanu

Internal Examiner

[Signature]

[Signature]

External Examiner

[Signature]



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ABSTRACT

The existence of vibrant civil society organizations does have the potential to make a positive contribution to the democratization process of Ethiopia. These organizations perform different activities such as limiting the power of the state more generally, challenging the government when doing wrong; complementing the role of the state, creating awareness in the community, promote transparency and advocate on fair and free election. They can also reform the state especially by building the capacity of the various institutional settings. The purpose of this study is to assess and examine the role of CSOs in the democratization of Ethiopia since 1991. The study is of descriptive survey type where both primary and secondary data were used. The study also used non-probabilistic, purposive sampling technique to assess the issue at hand.

The state civil society relation is an inherent feature of a certain organized society. Civil society organizations remain the watch dog of the public, though the role playing in and the strategies differ. When the state becomes powerful, it is CSOs that should check challenge and reform it. Thus, the relation between the state and civil society should be smooth and governed by the common objective of democracy.

A very close examination of data shows that Ethiopia's civil society is built around the poverty crisis facing the country in 1973/74, and 1984/85 and proliferated after the liberalization from the Dergue regime. In Ethiopia, the political reform was taken place as a result of the dismantling of the authoritarian Dergue regime and the adoption of new constitution which provides a legal provision for the freedom of association, created relatively a favorable environment for the emergence of civil society organizations.

Right after the change of the regime in 1991, the legal provisions that ascertain the freedom of associations have instituted in both the transitional charter and latter in the 1995 Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) constitution that has laid the foundation for the operation of CSOs.

The Civil Society Organizations in Ethiopia have faced with different internal and external challenges to perform their expected functions. Among other things, the findings of the research indicate that the interference of the government, misconception, and bureaucratic licensing and

registration procedure, uneven distribution of CSOs, their few numbers, weak organizational structure, weak financial strength, and inability of CSOs to adequately challenge the government are the major challenges of CSOs.

It is also identified that the contribution of Ethiopian civil society organizations working in the democratization process is quite minimal. In a nut shell, these problems inhibited CSOs to effectively challenge the government when doing wrong, alerts when asleep, mobilize the public for participation and promote democracy.

Though very few CSOs did their best in attaining the democratization process, by and large the role played by CSOs in the development of democracy and good governance since 1991 in Ethiopia has found to be unsatisfactory. The weaknesses of CSOs in carrying out the democratization process are due to a number of internal and external problems.

Therefore, to improve the life of Ethiopian people through democracy and good governance, as well as to curb the existing problems that surround CSOs working in the democratization process, the following recommendations are forwarded.

- ❖ The Ethiopia government should lessen the licensing procedure and ease the red tape.
- ❖ The government should urge CSOs to work in the rural areas
- ❖ The judicial system should be independent and manage cases timely.
- ❖ CSOs should strengthen their internal organizational capacity by system development and having well qualified employees that can implement the objective and be encouraged to reform and challenge the government when deemed appropriate.
- ❖ Both the government and CSOs should make their activities public and design a joint forum for discussion between the government and CSOs.
- ❖ The government should learn from other countries experiences and should understand that CSOs are the best development partners. The government has to also invite other new CSOs that are eligible to take part in the promotion of democracy and good governance which is the foundation any society.

ACRONYMS

AAE	Action Aid Ethiopia
ADLI	Agricultural Development Led Industrialization
AIDWO	Africa Initiative for a Democratic World Order
APAP	Action Professionals Association for the People
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CDIE	Center for Development Information and Evaluation
CETU	Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Union
CRDA	Christian Relief and Development Association
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DPPC	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
EEA	Ethiopian Economic Association
EFJA	Ethiopian Free Press Journalists Associations
EPARD	Ethiopian Pastoralist Association Relief Development
EWLA	Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FSCE	Forum on Street Children Ethiopia
IAG	Inter Africa Group
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
PRPS	Poverty Reduction Program Strategy
SAHRE	Society for the Advancement of Human Right Education
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
VECOD	Vision Ethiopia Congress for Democracy
PAs	Peasant Associations
PLI	Pastoralist Livelihood Initiative
	CARE –Ethiopia
FSS	Forum for Social Studies

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

The notion of civil society varies depending on the context and the understandings of different fields. However, there is a consensus that civil society takes different organizational and institutional forms. Some of them are: all forms of Voluntary Organizations, Relief, Development, Advocacy and Training NGOs; Professional Associations, Business Associations, Trade unions, Women groups and organizations; Self-help economic empowerment groups and Cooperatives; Cultural sports and Leisure groups; Tribal or Ethnic Association and so on (Tighel, 2004:19). So, we can say that civil society is in general an arena outside the sphere of the state. But this doesn't mean that it is detached from the state.

“The process of democratization is linked to the need to reorganizing the whole society” (Tighel, 2004:28). The process includes decentralization of the state power. So, there will be more opportunities for the citizens to take responsibility for their own activities. The core of democracy and human rights are the notion of freedom; freedom from fear, freedom of association and freedom of belief (Samuel, 1998:3).

On the other hand, civil societies with significant degree of civility are the watchdogs of the societal and individual rights from being encroached by the government. The existence and emergence of civil society organizations (CSOs) in a given society guarantee the fairness of the relationship between the state/government and people (Guyey, 2004:92).

However, it is indeed a difficult task to conceptualize the concept of civil society in the African context (Asnake & Dejene, 2000:5). The concept of civil society, which is becoming popular in the modern political science, was not a phenomenon of African society. Associational life with communal orientation was common in African. So does in Ethiopia, despite the fact that associational life is not the origin of modern civil society organizations.

Thus, the existence of civil society organizations in Ethiopia is not a new phenomenon. Different forms of traditional and formally structured voluntary associations were common in Ethiopian history. The culture of Ethiopia society itself is conducive for cooperation and mutual help.

Before the 1980s, African governments were responsible for offering social services. The 1980s is remembered as a decade of unprecedented crises in Africa, a “lost decade” (Oliveira & Tandon, 1994:145). Like other African countries, the Ethiopian disaster shocked the world, and the economic, social and political performances of many African countries became a major concern. The state and its institutions showed signs of retreat from micro-development activities.

Modern interest groups such as labour unions and professional associations began to emerge in Ethiopia as part of CSOs in 1963, after the Labour Relation Decree of the government was proclaimed (Samuel 1998:10).

Foreign and national CSOs became operational as legally established bodies around 1960s, when self-help groups and the Ethiopian government were no longer able to respond to the needs of the people and aid organizations became an accepted phenomenon globally. Initially, there were few CSOs, notably the Ethiopian Red Cross and Save the Children Fund. Since then, two waves of NGOs have come over the country. The first one was during the famine of 1973, while the second one was during 1984/85. Most of them were international NGOs. As these NGOs came into being, they were initially engaged in relief work, primarily in the drought affected and war-torn areas of the country.

Immediately after EPRDF came to power in 1991, with increased financial and material support from foreign voluntary organizations/donors, the number of local and international CSOs increased. Currently, it is estimated that the number of civil societies operating in Ethiopia is about 2, 700. Gradually, with improvements in the social conditions, their focus moved progressively into implementing long-term micro projects. Among others, policy advocacy, reforming the state and awareness creation on various political, social and economic issues which we call it democratization is the prominent ones.

In the last sixteen years, civil society organizations have been playing a number of roles in the democratization process of Ethiopia. Some of them are: a) Advancement of civic education, b) Reforming the state in various areas, c) Challenging the state and promote transparency, d) Resolving conflicts, e) Promoting Justice and rule of law, and f) Advocating free, fair and democratic election.

Despite the contribution of civil societies is so immense, they have also been encircled with so many challenges. Some of them include: a) government interference in the work of CSOs, b) bureaucratic registration and licensing c) lack of organizational competence, d) fear of CSOs to effectively challenge the government, and e) financial constraint.

In a nutshell, the role of CSOs in Ethiopia after 1991 has been increasing from time to time unlike the period before 1991. This is mainly because of the government's new insight towards Ethiopia, foreign governments' imposition and donors' conditional assistance and the change in the attitude of the people.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

It is known that democracy is not something that can be established overnight. It is a system that can develop through process. The process of democratization needs participation of different actors; the state, private sector, voluntary associations and the society at large. The role of CSOs cannot be neglected in this process. If CSOs work with the government/state on the basis of mutual trust, partnership and full understanding, they can make a great difference and expedite the successful implementation of democracy in the country.

The contribution of civil society organizations in Ethiopia for the last sixteen years has not been under mined by any means. But, considering the need of the society at large, the country's situation where she has been and the comparatively better opportunity for their operation, the overall performances of CSOs has not been satisfactory since they are not playing the role they are supposed to. The possible reasons could be absence of trust between the CSOs and the Ethiopian government. The government considers their

activities of promoting rights and challenging (criticizing) the misdeeds of the government as political opposition. It associates these institutions as party affiliated (sponsored) organizations sometimes. In this regard, the institutions refrain from criticizing and exposing government actions for fear of the retaliation. The other possible reason is the lack of organizational capacity, financial constraint of CSOs, government interference and the infancy of the democratic process in the country and absence of commitment at all levels of the government structure and, the community.

The democratic system cannot be formulated and implemented by the government alone. But, it requires the commitment, participation, cooperation and etc of all the concerned organs that includes civil society organizations. The role of civil society organizations is very important. Thus, the study has tried to assess the contribution of CSOs since 1991 to the Ethiopian Democratic process.

1.2 Research Questions

The study has tried to respond to the following critical research questions:

1. What is the contribution of civil society organizations in the democratization process of Ethiopia?
2. What are the problems faced by the CSOs in discharging their duties and responsibilities?
3. Are CSOs playing the role they are sponsored to play in facilitating the democratization process?
4. What does the relationship of CSOs with the government looks like and how does it evolve since 1991?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to review, assess and evaluate the roles of Civil Society organizations in the democratization process of Ethiopia since 1991. More specifically, it sets out:

- To assess the performance of civil societies involvements in the Ethiopian democratization process post 1991.
- What services are provided by civil society organizations with regard to democratization?
- To assess how civil societies contributing towards promoting the participation of the public in the democratization process of the country.
- To compare the role of civil society organizations in South Africa, Cameroon and Botswana with that of Ethiopia counter parts.
- To identify the major factors constraining civil societies support for democratization
- To suggest possible recommendations, which may promote the role of civil society organizations in the democratization process of Ethiopia?

1.4 Significance of the Study

Assessing the role of civil society organizations working in Ethiopia serves the following purposes or it is based on the following rationales:

- Presents, to some degree, the current picture of the role of CSOs available in the country against other countries experience.
- The study is assumed to come up with some relevant findings and recommendations that may persuade the concerned bodies to take appropriate actions on problems that hinder civil society organizations role in the democratization process.
- It may serve as a spring board for future research work especially for public Administration students to carry out professional research.

In a nutshell, the study would suggest practical measures which can strengthen civil society organizations role in the democratization and enhance their impact as agents for improving political life and governance.

1.5 Research Design, Procedure and Sources of Data

The study is descriptive survey type where by both primary and secondary sources of data have been used. The study also tried to contact and assesses Seventeen (17) civil society organizations working on the democratization process.

1. Action Aid Ethiopia (AAE)
2. Africa Initiative for a Democratic World Order (AIDWO)
3. Action Professionals Association for the People (APAP)
4. Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDEIE)
5. Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Union (CETU)
6. Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA)
7. Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA)
8. Ethiopian Free Press Journalists Associations (EFJA)
9. Ethiopian Pastoralist Association Relief Development (EPARD)
10. Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA)
11. Forum on Street Children Ethiopia (FSCE)
12. Inter Africa Group (IAG)
13. Society for the Advancement of Human Right Education (SAHRE)
14. Vision Ethiopia Congress for Democracy (VECOD)
15. Pastoralist Livelihood Initiative (PLI)
16. CARE –Ethiopia
17. Forum for Social Studies (FSS)

To collect the necessary information, questionnaires consisting of both open and close ended questions were prepared separately distributed to the various respondents. In addition, to support the analysis of the study, proponent civil society leaders were interviewed. To select respondents, Non-probabilistic of purposive sampling technique was employed. Written reports, research documents and other relevant documents

regarding the impacts of civil society organizations involvement in the democratization process of Ethiopia were reviewed.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

The study is limited to the assessment of the CSOs operation post 1991. The study is also limited, in the sense that it emphasizes mainly on civil societies working in democratization process, not welfare or service giving CSOs at large.

1.7 Structure of the Study

The study is divided into five parts. The first and second parts of the paper explain the theoretical frame work that seeks to identify different types of theories and contending views regarding civil societies and democratization. The third part of the study deals with other countries' experiences, lessons learnt from these countries and Ethiopia's democratization process since 1991. The fourth part of the paper deals with the analysis part of the study. It explains the major role played by different civil society organizations in Ethiopia. Then the final part of the study presents the study findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter primarily focuses on the conceptual frame work and deals with the very essence of civil society, its origin, and the complexity of the issue from different theoretical perspectives. It also tries to point out the relation between the state, democracy and civil society organizations at large. Views of civil society from the African perspective are also dealt here.

2.2 What is Civil Society?

Many theoreticians and politicians have defined the term 'civil society' from different contexts and perspectives. There is a need to understand the historical back-ground to civil society. The term civil society can be traced through the works or and traditions of Cicero, Aristotle and modern natural law. So in terms of traditions civil society can be traced in three different forms again:

1. The first tradition that can be traced back to John Locke, Thomas Paine and DeToqueville- which is the liberal tradition as cited in John Samuel's article:

"Civil society is considered a natural condition for freedom and a legitimate area of association, individual's action and human rights. Thus the notion of civil society came to be seen in opposition to the state. It allowed space for democracy and the growth of market." (1998:4).

2. The second tradition is classical political economy by Adam Fergusen, Adam Smith, Steurt and J.S. Mill. It stressed the primacy of civil society- individualism, property and market. This stream of thinking perceived civil society as a sphere for the satisfaction of individual interest and private wants. (Chandhoke, 1995: 97 and Samuel, 1998:18).

3. The third tradition is a critique of the liberal and classical political economy tradition. Hegel, Marx, Gramsci and Habermass interpreted civil society as a historically produced sphere of life rather than the natural condition of freedom (Samuel, 1998:4). Although they fell under the same tradition, for Hegel, cited in Chandhoke "... civil society is an

intermediary stage between the unreflective emotions of the family and the universal logic of the state” (1995:35).

The three evolutionary stages of civil society definition differ and at the same time resemble some how. The first stage sees CSOs as opposition to the state. The second one judges as an individual interest while the third one is a product of a historical process than natural one. The three converge at willingness, opposing the state when doing wrong and organized based on individual interest.

Therefore, it is felt that the notion of civil society varies depending on the context and understandings of different fields. However, there is a consensus that civil society takes different organizational and institutional forms. Some of them are: All forms of voluntary organization; Relief, development and human rights; advocacy and training NGOs; professional associations; business associations, trade unions; women groups and organizations; self-help economic empowerment groups and cooperatives; cultural sports and leisure groups; Tribal or ethnic association and so on.

“Civil society is one such plastic term, imported and marketed vigorously in the development market” (Samuel 1998:1) with the conception that, “anything and everything outside the market and the state can be considered as civil society” (Ibid). This refers civil society is spread to the world from the western countries through development scheme. It has no origin in colonized countries including Ethiopia.

Civil society is a concept located at important strands of intellectual developments in the social sciences. Taking into account the diversity of the concept, “social scientists adopted an initial working definition that is meant to guide research activities and teaching” said an anonymous writer on the website:

“Civil society refers to the arena of a coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market. Though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces actors and institutional forms varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power” (www.globalpolicy.org).

Thus, civil societies serve as a bridge between the state and especially the lowest class of the society. The purpose is so obvious. It protects societies from marginalization and brings them up to contribute their own in the democratization arena.

In my view, the civil society existed in Ethiopia long ago as a traditional form like Ekub, IDIR and EZEN. But it didn't transform it self as a modern civil society because of a number of reasons. The primary one is the unwillingness of the then Ethiopian Governments. The modern Ethiopian civil society growth is highly related with western experience. It is during the two major droughts that occurred in 1973 and 1984/85 that civil societies emerged in Ethiopia. So the Ethiopian experience fits with the western definition that encompasses any thing outside the state excluding the traditional ones.

2.3 Civil Society and the State

Civil society is a complex notion and the many relations it has with the economy, the state and other institutions such as the family, media, and culture necessitate the examination of the concept from different perspective and orientations.

The relation between civil society and the state is very complex and interconnected (Tighel, 2004:126). When we try to see the relationship between state and civil society, the very centrality of the state begs the question as to how the state itself can be explained and what are the reference points for the understanding of the state. Many theorists circumvent this question by focusing upon the administrative, coercive and ideological functions of the state. In effect they treat the state as governance (Chandhoke, 1995:8).

In this study the term state is used to refer to the government. The above explanation still does not explain why certain states behave the way they do. Chandhoke further explains:

"..... States are dissimilar. They differ in the way they behave in the way they accumulate, articulate and exercise political power. It is obvious that the reference point in understanding the state is outside the domain of the institution that is civil society " (1995:9).

Outside of dictatorial, totalitarian and authoritarian regime/context, states can play a valuable role in developing a healthy civil society. This can be done by different activities of the state/government: such as establishing clear and workable regulatory frameworks, adopting transparent procedures and pursuing partnerships with non-governmental organizations (Carothers, 1999:7).Furthermore, Ibana in this regard noted that:

Hegel argues for the necessity of the state as the sole arbiter of the various competing interests with in civil society and Marx, in reaction to Hegel, analyzed the tension points within civil society as a function of economic interests (Ibana, 1997:191)

The role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in promoting democracy, and democratic values is undeniable. In an article by Sami Zubarda (2003:232-233).This emphasized as:

Civil Society is seen as the basis of democracy, the totalitarian state has colonized, controlled and penetrated society and crippled the forces of social autonomy to reverse this process. It is not enough to hold elections and license political parties: democracy must be based on autonomous and voluntary institutions and associations.

This would bring individuals and groups into social and political participation. This broader reality of civil society is characterized both by solidarity within groups and by a subsidiary relation between the groups and the state (Mclean & Magliola, 2004:2).

In liberal theory civil society came to embody a whole range of emancipatory aspirations, which focused on the defense of human rights and human dignity against state oppression. In this role CSOs often play collaborative, cooperative, complimentary, competing and confrontationist role in relation to the government and process of governance (Carothers, 1999:5 Chandhoke, 1995:27 and Samuel, 1998).

For Arato and Cohen, cited in Chandhoke “civil society implies an increase of communicative interaction vis-à-vis strategic/instrumental and norm oriented action in each domain” (1995:36).In this perspective state is the arena of coercion, and civil society is the sphere of support structures, solidarity and self-help associations. The state is sphere of violence and force, and civil society is the sphere of communication (Ibid: 36). But

“Good non-governmental advocacy work will actually tend to strengthen, not weaken the state capacity”. (Carothers, 1999:6).

The advocacy, enhancement of state performance, social justice, right and rule of law, transparency and information are some of the fields where civil society can contribute to good governance. Also they can contribute by working directly with government in shaping, financing and delivering public services (Asnake Kefale and Dejene Aredo, 2000:10).

The whole essence of state versus civil society relation can be attributed in two ways. These could be either antagonistic or cooperative. This is the natural process. The antagonistic and cooperative character depend on the nature of government and the ideology it follows and system of administration. In a government that poses threat to the people, civil societies give shield and work towards the protection of help seekers. In this regard, civil societies are seen as opposition political party, and fear of the government. In a democratic government, however, civil society is seen as a complementing unit of government activities and the one that fill in the gap left by the government due to lack of capacity and a choice of priority. Thus, civil society can and should complement, advise, reform the state and if possible, challenge, for the betterment of the neglected class especially.

2.4 Views of Civil Society in Africa

Some scholars argue that civil society organizations in African countries can exist with or without democracy. Proponents of this view argue that civil society organizations in African countries mainly exist for development purpose, particularly for economic one. On the other hand; others argue the existence of civil societies in Africa is to build democracy. Bujira classified these two different views into two (1984:41):

2.4.1 The Developmentalist View of Civil Society in Africa

The developmentalists (donors and the NGO elites) believe that civil society organizations can exist in African countries with or without democracy. In their view, civil society organizations essentially consist of non-governmental organizations whose main function is to undertake development activities, mainly economic one (Bujira, 1998:40). According to this view, civil societies protect the single interest of a particular group/s, and sometimes demand changes in specific policies. Thus, it focuses on the narrow sections of the society.

2.4.2 Political Reformist View of Civil Society in Africa

According to this view, African countries can develop civil societies, which can sustain democracy and good governance, through political reforms and without going through such revolutions which took place in the west (Bujira, 1998:42).

Advocates of this approach assume that economic development such as industrialization, scientific development and the evolution of a nation and a class society will come about after and as a consequence of the political reforms (ibid). It sees civil society as source of civil law and government as the implementer of these laws. Ethiopian civil society and government takes the position of political reformist view. The practices of both parties reveal this fact.

2.5 Civil Society and Democracy

The process of democratization is linked to the process of decentralization of state power. So, there will be more opportunities for the citizens to take responsibility for their own activities. The core of democracy and human rights are the notion of freedom; freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of association and freedom of belief (Samuel, 1998:3).

An active, diverse civil society often plays a valuable role in the advancement of democracy by interrogating, checking and challenging the discipline of the state. It can ensure that citizens' interests are taken seriously and foster greater civil and political participation.

In regards, to the role of civil society in promoting democracy, George F. Mclean argues that civil society is a subject of multiple hopes:

"..... that it can take us beyond the excess authoritarianism by expanding the active participation of citizens; it can express an achieved synthesis of different values in the search for the good life (M.Waltzer); it points to a more manageable scale of life by emphasizing "voluntary associations Churches and communities based on a conviction that decisions should be made locally, and should not be controlled by the state and its bureaucracies" (D. Bell); and that as such it is the cutting edge of the search for freedom in the modern world" (C. Taylor, 1997:11).

In this respect, civil societies with significant degree of civility are seen as the watchdogs of the societal and individual rights from being encroached upon by the government. The existence and emergence of civil society in a given society guarantees the fairness of the relationship between the state/government and people/citizens.

Indeed, one of the functions that the modern state assigned to itself was to be a means of social relation and participation. Conflict of interests among different groups and individuals coexist in such society. And often they will not be arbitrated or regulated in a fairly democratic manner. Thus, Gueye further argued:

Contemporary elaborations on "civil society" could be seen, from the point of view, as important and quite rightful attempts to reduce state power to its smallest reality and to open a new space for individuals so that they could fully enjoy their freedom autonomy and responsibility (2004: 92).

"The inherently oppressive nature of state which largely erases the autonomy of social life made the civil society struggle to establish democracy" (Chandhoke, 1995:25).

Therefore, it is recognized that political, social and civil rights, the rule of law, representative institutions, are the precondition or a corner stone of democracy. These features in turn are the central values of civil society.

When we look at the correlation between democracy and civil society, it is like car and tyre. One cannot exist with out the other and civil society is taken as a take of point for democracy.

The essential precondition for democracy is established by the nature and level of organization in civil society and the ways in which these impinge on the state. Strengthening the argument of civil society as the precondition to democracy. Neera Chandhoke added:

Civil society has, therefore, been privileged by democratic theory as a vital precondition for the existence of democracy. This is precisely the reason why authoritarian states attempt to stifle civil society emerges as a property of democratic states and societies (1995:9).

Even though, the relationship between the two (democracy and civil society) is extremely contentious and complex, democratic political theory privileges civil society because it assumes .that the existence of democracy is inextricably bound up with that of civil society. To sum up, the presence of a vibrant and active civil society indeed has come to be seen as a vital and indispensable precondition for democracy (Ibid: 163).

The other important thing to be taken in to account is that Why the Rush for Democracy and Governance in Africa?. Since the mid-1970s most African countries, especially those in the sub-Saharan region, have plunged into deep economic crisis, and ever since then there have been struggles by Africans to stay afloat and, in this, Ethiopia is not an exception.

Ethiopia has accumulated huge foreign debts and deficits. In every corner, state revenue has been declining from time to time. In light of these fiscal imperatives, governments have not been able to deliver goods and quality services to the population.

2.6 Conclusion

The modern idea of civil society originated with the enlightenment of the 18th century when civil society began to be referred to as a domain parallel to but separate from the state and where citizens associate according to their own interests and wishes. So, civil society as a concept has a long history.

Civil society refers to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated.

The state- civil society relation is an inherent feature of a certain organized society. The relation between the two could be cordial or adverse depending on the prevailing situation. In both cases, the civil society remains the watchdog of the public, though the role and strategies differ. When a state abuses power, it is the civil societies that should check challenge and reform it.

Democracy and civil societies are twins. It is very difficult to say that one live with out the other. One is the prerequisite for the other. Civil society is mostly taken as a corner stone for democracy.

Thus, the relation between the state and civil society should be triangular smooth and friendly and governed by the common objective of democracy. This should be the central tenet for both.

CHAPTER THREE : COUNTRIES EXPERIENCE, LESSONS, EMPIRICAL DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three in a nutshell describes the experiences of South Africa, Cameroon and Botswana's with respect to civil society organizations and their roles in the democratization process. The other important thing to be addressed in this chapter is the relation between civil societies and the governments of these countries. The main purpose of looking at these countries' experience is to make a comparative analysis vis-à-vis Ethiopian government position and attitude towards civil societies working in Ethiopia in the democratization process.

3.2 Civil Society and Democracy in South Africa

The emergence of contemporary civil society in South Africa has its own historical root. According to (Adam Habib, 2003:3) there are two distinct phases in the evolution of civil society in South Africa. The first phase was the early 1980s when there was a phenomenal growth in associational life in this country. According to Habib, the distinctive feature of this period is not only the growth of association, but, the formal emergence in the political sphere of a significant part of Black civil society actors who had been either banned or prevented from operating in the political arena (ibid).

The second phase, according to Habib, dates back to 1994 when the character and operations of a significant part of civil society fundamentally changed as a result of new opportunities and challenges (2003:3)

The new constitution, which was adopted in 1996 also reflect the concerns of various civic organizations and interest groups. Thus, it can be said that civil society is a recent phenomenon in South African political system

The operations of civil societies in South Africa have been influenced by the political transition in that country. Prior to the liberalization movement in South Africa, the

dominant elements in civil society were organizations and institutions that were either pro-apartheid and /or pro- businesses.

However, despite the fact that the anti apartheid civil society was created as a result of the state's reform program, the state-civil society relations took a negative form through out the 1980s. This is because; the liberalization initiative was not democratic and enabling. Thus, antiapartheid civil society organizations maintained their distance away from the state and they were treated with suspicion by the apartheid state (UNESCO: 2002:9). Although the legal environment allows anti-apartheid Non-Governmental Organizations, and Community Based Organizations to emerge, until sometime it had been hostile to their operations. Such hostility resulted in an adversarial form of relations between the state and civil society in the first decade of the anti-apartheid governance. This was to change only in the middle of the decade of the 1980s when South Africa entered in to the democratization phase of its political transition (Habib, 2003:5)

3.2.1 The Relationship between Civil Society and State in South Africa

One can infer from this scenario is that the relationship between the State and civil society in apartheid South Africa was simple to understand: civil society existed in opposition to the State which is not the case in the new South Africa.

One of the most difficult issues facing civil society in post-apartheid South Africa is how to maintain the delicate balance between supports for the new government while maintaining sufficient independence from it. This is especially the case in the light of collaborative relationship between much of civil society and the new South African Government, both during the liberation struggle and the transitional period.

The record of civil society's relationship with the State is patchy for other reasons as well. Like all other governments, South Africa has a large and often impenetrable bureaucracy. Despite the devolution of powers to other levels of government as indicated in the Constitution, the structure of the government is skewed in favor of centralism. This was the preferred form of governance of the ANC since 1994 on the basis that strong central government was essential to effective socio-economic delivery. This has resulted in

government being too remote from the population and consequently access to government is often difficult. (UNESCO, 2002:25).

According to Houston (1999:19), the majority of South Africans are ignorant about the work of Parliament, the policy making process and human rights institutions, which is directly linked to low levels of participation.

With regard to civil society versus court relationship in South Africa, the government after 1994 has adopted a system of constitutional supremacy with judicial review. This gives powers to the courts to decide matters often placed on the legislative agenda. The South African Constitution is the cornerstone of its democracy and envisages large-scale egalitarian social transformation.

The South African Constitution permits class action litigation that is litigation on behalf of an entire group of people affected by the subject matter of the case. It also permits interest-group interventions in litigation, which allows organized civil society to intervene in a case and present arguments to the court. The disadvantaged South Africans have been brought by organized interest groups, and it is rare to find suits brought by individual litigants in this regard. Institutional obstacles as well as lack of access to resources and lack of knowledge about the content of rights frequently make litigation in the courts virtually impossible for ordinary people. The role of civil society thus becomes paramount, and ensures that judicial rights discourse doesn't remain the domain of the privileged few in society. It is also important for civil society in modern democracies to ensure that the new forums of decision-making, like the courts, become accessible.

3.3 Civil Society organizations in Cameroon

In Cameroon since the law on the formation of associations was enacted in 1990, there has been a proliferation of associations. Civil society can be categorized as follows (Mkandawire.T,1992:13) (1) Independent personality;(2) Associations; (3)Professional grouping - natural persons and corporate bodies;(3) Action and defense groups; and;(4)Other unorganized groups.

Decision making is dominated by interests of the minority and not for the public good. This leads to the existence of a massive gap between the policy maker and the people. Related to it is lack of accountability of the state or the party leadership. Community participation is missing in this case. To get objective social and economic justice and encourage self-reliance, the people, if democracy is to be meaningful, have to benefit from a policy or a development project. Also they should be encouraged to decide on the content and direction of such development. Post-colonial governments have generally tried to establish supremacy over civil societies.

The researcher has also come to know that civil societies in Cameroon are subordinate to the state. This is mainly because; the state controls and dominates the civil institutions including the press and labor organizations.

3.4 Civil Society and Democracy in Botswana

The neglect of the role of civil society in political discourse has also been evident in Botswana. This is partly indicated by the very limited empirical studies on the role and structure of civil society in Botswana's democracy (Olsen, 1994: 15). He has categorized the Botswana's civil society groups into three (ibid):

1. Groups which emerged and developed as primary self-help organizations established to promote the welfare, interests and beliefs of their members. Among these are churches, burial societies; social and sporting clubs and youth organizations.
2. Politically active organizations which in addition to providing services to their members, particular minorities, or vulnerable groups, actively seek to influence government policy. Included in these are trade unions, women's rights groups, environmental action groups, and international human rights organizations.
3. The ad hoc or issue specific groups which emerge spontaneously in reaction to a particular issue of concern. Included here were the environmental groups which came about in the Northwest district of Botswana following government's plans of dredging of the Okavango. In the same piece, Olsen has rightly pointed out that this categorization is not rigid.

3.4.1 State-Civil Society Relations in Botswana

A study conducted by (Holm, Molutsi and Somolekae 1994:57) concluded that civil societies in Botswana were weak in relation to the state and that civil society in general was primarily concerned with promoting the interests of their members and not so much with their relationship with the state. For many years, the state in Botswana projected the civil society organizations as the ideal castigating those who seek to influence policy. They were labeled either as promoting foreign interests, or as infiltrated by the opposition.

But, Contrarily the Botswana government has, on a number of occasions, initiated the formation of civil society organizations. This is common among farmer groups as well as civil service groups such as the Botswana Civil Service Association or the Botswana Teachers Union (ibid).

Botswana government has shown remarkable change in its attitude towards civil society organizations. The state initially from condition of unfriendliness has transformed to the level of cooperation and even giving all the necessary backing to groups so as to form associations and complement.

As Molutsi (1995:15) rightly concluded, "through this corporatist strategy, the state has appropriately defined the role and functions of each organization and circumscribed these such that it becomes easy to label and isolate others as political".

The classification of organizations into political or apolitical is problematic. However, past experience shows that in Botswana, most organizations including burial societies, sport and religious organizations have focused more on their internal issues and programmes and have not engaged the state at policy level. That is why we have classified them as apolitical. The exception has been women's groups ([http://www. Botswana.org](http://www.Botswana.org))

So the civil societies of Botswana are totally apolitical and not interested to involve in the politics of Botswana. In addition to this, the CSOs are aimed at promoting the interest of their members. Instead of engaging in the reformation of the state, they just prefer apolitic issues not to annoy the state.



Botswana's achievements today are considerable. She is now classified by the World Bank as a middle income country, her per capita income stands at around US \$ 27,000. She has never experienced an economic crisis. She has no external debt to worry about (World Bank Report 2006:17).

All these achievements have been attributed to two main factors. The first is "luck" or good fortune which is evidenced by the discovery of large diamond deposits shortly after independence. The second is the quality of public sector management, including the role of the political leadership. Aid has also been cited as another key factor.

Botswana's poverty and inadequacies at independence went beyond the scarcity of financial resources and skilled manpower. The country also lacked institutional infrastructure for development. The small civil service inherited at independence had been geared predominantly to the maintenance of law and order. It was inadequate for the demanding development agenda of the new government.

The researcher feels that the positive aspect of the state and society relationship, which encourages community participation, accounts for Botswana's relative stable life and open up.

3.4.2 Civil Society Organization in Pre 1991 Ethiopia

Civil society in the form of self-help system (traditional mutual-help associations) has long existed in Ethiopia. These systems were established with the main purpose of dealing with various social problems. The proclaimed aim of these systems is the enhancement of self-reliance of individuals, households and the society at large. Some of these self help systems have been registered as neighborhood associations since the 1960's. For instance, the workers struggle that started in 1945 by Franco-Ethiopian Railway workers was intensified by other workers in the 1950's with the development of new industries. This struggle was first organized and initiated through workers' self-help traditional associations, called '*iddirs*'.

The Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA) which was established in 1949 by few school teachers in the form of traditional self-help association can also be taken as another example. ETA became one of the strongest CSOs, after some years of its establishment, and thousands of teachers became its members.

A few self-help systems set up in former times can be mentioned. '*Debo*' is a system of mutual aid among farmers. Farmers who benefit from the help of others provide food and drinks. '*Afarsata*' is a local court of village elders which meet after a crime has been committed. It is aimed at reconciliation and payment for damage. Nowadays *afarsata* is rare and their functioning was almost impossible during the *Derg* regime. *Equb* is a traditional financial institution whereby a group of people contribute certain amount of money regularly. For instance, on a weekly or monthly basis and give the amount contributed to one member of the group who is selected by lot or according to order of priority. Among Muslims, *Ezen* is a self-help system where contributions are made by each household to the mosque, during the days of a funeral. The best-known self help-system in the Ethiopian society is the *idir* (sometimes written as *iddir or edir*).

Modern interest groups such as labour unions and professional associations began to emerge as part of CSOs in 1963, after the Labour Relation Decree of the government was proclaimed. Beginning from early 1990's, with increased financial and material support from foreign voluntary organizations, the number of local NGOs multiplied. With improvements in the social situation their focus moved progressively into implementing long-term micro projects.

According to Desalegn, (2002:14) civil society institutions in Ethiopia include Non-governmental Organizations(NGOs), advocacy organizations, professional associations, cooperatives, trade union, religious organizations, and independent press(excluding political organizations and state business firms).

3.4.2.1 Civil Society organizations during Imperial Regime

During the imperial regime few voluntary associations were able to survive. For example, the Gurage People's self help Development Organization (GPSDO) started as local traditional association as *idir* by few voluntary individuals in 1961 (in some literature 1963) and are still operating (Asnake and Dejene, 2000:12).

The association has played a tremendous role in building roads and thereby facilitating transportation between urban centers and inaccessible rural areas. Political impacts of self-help associations were limited because of the government's closer scrutiny and supervision.

Even if, their impact on the politics of the state was insignificant, there were also other civil organizations during the imperial period. For example, the Confederation of Ethiopian Labors Union (CELU), and the Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA) played an important role in the down fall of the imperial regime.

3.4.2.2 Civil Society Organizations during Military Regime

In 1974 the imperial government was overthrown and the *Derg* came to power. During the seventeen years of military regime, civil society institutions had been abolished by the government (Clark, 2000:1).

Some organizations of the imperial period forced to be reorganized according to the "socialist" ideology of the regime. The restructuring of those associations eliminates the distinction of state (government) and civil society. "The *Derg* by officially linking associations such as trade unions and teachers association with the political structure it ended the official separation of the government and civil society institutions" (Asnake and Dejene, 2000:14).

Therefore, it can be said that the whole *Derg* regime from 1974–1991 was, characterized by the suppression of traditional associations and supplanted by Peasant Associations (PAs) and official co-operatives. They were also forced to be resilient in order to withstand governmental and outside pressures which threatened to disband them. However, after

almost a century of active state repression, numerous types of indigenous association continue to exist today.

3.4.3 Civil Society organizations in Post 1991 Ethiopia

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Forces (EPRDF) assumed state power after its victory over the Derg in May 1991. EPRDF came up with remarkably different vision about the future of the Ethiopian state in administering and managing its diverse ethnic and linguistic groups. Consolidation of power at the center was at least in principle to be reversed by policies of regional self-governance through ethnic federalism (Asnake & Dejene 2002:15).

The change was not in the administrative system of the country, but also several policy initiatives have been taken and influenced the role of civil society organizations. Right after the change of regime in 1991, the legal provisions that ascertain the freedom of associations were stated in the transitional charter, and the federal constitution. This has created a relatively conducive environment for the operation of civil society.

Nevertheless, there are also examples of cooperation between CSOs (especially the NGO sector) and government at various levels. However, despite the fact that there is a relaxed situation for the formation of civil society organizations, there is still an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion between civil society organizations and the state. In addition to the usual hostility of the state towards CSOs, the polarization of the political space in Ethiopia because of ethnic politics has a potential effect of fragmenting the civil space. This has also had impact on the development of a vibrant and diverse civil society in the country (PACT), 2004: and (Asnake & Dejene, 2002: 15-16).

Coming to the development and distribution of NGOs and/or civil society organizations in Ethiopia, the following tables display the number of such organizations over a period of 1994-2007 phenomena.

Table 1: Growth of Local and International NGOs from 1994-2007

CSOss	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2007
Local NGOs	24	96	160	246	391	501	1,742
International NGOs	46	96	119	122	508	905	1,002
Total	70	192	270	368	899	1406	2742

Source: Ministry of justice Public Relation Department and CRDA 2002-2004 report

Beginning from the 1990s, with increased financial and material support from voluntary organizations, the numbers of local and international NGOs have been increasing alarmingly and expected to increase in the future since the Ethiopian economy is not self sustained and heavily dependent on foreign aid.

But, many believe the size of civil society organizations in Ethiopia is very small compared to the overwhelming challenges facing the country. Except for those members of CRDA, the majorities of civil society institutions are weak and lack the necessary experience. There is over concentration of civil society organizations in urban areas (mostly in Addis Ababa), low level of motivation, poor and fluctuating membership base, overlap of activities and sometimes competition for external aid. They are divided along supporters of different social and political opposition and courses of actions and those who are neutral. Except for the work of the Christian Relief and Development Agency, the civil society is fragmented and uncoordinated (CRDA, 2006:15).

Currently, it is estimated that almost 2,700 civil society organizations are presumed to be operating in Ethiopia. Previously, the greater number of civil society organizations were working on relief program. But, gradually they have shifted from relief to service delivery, development activities and a few on policy advocacy issues. The following table depicts the activity distribution of civil society organizations and their engagements.

Table 2: Number of CSOs and their activities

No.	Activities	Percent
1	Integrated development	32
2	Water and health	22
3	Social welfare	21
4	Relief and Rehabilitation	9
5	Civic Education and Training	8
6	Agriculture and Soil Conservation	4
7	Others	5

Source: Dejene Aredo, 2000

As can be learnt from table 2 more than 50% of civil societies are operating in Ethiopia in integrated development and water and health including social welfare. Of all programs, training and education which this study paper is aimed at constitutes the minimal percentage.

From the total of the above indicated size of civil society organizations, the researcher took 17(Seventeen) Civil Society organizations, which are currently working in the democratization and good governance process in Ethiopia directly or indirectly as samples for the study. As compared to the number of civil society organizations working in the democratization process of Ethiopia, the number of samples taken to the study is too large. This is mainly because; there are not as such many civil society organizations which are working in Ethiopia in the democratization process.

The traditional self-help CSOs are not included in the study as they have very little or no role in the democratization process and there has been very little written information on them.

3.5 Data Presentation and Discussions

Out of One Hundred Five (105) distributed questionnaires, 78(74%) of them were returned while the remaining 27(Twenty Seven) are not collected because of the reluctance of respondents to give back the questionnaires The responses of the respondents are summarized and presented in the following section:

Table 3: Type of Organizations included in the study

Organization	No.	%age
INGOs	12	15
Local NGOs	20	26
Government Organizations	30	38
Individuals	16	21
Total	78	100%

Table 4: Sources: Survey data

Position	No.	%age
Managing Director	2	0.03
Department head/Manager	18	23
Coordinator	12	15.4
Officer	26	33.3
Other	20	26
Total	78	100

Table 5: Respondents work experience

Years of Experience	No.	%age
0-2yrs	25	32
3-5yrs	19	24
6-10yrs	20	26
Above 10yrs	14	18
Total	78	100

Table 6: What do you know about civil society, democracy and good governance?

Very little	No.	%age
Little	-	-
High	23	29
Very high	46	59
Moderate	9	12
Total	78	100

Among the total 78 respondents almost 89% of them assured that they know well about civil society democracy and good governance which is useful for the researcher to verify the remaining questions well.

Table 7: How is the advancement of civic education and awareness raising in Ethiopia by the civil society organizations working in advocacy?

	No.	%age
Very little	3	4
Little	12	15
High	40	51
Very High	10	13
Moderate	13	17
Total	78	100

Coming to the advancement of civic education by civil societies working in advocacy area, 51% of them indicated that the CSOs have performed high while 13% responded very high. On the other hand, 19% of respondents said little and very little. The contribution of civic education by civil societies is more or less good in this respect. The remaining respondents know the issue by their as we have learnt from the first question, 85% of the respondents know well about democracy and civil society and good governance and their activities.

Table 8: To what extent do civil society organizations help people to claim their right and carry out their obligation?

	No.	%age
high	12	15
Very High	5	6
Adequate	51	64
Not responded	10	13
Total	78	100

The contribution of civil societies towards assisting people to claim their right is appreciated by 85% of the respondents. The adequacy of their effort is attested by 64% of the respondents. This is also a remarkable achievement for the Ethiopian CSOs in right protection whereby the majority of the people judged to be not aware of this situation.

Table 9: Is there any instances that you personally or your organization has challenged the government in the democratization process since 1991 when the government is doing wrong?

	No.	%age
Yes	12	15
No	66	85
Total	78	100

Towards challenging the government during the democratization process since 1991, 85% of the respondents did not challenge the government. Only, 15 % of the respondents tried to challenge.

Table 10: What does look like the status of the democratic process in Ethiopia since 1991?

	No.	%age
Poor	49	62
Good	17	22
Very good	12	16
Total	78	100

As regards to the status of the democratic process of Ethiopia, 62% said poor while 22% did say "good". 26% said "very good". From the responses given to this particular question, we can learn that the democratic process of the country is at its infancy and yet requires improvement.

Table 11: To what extent of the human rights violation in Ethiopia since 1991?

	No.	%age
High	39	50
Very high	31	40
Moderate	8	10
No violation	-	-
Total	78	100

In terms of human right violations, 90% of respondents replied that there is a clear human right violation by the Federal Democratic Republic Government of Ethiopia.

Table 12: How is the fairness of the last three elections of Ethiopia?

	No.	%age
Un fair	59	75
Fair	9	12
Not responded	7	9
Total	75	100

In respect, to the fairness of the last three Ethiopian elections, 75% of the respondents expressed the unfairness of the elections while 12% of them indicated the fairness of the election.

Table 13: Is the number of civil society organizations working in Ethiopia adequate?

	No.	%age
Yes	11	14
No	63	81
Indifferent	4	5
Total	78	100

With regard to the adequacy of the number of CSOs, 81% of the respondents replied that they are not adequate to address the problems of Ethiopia in advocacy, and democratization and, 14% of the respondents confirmed the adequacy of the number of CSOs in addressing the societal problems which is under discussion. The remaining 5% were not sure on the adequacy.

Table 14: What was the role of civil society organizations in the Ethiopia's May 2005 election?

	No.	%age
Mere agitation	3	4
Work against the government	4	5
Awareness creation	51	65
Creating forums for discussion	20	26
Total	78	100

As can be learnt from the table, during May 2005 Ethiopian election, 65% of the respondents witnessed that CSOs were engaged in awareness creation while 20% said that they organized forums for discussion between the opposition parties and the government.

Table 15: How do you see the legal structure of Ethiopia towards civil societies working in the democratization?

	No.	%age
Supportive	11	14
discouraging	50	64
Neither of both	17	22
Total	78	100

In terms of the legal structure of the country towards CSOs, 64% of the respondents indicated that the activity of the government has been discouraging, and 14% of the respondents confirmed that attested the government laid a good legal environment for CSOs. The remaining 22% of the respondents saw that the legal structure of the country is neither supportive nor discouraging.

Table 16: To what extent does the government interfere in the works of civil societies engaged in democratizations and good governance?

	No.	%age
High	27	37
Very high	41	53
Minimal	6	8
Moderate	2	2
Total	78	100

The government interference in the work of CSOs is believed to be high or very high. 90% of the respondents assured the interference of the government. More or less, all confirmed that the government directly or indirectly interfered in the work of CSOs. Only 10% of the respondents indicated that government interference is minimal or moderate.

Table 17: To what extent did you participate in the democratization process and in the works of civil society organizations?

	No.	%age
Actively	7	9
Very actively	19	24
Not participated	48	62
indifferent	4	5
Total	78	100

62% of the respondents confirmed that they didn't participate in the works of CSOs and democracy while 33% of them participated in this regard.

Table 18: In terms of democratization and good governance the government is going in the right direction.

	No.	%age
Strongly agree	3	4
Agree	5	6
Disagree	57	73
Strongly disagree	13	17
Total	78	100

As can be learnt from the respondents of the above question, 90% of the respondents declared that the government in terms of democratization and good governance is not in the right direction while only 10% of them said the government is going in the right track.

Table 19: Civil society organizations working in the democratization process of Ethiopia have done their best so far especially in reforming and challenging the state.

	No.	%age
Strongly agree	6	8
Agree	7	9
Disagree	59	75
Strongly disagree	6	8
Total	78	100

In terms of reforming and challenging the governments, CSOs have not done their best as it has been indicated by 83% of the respondents witnessed this fact. Only few number i.e17% of the respondents believe the CSOs have done their best.

Table 20: Does the government fear the activities of the civil societies working in the democratization?

	No.	%age
yes	49	63
No	10	13
I don know	19	24
Total	78	100

The government is very suspicious in the activities of CSOs and thus develops fear every time. This is attested by the fact that 63% of the respondent supports the statement.

Table 21: Does the public at large participate in the political, economic and social affairs of the country?

	No.	%age
yes	33	42
No	36	46
indifferent	9	12
Total	78	100

This query is a little bit similar to question no.12. The difference is the former concerned with the individual level participation while no.16 covers the public at large. In terms of public participation 42% of the respondents chose participation while 46% indicated those the public does not participate in the political, economic, and social affairs. Again, one can infer that the participation of the public is not satisfactory in the economic, social and political affairs of the country. So with out effective participation of the public nothing would happen.

Table 22: What proportion of civil societies working in the democratization of the country complement the role of the government?

	No.	%age
Little	18	23
Very little	23	30
greatly	28	35
Very greatly	9	12
Total	78	100

In terms of complementing the role of the government, CSOs did less than 50% while 53% confirmed CSOs impact in this respect is almost minimal. This shows, performance of CSOs in terms of complementing role, it is not satisfactory since it is below 50%.

Table 23: How is the transparency of the state and civil societies with regard to their activities?

	No.	%age
Poor	38	49
Very Poor	15	19
good	17	22
Very good	8	10
Total	78	100

The questionnaire result revealed that 68% of the respondents said that both the works of the government and CSOs are not transparent.

Table 24: How do you evaluate the institutional strength of civil societies working in Ethiopia especially in the democratization process?

	No.	%age
Very strong	13	17
Strong	7	9
weak	53	68
Very weak	5	6
Total	78	100

The institutional strength of CSOs is by and large questionable and does not match with the grand task they are entrusted with. This is because; almost 74 % of the respondents indicated the institutional strength of CSOs as weak and very weak. The remaining 28 % said either strong or very strong.

Table 25: How do you evaluate the financial strength of civil societies working in the democratization of the country?

	No.	%age
Very strong	15	19
Strong	21	27
weak	37	48
Very Weak	5	6
Total	78	100

The financial strength of CSOs is judged to be weaker since 54% of the respondents favours this pattern, while 19% and 27 % of the respondents replied that the financial position of the CSOs is very strong and strong respectively. In the eyes of the respondents, the financial position of the have and the have-nots is more or less equal despite the weaker part constitutes 48%.

Table 26: Both the financial and non-financial resources of civil societies have been deployed to the intended purpose.

	No.	%age
Strongly agree	14	18
Agree	23	30
Disagree	22	28
Strongly disagree	19	24
Total	78	100

The spending habit of CSOs according to these responses found in the study is not good. This is due to the fact that 52% of the respondents said both the financial and the non-financial resources have been deployed in the unintended activities or off the program.

Table 27: How is the efficiency and fairness of the Ethiopian Judiciary system especially in political affairs?

	No.	%age
Fair	13	17
Not fair	65	83
Total	78	100

The fairness of the Ethiopian justice system in the political affairs is believed to be questionable. More than 80% of the respondents indicated that the Ethiopian justice system is unfair. Only 17% of them said that it is fair.

Table 28: In terms of geographical distribution, civil societies working in the democratization are fairly and evenly distributed.

	No.	%age
Strongly agree	17	22
agree	9	12
Disagree	47	60
Strongly disagree	5	6
Total	78	100

Geographically, CSOs working in the democratization process are not evenly distributed. 66% of the respondents said CSOs are unevenly distributed Ethiopia while 34% said that they are evenly distributed.

Table 29: The relation between the state and civil societies working in the democratization of Ethiopia is:

	No.	%age
cooperative	7	9
uncooperative	27	34
Suspicious	41	53
isolationist	3	4
Total	78	100

The relation between the state and CSOs working in the democratization process of Ethiopia is found to be either antagonistic or influenced by distrust and suspicion. Aggregately, 87 % of the respondents in replied that the relation between the state and CSOs is unfriendly. While only 9% of the respondents said that the relationship is cooperative and 4% said both follow isolationist tendency.

3.6 Conclusion

The turning point for the proliferation of civil society in South Africa is the fall of apartheid government in 1994. Prior to the liberalization movement in South Africa; the dominant elements in the civil society were organizations which were pro apartheid. The relation between the state and CSOs in South Africa after the fall of apartheid despite not good in the beginning, it has been collaborative. In terms of societal knowledge, the majority of the South African are ignorant about the work of democracy and parliament.

In the case of, Cameroon civil society started to grow after the 1990s which is like Botswana, South Africa, it is a recent development and civil societies are subordinate to the state. This is mainly because; the state controls and dominates the civil institution and including the press and labour organizations.

The state civil society relations in Botswana are weak since CSOs in Botswana promote primarily the interest of of their members and they are totally apolitical.

Coming to Ethiopia, civil society in the form of self help system has long existed in the form of *Debo. Edir*, and *Afersata*. But, modern interest groups such as labour unions and professional associations began to emerge as part of CSOs in 1963. In both Hilesilassie and *Derge* regimes, the role of civil society organizations were restricted and marginalized. Right the change of the regime in 1991, the legal provisions that ascertain the freedom of associations have stated in both transitional and charter and later in 1995 with the enactment of the new constitution which have created a conducive environment for the operation of CSOs.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF ETHIOPIA: POST 1991 ASSESSMENT

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the role of CSOs in the democratization process of Ethiopia post 1991 is critically analyzed based on the empirical data collected from primary and secondary sources and the experiences of other African of: South Africa, Botswana and Cameroon. The chapter also discusses the factors that constrain the CSOs engagement in the facilitation of the democratization process in Ethiopia.

4.2 Analysis

4.2.1 Law as an enabling environment for Civil Society Organizations

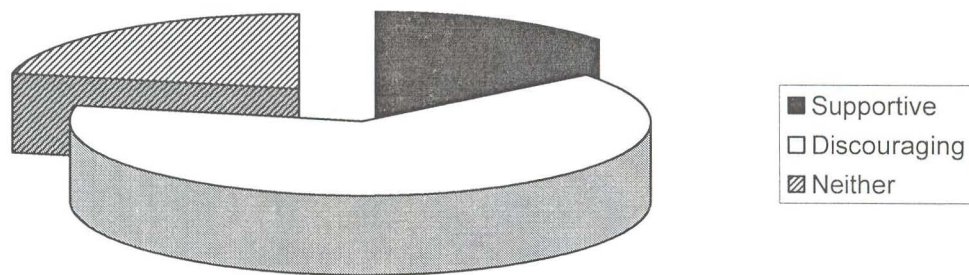
As regards to legal provision, there is legal provision that governs the operation and behavior of Non-Governmental Organizations NGOs/CSOs. In this regard, the particular law that is available in the Ethiopian context is article 404 of the civil code of 1960 and legal notice 321/1996 which are largely out dated. This law legitimizes the right of citizens to form associations with a perception of obtaining a result other than securing profit.

In 1991 with the adoption of a Transitional Charter, the right to form associations was recognized among other democratic rights (1991, Art. 1/a of the Transitional Charter). Similarly, article 31 of the constitution of FDRE also guarantees the exercise of democratic rights including freedom of association, which is an enabling environment for civil society. Nonetheless, this law still does not provide full-fledged legislation to the operation of NGOs. As a result, several non-governmental organizations are unable to realize their declared mission and objective because of policy related constraints with regard to their expected roles. This implies that both the constitution and other laws are not all inclusive.

During the transitional period, the power to supervise all NGO's engaged in relief activities was given to the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission by Proclamation No 41/1993, While civil societies engaged in advocacy and democratization were supervised by Ministry of Justice. In this regard, the proclamation created problem in supervision and accountability which led to double standard for civil societies working in relief and non-relief activities. This problem was later understood by the government and a new Proclamation No.4/1995 was promulgated and the power of registering and supervising civil society organizations was transferred to the Ministry of Justice.

When we look at the 1995 constitution and Proclamation No.4/95, the legal system of Ethiopia allows forming associations and operating in the country in advocacy and democratization process. However, the respondents of the study (see the graph below) indicated that the legal system of the country is discouraging for the operation of CSOs.

Figure 1: The suitability of the Ethiopia's legal system to form Association



As can be seen from the above figure, the result revealed that 64% of the respondents said the government legal system is discouraging to the proliferation of civil societies especially in the democratization area though the government set laws and policies for the proper functioning of civil societies. The respondents' observation in reaching to this

conclusion is believed to be due to the bureaucratic hurdles that at the Ministry of Justice in the licensing and registration process.

For example, EHRCO has still been considered as a politically motivated enemy of the government. EHRCO since its establishment of 1991 up to 1998 didn't get license for almost seven years from the respective licensing agency i.e. Ministry of Justice. The same thing is true for SAHRE. It was after three years that SAHRE got license (1992-1994). This was mainly because, it was seen by the Ministry of Justice as a political opponent than a development agent according to the Director of SAHRE.

Another experience is that of the Ethiopian Free Press Journalists Association (EFPJA) which managed to get registration after eight years since its establishment in 1993. According to the interview made with two former EFPJA members, they said that although most of its counter parts of international organizations such as International Journalist Federation, International Press Institute, PEN International, and other international partners have recognized EFPJA as a professional association. The Ethiopian government, however, failed to give it recognition until 2001. It finally managed to get registration as a non partisan and non political CSO only after it filed a law suit against the government.

According to the researcher's observation, the legal structure of Ethiopia in establishing CSO has no problem. Equally, the legal system of South Africa and Botswana unlike Cameroon has a fertile ground for the formation of CSOs. The governments of these countries don't see CSOs as political parties especially at present. They develop mutual trust. But, in Ethiopian case, though there is more or less a suitable legal structure, the reality on the ground differs from South Africa and Botswana. The Ethiopian government sets lengthy procedures for registration and licensing of CSOs for which, the above three examples best explained the reality. Consequently, the relation between the government and CSOs working in the democratization program is like 'cat and rat' according to the interview responses.

4.2.2 Reforming and Challenging the State

Reforming the state according to Solomon “would mean more deliberate collaboration with government departments with a view to help those departments improve the services they provide” (Solomon, 2001:12)

Few civil society organizations assist the government organs by providing different assistances like giving training for improved institutional capacity and challenging the state when found wrong. The action is a more deliberate collaboration with the government to improve the services to the targeted community.

For instance, Forum on Street Children Ethiopia (FSCE) has been focusing on building the capacities of various government institutions. The police force has been the main target of FSCE as it has been engaged in protecting the rights of children. In due course, quite a lot of hard works have been made to raise the awareness of the police force on the needs and problems of children and the role they play in protecting and caring for children at different times. Because, unless, such groups of people are not reformed to go with the new developments, promulgating new laws alone wouldn't bring the designed change. The FSCE, through its intensive educational programmes have undergone training and seminars for 2000 crime prevention and investigation officers and non-commissioned police members in Addis Ababa and other major towns (FSCE, 2006:10).

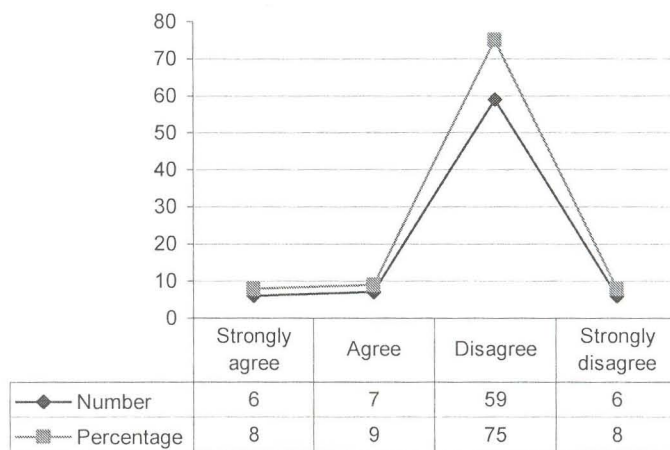
As per the program policy manual and yearly activity report of APAP, one of its aims among others is to promote accountability and transparency at various echelons of government hierarchy. To this effect, APAP has organized dozens of trainings and workshops for judges, prosecutors, administrators and police officials on human rights, law enforcement, accountability and capacity building in different parts of the country. APAP, so far has given workshops, seminars and briefings for about 40,000 people across the country (APAP: 2006).

The other important thing is that there are some organizations established with the objective of supporting the poor and marginalized sections of the society; like women who

are deprived of their economic, social, cultural and political rights. In this regard, one of the principal and eminent actors is the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Associations (EWLA).

EWLA was established in 1995 with a motive to give legal support for women whose rights are violated or deprived. EWLA since its establishment till to date, has been giving legal aid service for women in relation to rape, abduction, domestic violence, property inheritance, employment contracts, etc. According to the interview made with EWLA members, it has handled thousands of legal cases of women through its branches.

Figure 2: Opinion of respondents on the operation of CSOs



From the above figure which is compiled from the returned questionnaires, it is understood that civil society organizations working in the democratization area did not work satisfactorily in reforming the state. This is because, 83% of the respondents are not satisfied with their performance. As per the interview, the reason is due to financial constraints and the unwillingness of the government to work with CSOs.

Therefore, with regard to reforming the state, one cannot boldly say that civil society organizations did their best. In both Botswana and Cameroon, however, the civil societies are more or less inactive like Ethiopia and have worked minimally. In the case of South Africa, on the other hand, civil society organizations are well organized and highly engaged in reforming the state especially starting from the end of 1990s. The best example in this regard is, changing the attitude of the government in providing

antiretroviral drugs to HIV-AIDS patients after two years of negotiations and dialogue with CSOs and other stake holders.

As regards to challenging the state, data collected from the interview made with EWLA leaders reveal that, on a number of occasions EWLA made demonstrations/public rally/ to get the attention of policy makers on violence, unequal treatment and discrimination against women, and to influence the government to take the necessary actions especially in promulgating laws. Coupled with the effort of other institutions and government's priority, EWLA made remarkable contribution towards the promulgation of a new family law and its subsequent case handling in the court.

The 1995 Ethiopia's Government Structural Adjustment Program, which was financed by the International Financial Institutions, led to the retrenchment of workers from various government's factories and enterprises. Subsequent to this, the Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Union (CETU) protested against this retrenchment and persistently was lobbying and pressurizing the government to consider alternative employment opportunities for the laid-off workers and to undertake privatization process without affecting the rights of workers.

However, CETU's action for the workers' rights was considered by the government as unlawful protest or violence against the government's policy, which had put the existence of the Confederation in danger. According to the interview result, some of the ex-members of CETU, the government of Ethiopia rather politicized the issue and tried to imprison the leaders of CETU. One of its leaders named ATo Dawi Ibrahim was forced to flee away fearing either imprisonment and/ or murder attempt. In 1995 various offices of CETU were sealed and registration was cancelled. However, according to the statement, of the interviewees, the case ended up in favor of CETU through court ruling. The government finally arranged a safety net program to collect the laid off workers.

The other two prominent civil society organizations which have greatly challenged the government at various times were EWLA and EHRCO. EWLA, challenged the government by its less consideration on women's right abuse and poor legal enforcement. At various times, the association prepared work shops on the negligence of the government

on women right. Consequently, in 2001 the Federal Democratic Government of Ethiopia banned EWLA for a short period. But, because of the support and pressures of the international Community and women activists, the government allowed it to continue operation. Among others, EWLA relentless effort helped the government for the enactment of the revised new family law in 2002 (EWLA: 2002:8).

The other civil society organization which put much pressure on the government of Ethiopian is the Ethiopia Human Right Council (EHRCO) according to the interview made with some members of EHRCO. It challenged the government in a number of occasions and topics like violation of human rights and the rule of law. It has also been organizing debate and discussion with the various stake holders on several human right issues and due process of law. Consequently, it has been considered by the government as an opposition party. Its leaders were sent to jail for their firm opposition of the government. The case is yet pending at the federal first instance court. Especially, the after math of May 2005 national election, the 2006 Gambella conflict, the Jimma Muslim versus Christian conflict and Addis Ababa University demonstration and its killings by the government in 2003 were the biggest point of differences between EHRCO and the Federal Democratic Government of Ethiopia (FDRE). So far EHRCO has produced a dozens of special reports against the government human right abuse. The relation between the state and civil societies working in the democratization of Ethiopia has been deteriorating, according to the interview made with the public relation department staff members of EHRCO. It has been also criticizing the ethnic federal structural arrangement of FDRE.

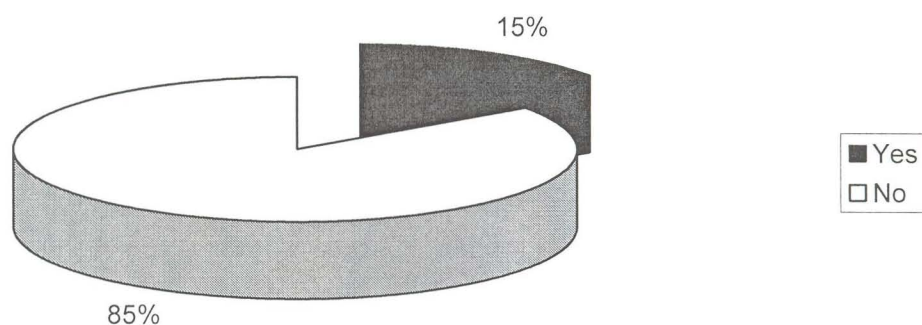
The challenge from the side of CRDA, against the government was also so immense during, before and after May 2005 national election. Before the election, CRDA opposed the decision of the National Election Board of Ethiopia that denied observant status of CSOs. Along with others, CRDA brought the case to the court and finally won. The release of preliminary election observation finding report of the CRDA annoyed the government. Some said that the finding expression by the CRDA marked a shift from a seemingly cooperative relationship between CRDA and the government to a state of suspicion and conspiracy. This, unfriendly relation between CRDA and the government aggravated ,after the release of CRDA executive committee position statement criticizing the government's

ban on demonstration (Capital, 2005:1). As a result, the Ministry of Justice gave a final warning for CRDA not to engage in such kind of activities (Ethiopian Herald, 2005:1).

Civil society organizations are challenging the state in different ways. However, in Ethiopia, civil societies did not play their expected role in challenging the state except very few ones.

The following figure witnesses the same fact. The responses from the questionnaire tells us that the absolute majorities of CSOs are not either interested or have fright to challenge the government even if the latter takes measure against the interest of the former. In line with this, more than 80% of the sample population affirmed the incapacity of CSOs in challenging the state since 1991.

Figure 3: opinions on exerting challenges on the government



Similar to the Ethiopian case, the CSOs in Botswana and Cameroon do not challenge their respective governments.

4.2.3 Complementing the Role of the Government and Enhancing State Performance

Since the government cannot carry out all the activities demanded by the society, it needs the involvement of the third sector i.e. CSOs to engage in complementing the role of the government. So, CSOs have been involved in conflict management, advocacy and others. The following is the complementary role of the CSOs in Ethiopia since 1991.

After the declaration of linguistic based federal government in Ethiopia since 1991, ethnic conflict has been a common phenomenon especially in *Oromiya, Gambella, Somali* and some part of Southern Nations and Nationalities. The causes of the conflict could be many. Some of them are resource claim like grazing land, religion, and politically driven interest. Some civil society organizations like CARE -Ethiopia (through its Pastoralist Livelihood Initiative program, PDC, EPARD (local NGO), PACT (through its Peace and Democracy) program have played proactive role in preventing and/or resolving conflicts, promoting cooperation and understanding between different social, religious, ethnic and political groups in Ethiopia on the basis of traditional peace building mechanism and using the elderly and religious influence. CARE Ethiopia through its program, *Pastoralist Livelihood Initiative* has been working in the Southern region of *Borena* pastoralists' community. The objective is to resolve conflicts of pastoralist and give aid and assistance to them in order to bring about sustainable development in the area (CARE Ethiopia: 2007:15-17).

From the interview made with the staff of CARE Ethiopia, the researcher learned that Ethiopian *EPARD* which is a local NGO is currently working in the *Borena* area and some parts of *Gambella* in resolving conflicts. Its ultimate objective is to contain any inconveniences before it turns out to be violent. The mechanism that EPARD uses is the traditional network combined with modern resolution systems. Currently, it has established a peace committee composed of each clan leaders. The effort is yet under way since the conflict is on and off. In the case of Cameroon and Botswana, however, civil societies are not allowed to engage in such activity. Where as, in South African, civil society

organizations are very much active in this regard. The best example is their participation in handling ethnic conflict in *ZULU* area.

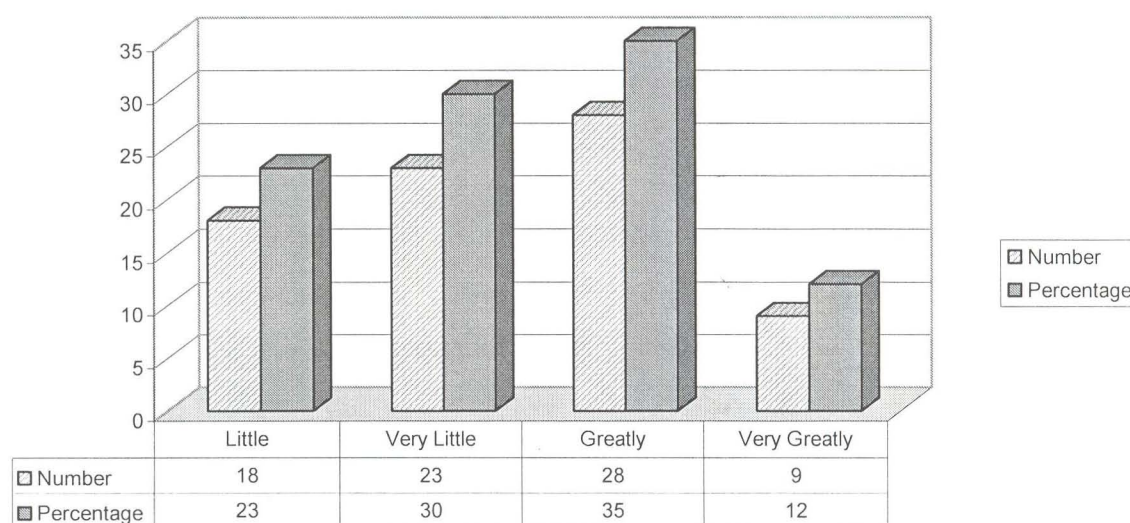
The interview result indicated that the effort made by these small number of CSOs coupled with their financial constraint prevented them from bringing sound change as compared with the extent of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia. Moreover, the respondents added that the government does not allow the involvement of CSOs to enter in all conflict situations. But, their contribution so far is promising according to CARE-Ethiopia staff members.

Civil society organizations in Ethiopia such as EWLA, SAHRE and PDC have been involved in the democratization process and advocacy work in complementing the role of government. As compared to the previous regimes there have been progressive responses on the part of the current government to work with civil society organizations.

A good example for the second category is EWLA. This is mainly because; EWLA had effectively participated in the reformation of the discriminatory family law of 1949 along with government and other concerned bodies. It had also got a chance to get parliament seat to represent civil societies in order to lobby the government on women affairs especially.

The other is the Ethiopian Economic Association and Forum for Social Studies. These institutions contributed a lot in the formulation of policy enactment of Poverty Reduction Program Strategy (PRPS) and on Rural Land Reform Policy to give land ownership certificate to the tillers. This had come true in fact in collaboration with others. The Ethiopian Economic Association has been presenting research papers on economic issues that needs to be addressed along with possible way outs and feed the relevant government offices as an input for the subsequent policy making process. For example, it had contributed a lot on PRPS, land issues, macro economic reform.

Figure 4: The contribution of CSOs in complementing the role of the government



The contribution of the above CSOs in complementing the role of the government is not in fact negligible. As compared to the needs, of the society at large, however, it is not sufficient. This is confirmed by the respondents as summarized in the above figure. 53% of the respondents are not satisfied with the role of CSOs in this regard. In the case of Botswana, CSOs concentrate on members' interest and thus their contribution to this end is negligible. In South Africa, however, the contribution is some how better than both Ethiopia and Cameroon. CSOs in Cameroon are subordinated to the state.

4.2.3.1 Promoting Justice, and Rule of Law

Another area where CSOs can contribute to democratization is in the field of justice, and rule of law. This could take two forms:

- An advocacy for the implementation of existing laws, new legislative initiatives and initiation of institutional reforms to improve, the functioning of and accountability of state policy and security organs, and
- Playing protective role in sheltering individuals threatened by repressive states, defending their rights through the official legal process, for example offering paralegal services to groups of citizens who do not have access to the courts (Zelalem Ayalew 2006:12 Unpublished document).

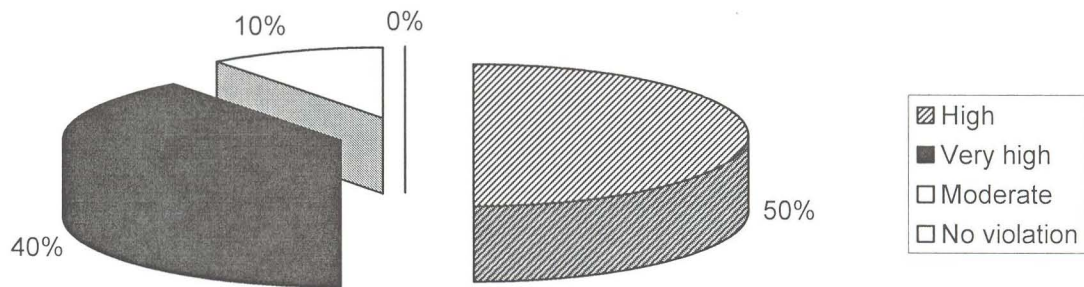
Unlike others, EHRCO is the only organization in Ethiopia that is exclusively working on human right issues. It works closely with other international human right organizations like Amnesty International. It runs its duties through community contributions and donors' assistance.

According to the interview made with EHRCO public relation department staff members, the researcher found out that it has issued more than 50 regular and 85 special reports concerning the over all issues of democratic, good governance, human rights, and rule of law in Ethiopia.

The very establishment of EHRCO is to monitor and produce reports on human rights violations such as extra-judicial killings, arbitrary detention, torture, forced disappearances, unlawful and arbitrary confiscation of property, violation of privacy, unlawful dismissal of employees, denial of the freedom of conscience, religion, expression and association, etc.

In most cases, the activities of EHRCO and its periodic reports have not been liked by the government. But, according to the interview, the motive of EHRCO in producing its reports on the human right violations is to correct the government from human right abuse and bring about fair justice and respect of human right.

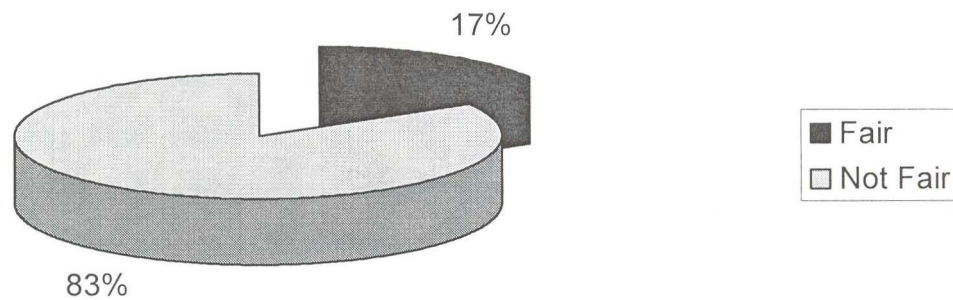
Figure 5: Level of Human Right violations in Ethiopia



The above graph shows that, the human right violation in Ethiopia after 1991. Accordingly, about 90% of the respondents said that there have been human right violations in Ethiopia. This situation calls for high involvement of CSOs, which are eligible to correct the government and mobilize the public. For the last ten years, EHRCO has been engaged in this regard.

When we look at the following figure, we can see that the Ethiopian justice system has been found very problematic since 83% of the respondents replied that the judicial system of the country is unfair.

Figure 6: The fairness and independence of Ethiopian Justice System



So, the role played by CSOs in promoting justice and rule of law in Ethiopia, has not been satisfactory. According to the interview responses and opinions gathered from sample respondents, government interference and unwillingness to work with them were reported as major problem which constrain CSOs' work on promoting justice and rule of law.

4.2.3.2 Advocate Fair and Democratic Election

Advocacy and civic education function is another area where civil society organizations are engaged in. Out of nearly Two thousand five hundred CSOs that have been registered by the government, very few work on issues related to politics, human rights and governance. Again, the majority of CSOs in the area of governance and human rights prefer to engage in civic education that appears to be safer in terms of avoiding collusion with the government. In this section, we consider the activities of some selected CSOs in providing civic education.

Accordingly, ABUGIDA conducted training and awareness raising programmes on leadership skills, democracy, home and family management, labor relation, local government and elements of law. Since 1991 to June 1998, ABUGIDA organized 1,508 sessions on the topic: "what is democracy" which reported participation of 7,030,000 people. The organization has also produced various publications on "human rights institution building", the role and functions of political parties in Democratic Society: in local language. (ABUGIDA, 1998: 23)

The other CSOs, like EHRCO, IAG and Chamber of Commerce, were involved in election monitoring, conducting civic education programs and organizing debate forums among contending parties to ensure access to information to the public on the programs and plans of action of different parties. Especially, IAG had organized several discussions between the government and opposition political parties at Sheraton Addis and other places which were broadcasted on the Ethiopian Television and radio.

Other civil society organizations like AIDWO, CRDA, APAP, PACT, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and Ethiopian Muslim Council participated in the last three elections monitoring. Moreover, organizations like AIDWO organized debates between opposing parties, giving right based trainings to the public at large. For example, AIDWO hosted workshops, seminars and awareness raising trainings for more than 10,000(Ten Thousands) of women, police force, and prosecutors in Addis Ababa, Gambella, Benishangul Gumuz, Afar and Oromiya region.

4.2.3.3 Advancement of Civic Education and Awareness Creation

CSOs can play a pivotal role in mobilizing particular constituencies to participate more in politics and public affairs. There is also a general consensus that civil society stands as a key force of development incorporating myriads of public voice, advocates and actors. Besides, civil societies focus on critical issues such as national culture, identity, social cohesion, peace, human rights and democracy.

AIDWO, IAG and CRDA are among those which are engaged in awareness creation, delivering trainings and workshops and advancement of civic education.

AIDWO was established in August 1995 and since then it has been doing its level best in three aspects: (a) improved political and social environment (b) improved participation and contribution of the citizen towards the democratization process and good governance (c) improved civil service provision and sense of accountability (AIDWO, 2005:42)

With regard to area of focus, AIDWO has focused on Addis Ababa, Benishangul Gumuz, Oromiya , Diredawa, and Afar regions. According to the study conducted by Dynamic Management Targeted Consult (DMTC) in 2005, the following roles have been played by AIDWO in the country is civic and voter education programs in regions of Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, Oromiya, Diredawa and Addis Ababa city administrations. The other roles played by the organization include observing national and local elections in the years 2000 and 2005, civic education program especially targeting women in Addis Ababa and Diredawa Administrations, promoting campaigns against harmful practices that affect the rights and well being of the youth and women in particular (AIDWO, 2005 and AIDWO, 2002 - 2004).

It has also organized forums for discussions between Ethiopian Electoral Board and three political parties in 1999. The major activities of AIDWO are categorized in to three different set of activities:

1. Town meetings and panel discussions
2. welcoming the future mother
3. The rights and civic education (AIDWO: 2005).

1. Town Meetings and Panel Discussions

Panel discussions and town meetings were planned by AIDWO as a strategy of interactive teaching of citizens on human rights, gender issues and various aspects of good governance in a democratic society.

In this regard, AIDWO facilitated the 1999 political debate between three political parties: EPRDF (the ruling party), All Amhara People Organization (AAPPO) and Southern People Democratic Organization (SPDO). These political parties discussed and debated on different issues like:

- Fair use of media
- Freedom of expression, and
- Discussion on may 2005 national election political campaign

The debate was successful in two aspects according to Ato Kejella executive director of AIDWO: (a) The debate was pioneer in bringing the leading party and opposition parties together (b) It showed for the first time that it is possible to call the leading party to a discussion.

By the town meeting discussions on women issues including human rights, anti-corruption, fair trial in the court and democratization, a total of 50,000 people were benefited apart from live television and radio discussion transmission (AIDWO: 2006:13).

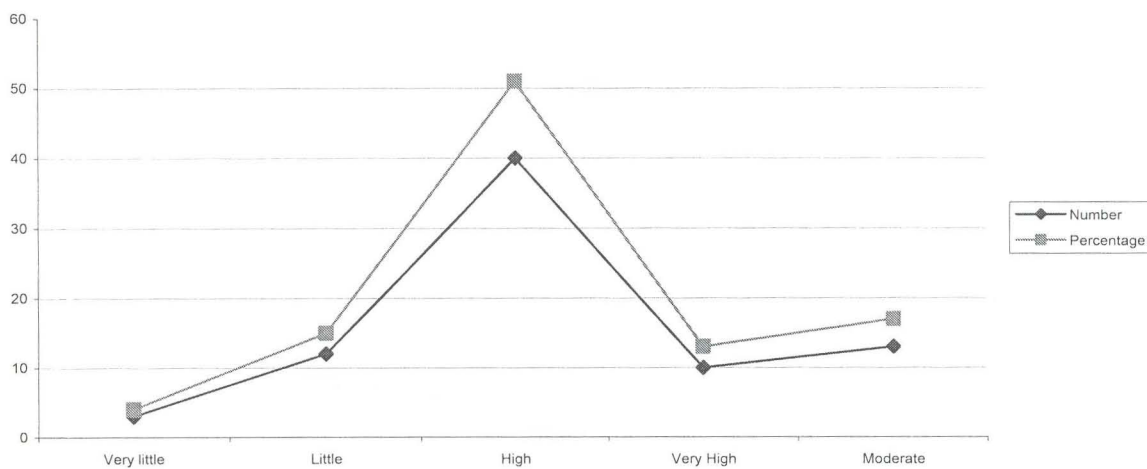
2. Welcoming the Future Mother

As per the project document of (AIDWO, 2006-2008) a team of AIDWO activists visit mothers who deliver baby girls at the maternity wards of *Ghandi* memorial and *Yekatit 12* Hospitals in Addis Ababa and present a package containing baby clothing and play materials along with a booklet outlining tips for the proper care and development of the baby girl right from the very set of life. Other government and private hospitals are not included in the program with no obvious reasons except stating that finance is cited as a bigger problem. The reason behind such activity is to show that women are going to be the motor of a nation.

3. The Rights and Civic Education

AIDWO had been advocating for the adoption of the revised family law of 2002. The program tried to educate 60,000 women, out of which 50,000 in Addis Ababa and 10,000 in Diredawa in collaboration with government and non governmental organizations (AIDWO, 2006:7).

Figure 7: Proportion and number of respondents in the awareness creation activities of CSOs



The involvement of CSOs in the awareness creation and advancement of civic education is assumed to be more than 64% as per the above graph (figure).

4.2.3.4 Strategies Employed by Civil Societies to Accomplish their Programs

As per the interviews made with the sample organizations public relation officers and review of their various publications, the major intervention strategies employed by the civil society organizations while undertaking their respective activities on the democratization and good governance processes are summarized as below:

1. Create opportunities and train local authorities on issues that can improve their performance in delivering effective services and respecting the rights of citizen;
2. Capacitating and mobilizing institutions working with socially vulnerable and disadvantaged groups to participate in educating and sensitizing their constituencies to know, defend and exercise their constitutional rights;
3. Observing and commenting on processes and practices of democratization, and
4. Organizing forums for citizens, authorities and political actors, at different levels to come together and debate on topical issues related to good governance and democratization.

4.3 Challenges Faced by CSOs in the Democratization Process

The successes of CSOs heavily depend on a number of factors such as their organizational capacity and relationship with the government. In this regard, from the interviews and secondary sources, it is understood that most civil society organizations in Ethiopia have faced several challenges to carry out their roles in the democratization process. The following are some of the challenges faced by civil society organizations in their relation with the government and other stakeholders emanating from within and out side of their sphere.

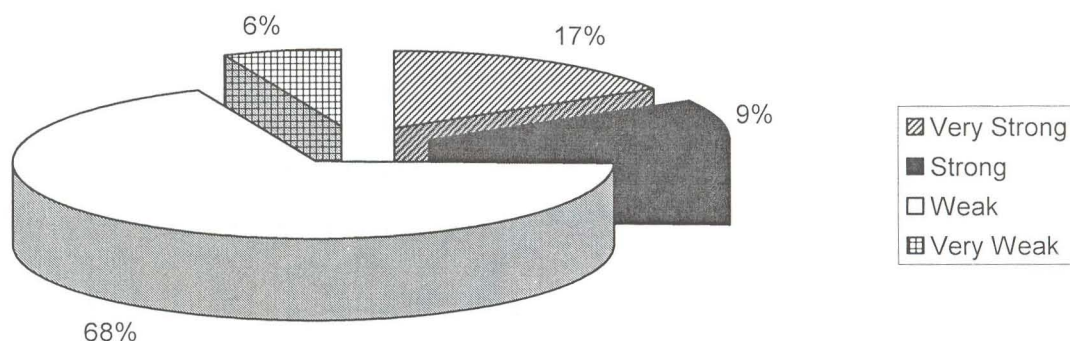
4.3.1 Internal Organizational Competence

Like any other institutions, civil societies have their own internal problems related to transparency, accountability, managerial capacity, and communication.

According to CRDA report (2005:13), most of the local non-governmental organizations do not have strong constituencies. As a result, they are weak in their transparency and accountability. Desalegn, (2000:117-18) has also explained that civil society institutions cannot hope to grow and influence public policy without a secure organizational foundation, which requires capable management, and an innovative intellectual leadership. According to his statement, many civic societies in the country are fragile bodies lacking sustainable managerial capacity (ibid). The survey (questionnaires and interviews) result also proved ^{this} fact. The managerial capacity in most cases cited as a problem because of frequent turn over and mobility of employees, and improper recruitment (selection) of employees.

The high turnover of CSOs employees and frequent change in their structure disrupts communication and continuation of pre-planned activities of CSOs. This is best explained by the respondents given to the questionnaire result for the institutional capacity of CSOs. Almost 74 % of the respondents indicated that CSOs do not have institutional capacity as indicated below.

Figure 8: Institutional capacity of CSOs

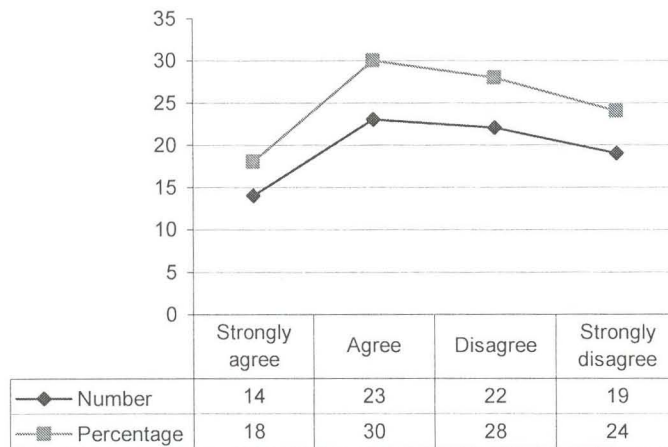


4.3.2 Financial Constraints

The success of most civil society organizations and others across the board depend heavily on the sufficiency and reliability of their financial resource. All civil societies in Ethiopia directly or indirectly depend on international donor agencies in order to accomplish their objectives. The contribution of the private sector to this end is very minimal or marginal. So, the existence and survival of civil societies is largely dependant on the views and perceptions of the international donors towards the nation. As can be learnt from the questionnaires and interviews result, the policy and perceptions of international donor agencies are changing from time to time and highly constrained by the political climate of the country. For example, the European Commission and the World Bank following May 2005 national election suspended all project assistances and loans to Ethiopia or either with held temporarily because of the after math of the election.

Because of financial constraints, most civil society organizations concentrate in cities and major towns which ultimately limit themselves in reaching the larger sections of the society in Ethiopia i.e. the rural people which account 85 % of the population.

Figure 9: Financial viability of CSOs



Moreover, according to the above graph obtained from the questionnaire result, all the financial resources of CSOs are not properly spent for the intended purpose. A great deal of resources are diverted and misappropriated by allocating to the administration expense. Recently, the government enacted a procedure not to exceed the administration budget of CSOs more than 20%. The assessment revealed that 52% of the respondents said that the resources haven't been deployed properly.

4.3.3 Government's Interference

Government directly or indirectly interferes in activities of some CSOs or it influences their democratization programs. This was witnessed by the government measures on ETA, CETU, EFPJA, Oromo *Mechana Tulema Mahber*, EHRCO, SAHRE and others.

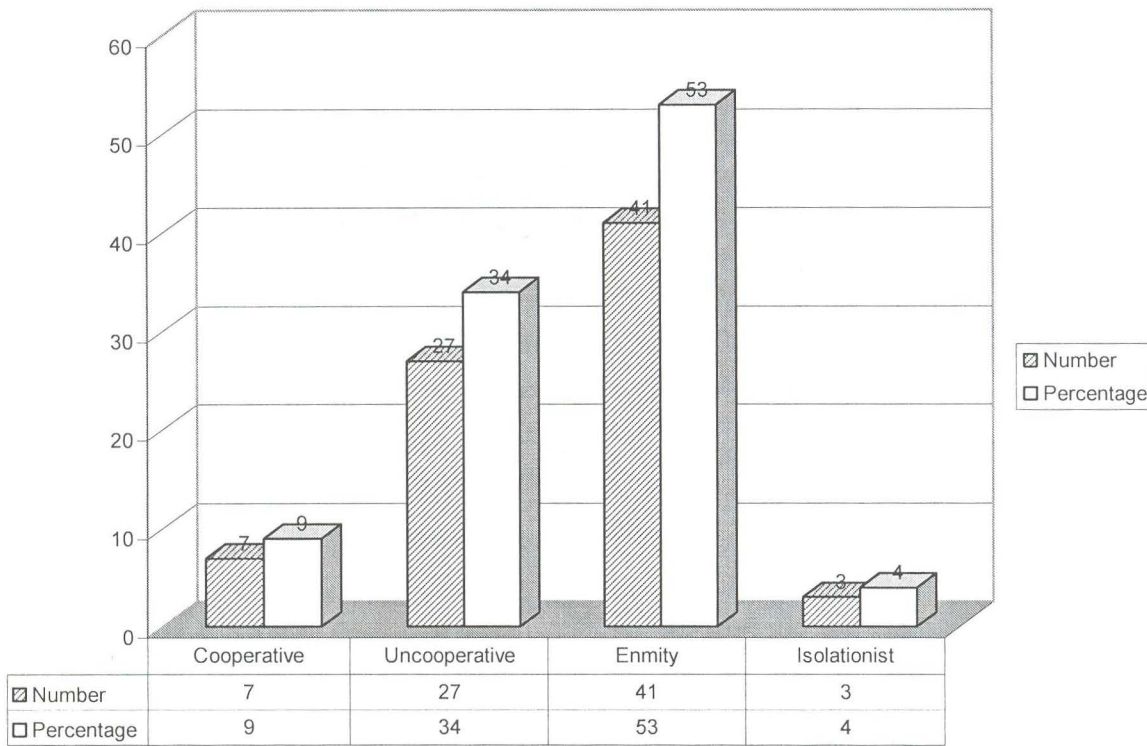
Because of the application of Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of the government in mid 1990s, hundreds of employees were forced to leave their organization and others also forcefully pensioned. Subsequently, CETU expressed its concern and tried to stage a rally against the government's new economic reform (SAP). Consequently, the government prohibited CETU not to conduct any meeting in this regard. According to the CETU official statement of 1995 and Sissay, (2002:14), in November 1995, the various offices of the confederation were sealed and its legal registration cancelled. CETU challenged the

government's act by appealing to the court, and won with the ruling of the court. Nonetheless, this did not stop the government members from intimidating, harassing and even laying off employees on the pretext of redundancy. Trade Union leaders and other workers who actively participated in unions' affairs were forced to give up their union posts, and were suspended from their jobs, forced to retire contrary to the law, or laid off, etc. Finally, in October 1996, the government systematically disregards the previous union leaders who were democratically elected and formed a new form of CETU with new leaders who were chosen by the government. The CETU leaders like Dawi Ibrahim were also forced to flee out of the country.

The other is the Ethiopian Teachers Association (ETA) experience. ETA for the last 15 years has been litigating with government and yet the case is pended at the Federal First Instance Court. The government accused ETA several times as politically ill motivated institution in defaming government's image before the international community. Its leaders like Ato Assefa Maru were killed while Ato Gemoraw and Dr. Taye Woldesemayat were forced to flee away. The government of Ethiopia has established its own nexus Ethiopian Teachers Association to eradicate the former ETA. Before May 2005 pre -election debate and discussion, the government was cursed by the debutants and most of employees including opposition parties.

The relation between state and civil societies working in the democratization of Ethiopia is depicted as per the following graph. It shows that almost 89% expressed the unfriendliness relationship between the two. 53% even said the relationship is in suspicion which is a great obstacle for democratization.

Figure 10: The relation between the government and CSOs



The majority of the interview result showed that as compared to other civil society organizations, supervisions become stricter when coming to CSOs that are involved in advocacy and democratization programs. This leads to frustrations and embarrassment to these organizations.

In September 2001, the Ministry of Justice allegedly accused EWLA for having involved in activities beyond their mandate when it criticized the Ministry in public for not taking measures against persons charged on violation of women's rights. Furthermore, it accused the Ministry for absence of an independent court system. The Ministry closed EWLA's office and banned its work for a short period.

4.3.4 Lack of Awareness on the Issue of Human Rights

Since, substantial number of Ethiopian people do not clearly know what their rights and responsibilities, they do not know whether their rights are violated or not. Hence, they do not claim for the realization of their rights. Because of their ignorance, people fear the state and this has negative impact on the democratization program of CSOs as communities tend not to involve in the process. This in turn results in little or no support from communities in undertaking democratization. Therefore, these organizations mainly focus on public awareness raising programs in promoting and securing rights.

The judiciary system of the country is very weak and is characterized by lengthy bureaucratic procedure. It takes the courts several months and even years to pass a verdict. This discourages individuals and civil society organizations to take their cases to court and protect their legal rights.

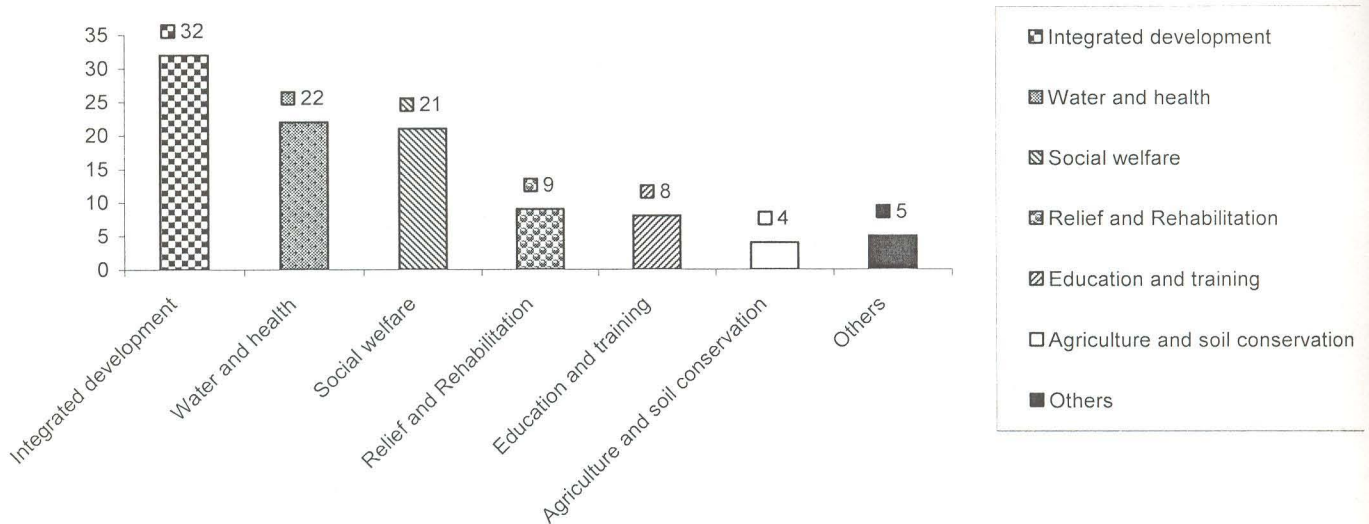
The judiciary system has also been criticized for not being an independent body and is strongly influenced by government. As some CSOs argue, government's direct interference with the judicial process is almost becoming a norm. Court orders and rulings are disrespected and decisions are ignored.

EWLA has been supporting women whose rights are violated and are unable to take their cases to court, through its legal aid service. However, as there are several cases which remain pending in the court, it postpones justice for the victims. This also negatively affects EWLA's efforts in supporting victimized women in protecting their legal rights.

4.3.5 Fewer Number of Civil Societies on Advocacy and Democratization

The number of CSOs has increased over the last fifteen years in Ethiopia. But, the majorities mainly focus on relief, service provision and the implementation of projects. In Ethiopia, the CSOs sector has arisen because of relief issues, and lately, of course, because of personal needs, and also of international and donor NGOs to have their local counterparts.

Figure 11: Activity of CSOs and their engagements



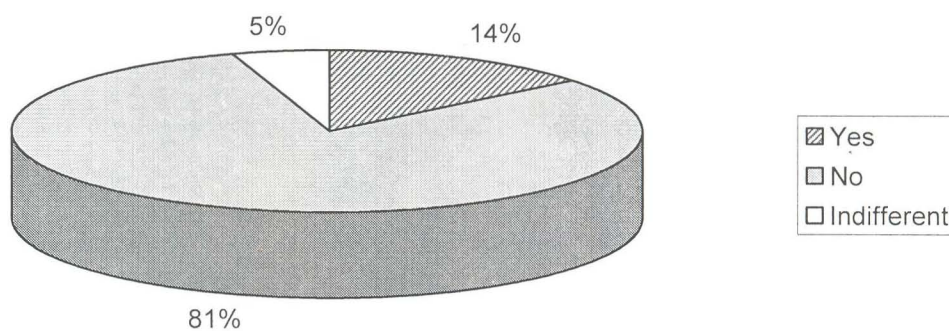
As can be learnt from the above graph, more than 50% of civil societies are operating in Ethiopia on integrated development, water and health including social welfare. Of all programs, provision of training and education constitutes the minimal percentage which this study is aimed at.

Despite the number of CSOs has increased substantially in the last ten years, the number of civil societies working on the democratization is very few as compared with that of other program areas. This is mainly because of three main reasons. a) The Federal Democratic Government of Ethiopia, though in principle encourages the participation of civil societies in the democratization process, in reality it has been discouraging their involvement in this area. The best example in this regard is the deprivation of observatory status of NGOs in May 2005 national election of Ethiopia by the government. (b) Organizations and or individuals are not interested to establish an organization to involve in the work of democracy and good governance as the issues is easily politicized by the government. (C)

Sometimes the government doesn't see CSOs as principal vehicle for development. This was witnessed during the May 2005 pre-election campaign. In the campaign, Minister of Ministry of information (Ato Bereket Simon) said "no country in the world developed by the effort of NGOs". This infers that the government is not as such positive towards NGOs as compared to other countries like South Africa and Botswana. Thus, the number of civil societies engaged in democratic, and humanitarian programs is small. This in turn affects the overall democratization process of the country.

In this regard, respondents were requested on the adequacy of CSOs working on democratization. Surprisingly, 81% said CSOs are inadequate. This shows that the service seekers and the availability of CSOs in the democratization process are absolutely incompatible.

Figure 12: Adequacy of CSOs in the democratization process of Ethiopia



4.3.6 Limited Area Coverage of Civil Societies

Looking at the distribution of civil society organizations in Ethiopia, it is possible to say that almost more than 85% of CSOs are based mainly in Addis Ababa and major town of Ethiopia. But in reality 85% of the Ethiopian population is living in the rural areas. So, the democratization efforts played by civil society organizations cover only small geographical area i.e. urban centers. But, democracy could not be maintained unless the largest segments of the population are fully involved in the process.

4.3.7 Conclusion

The Ethiopian legal system legitimizes citizens to form associations with a motive to obtain a result other than securing or sharing of profits. The 1960 civil code of Ethiopia article 404 is the corner stone of CSOs establishment. There are other laws that were enacted by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia and Federal Government of Ethiopia in 1991 and after wards. But, the registration and licensing procedure is very lengthy and bureaucratic.

CSOs have played a number of roles since 1991. Some of them are:

- ❖ Assist the government machineries by providing different assistance like giving training for improved institutional capacity and challenging the state whenever deemed important.
- ❖ Complement the role of government and enhance state performance since the government cannot carry out all activities.
- ❖ It has also worked in promoting justice, and rule of law.
- ❖ They have worked in advocating the relevance of fair, free, and democratic election.

CSOs while running their activities have faced with some problems both internal and external. Some of them are:

- ❖ Lack of internal organizational competence
- ❖ Government interference and bureaucratic licensing
- ❖ Fewer number of CSOs in the democratization process, and
- ❖ Uneven distribution of CSOs in the country

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

The following are the major research findings that the researcher has obtained while undertaking an assessment of the role of CSOs in democratization process in Ethiopia since 1991:

- ❖ In terms of legal provisions, the government has promulgated relevant and conducive laws to form associations
- ❖ CSOs though they have been doing as per their capacity and with constraints, the effort is not satisfactory.
- ❖ The public at large have not been participated effectively in the democratization process since 1991.
- ❖ The transparency of both the government and CSOs are not good.
- ❖ The level of government interference in the work of CSOs is also found very high.
- ❖ CSOs development in Ethiopia is not an indigenous origin. It is rather characterized by crisis situation of the country both pre and post 1991.
- ❖ The relation between the state and CSOs are not cordial and even some times, it reaches a level of suspicion and sometimes ended up with harassment, intimidation and imprisonment.
- ❖ CSOs lack institutional strength to challenge the wrong the government when the latter acts wrongly.
- ❖ There has been high turn over of employees from CSOs working in the democratization which periodically obstructs the ongoing activities.
- ❖ The number of civil society organizations in the democratization process is very small as compared to those which are engaged in relief and development areas. Moreover, the distributions of CSOs are also uneven which is far from the majority of the rural people

5.2 Conclusion

Civil society refers to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, and blurred.

The modern idea of civil society originated with the enlightenment of the 18th century. So, civil society as a concept has a long history. The state civil society relation is an inherent feature of a certain organized society. The relation between the two could be cordial or adverse depending up on the situation. In both cases, the civil societies remain the watchdog of the public, though the role playing in and the strategies differ. When the state become powerful, it is civil societies that should check, challenge and reform it. Democracy and civil societies are inseparable twins. It is very difficult to say that one live with out the other. One is the prerequisite for the other. Civil society is mostly taken as a corner stone for democracy and state building.

Thus, the relation between the state and civil society should be smooth, friendly and governed by the common objective of democracy.

The study has also seen other countries experiences of South Africa, Cameroon and Botswana. In the case of South Africa, civil societies have proliferated after the fall of apartheid government since 1994. The relation between the state and CSOs in South Africa after the fall of apartheid has been collaborative. In terms of societal knowledge, the majority of the South African people are unaware about the work of democracy and parliament.

In the case of, Cameroon civil societies started to grow after the 1990s which is like Botswana, South Africa, and Ethiopia. In Botswana, Civil societies are subordinate to the state. This is mainly because; the state controls and dominates the civil institutions including the press and labour organizations, and CSOs primarily promote the interest of their members and they are apolitical.

Coming to Ethiopia, civil societies in the form of self help system has long existed in the form of *Debo*, *Edir*, and *Afersata*. But, modern interest groups such as labour unions and professional associations began to emerge as part of CSOs in 1963. In both *Imperial* and *Derge* regimes, the role of civil society organizations were restricted and marginalized. Right after the change of the regime in 1991, the legal provisions that ascertain the freedom of associations have stated in both Transitional Charter and later in 1995 with the enactment of the new constitution which have created a favourable environment for the operation of CSOs.

A very close examination of data shows that Ethiopia's civil society is built around the poverty crisis facing the country in 1973/74, and 1984/85 and proliferated after the fall of the Dergue regime in 1991.

In South Africa, Cameroon and Botswana, it is the liberalization from the colonialism, apartheid and internal demand that have shaped the emergence of contemporary civil society organizations. The contribution of donors and western countries towards the emergence of CSOs are also immense. Where as, in Ethiopia, the political reform that was taking place as a result of the dismantling of the authoritarian Dergue regime and the adoption of new constitution provides the freedom of association and a favorable environment for the development of civil society organizations.

In terms of society's knowledge about civil society, democracy and good governance, the majority of the population have fewer cognizances which are useful for the democratization of the country since 1991.

With regard to, the advancement of civic education and assisting the people to claim their rights and carrying out their obligation, CSOs did substantial task, despite the fact that it is not sufficient as compared to the needs of the society at large.

The democratization process of Ethiopia was very promising at the beginning, despite the fact that the process is a bit marred, after May 2005 election. This is because of the ruling party inflexibility, misconception, interference and bureaucratic procedure. The number of CSOs working in Ethiopia is about 2,700. But, CSOs engaged in the democratization

process in Ethiopia are not sufficient in number. Again, in terms of geographical coverage, CSOs are unevenly distributed. The majority of CSOs has centered in Addis Ababa and major cities of Ethiopia, while more than 85% of the population are living in the rural areas.

When we look at the legal structure of Ethiopia, the laws promulgated before and after 1991 collectively enabled every body to form association and/or to engage in the democratization process though it is narrow in the coverage of CSOs activities and lack clarity. But, the government because of suspicion and fear of CSOs activities, it has set bureaucratic licensing and registration procedure for CSOs working in the democratization. Moreover, the government's interference in the work of CSOs has been found high.

In principle, the government needs effective participation of CSOs in the democratization process. But, in reality it is found that interfering, intimidating, and banning CSOs from their activities have become the features of the government since 1991. This is purely the paradox visibly seen in the relation between the state and CSOs in the democratization process. Lack of effective participation of the society at large is the result of hopelessness and pessimism.

In terms of organizational strength and dexterity, CSOs are found weak. This is mainly attributed by the resources constraint and improper utilization of both financial and non financial resources. The other factor that hinders the democratization process of the country is the length of court ruling.

Thus, the contribution of Ethiopian civil society organizations working in the democratization process is quite minimal. The researcher identified both internal and external problems explained above as crucial challenges that obstruct CSOs not to play their expected roles especially in the areas of building democracy.

5.3 Recommendation

Though, very few CSOs did their best in attaining the democratization process, by and large the role played by CSOs in the development of democracy since 1991 is found to be unsatisfactory. The weaknesses of CSOs in carrying out the democratization process are due to both internal and external challenges.

Therefore, to expedite the role of CSOs in the democratization process of the country, improve the entire governance structure, and restrain the existing problems that surround CSOs working in the democratization process, the following suggestions are forwarded.

- ❖ The government should learn from other countries experiences like South Africa and should understand that CSOs are the best development partners. The government has to also invite other new CSOs that are eligible to take part in the promotion of democracy and good governance.
- ❖ Both the government and CSOs should make their activities public and design a joint forum for discussion and build up partnership.
- ❖ The government should lessen the lengthy bureaucratic and licensing procedures of CSOs both in pre and post establishment period.
- ❖ To enrich the majority of the rural communities, CSOs, should show concern to serve the marginalized sections of the society and government also shall negotiate and sometimes urges them as a priority issue to work in the rural regions.
- ❖ Justice and rule of law should be the governing principles of the government and the society at large. The judicial system is required to be equipped with the new information communication technology so that documentation would be easy and ruling could also be simple.

- ❖ It is also found that there is wide gap between the demands of citizens and CSOs resource capacity. Thus, in order to fill the identified gaps and to address the needs of the people, CSOs have to look for better funding sources. Further more; to get reliable funding, CSOs have to work more on promoting their activities to the public, community organizations, government, and external donors. By doing so, it can be possible to increase the number of CSOs in the country working in the democratization process.
- ❖ CSOs should strengthen their internal organizational capacity by employing new system, and recruiting well qualified and visionary employees that can implement the objective/s/.

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Annex

Questionnaires, Interview and Discussion Guides

Section one: Questionnaire

The questions are prepared to collect information and write MPA thesis on the Role of Civil Society organizations in the Democratization Process in Ethiopia Post 1991 Assessment. The purpose of the study is to assess, investigate and analyze the role of civil societies and their impacts on Democratization process of Ethiopia since 1991.

In order to attain the stated objectives, collecting relevant and genuine data is highly significant. In this regard, questionnaires, interview and discussion guides are prepared to the respective respondents.

1. Respondents work experience

- a) 0-2yrs b) 3-5yrs c) 6-10 yrs d) above 10yrs

2. Respondents Educational Qualification

- a) Below 12th grade b) Diploma c) BA d) MA and above e) Other if any-----

3. What do you know about civil society, democracy and good governance?

- a) Very little b) Little c) High d) very high e) moderate

4. How is the advancement of civic education and awareness raising in Ethiopia by the civil society organizations working in advocacy?

- a) Very little b) Little c) High d) very high e) moderate

5. To what extent do civil society organizations help people to claim their right and carry out their obligation?

- a) Very high b) High c) Adequate

6. Is there any instances that you personally or your organization has challenged the government in the democratization process since 1991 when the government is doing wrong?

- a) Yes b) No

If your answer is either yes or no, please indicate the occurrences and explain the situations:-----

7. What does look like the status of the democratic process in Ethiopia since 1991?

- a) Poor b) Good c) Very good

If your answer is 'poor' please describe the reasons for being poor:-----

8. To what extent of the human rights violation in Ethiopia since 1991?

- a) Very high b) High c) Moderate d) No violation

If the answer to the above question is very high or high ,please indicate the evidences you have at hand.-----

9. How is the fairness of the last three elections of Ethiopia?

- a) Fair b) unfair

If the answer to the question is unfair, please state the reason for being unfair

10. Is the number of civil society organizations working in Ethiopia adequate?

- a) Yes b) No c) Indifferent

If the answer is either yes or no please describe the adequacy and inadequacy of CSOs in Ethiopia.-----

11. What was the role of civil society organizations in the Ethiopia's May 2005 election?
a) Mere agitation b) Working against the government c) Awareness creation d) Creating forums for discussions

12. How do you see the legal structure of Ethiopia towards civil societies working in the democratization?
a) Supportive b) Discouraging c) Neither of both

If the answer is 'discouraging' please indicate the reasons-----

13. To what extent does the government interfere in the works of civil societies engaged in democratizations and good governance?
a) Very high b) High c) Minimal d) Moderate

If your answer is very high or high, what do you think is for the interferences of the government-----

14. To what extent have you participated in the democratization process and in the works of civil society organizations since 1991?
a) Very actively b) Actively c) Not participated d) Indifferent

15. In terms of democratization and good governance the government is going in the right direction.
a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Strongly disagree d) Disagree

If your answer to the above question is strongly disagree and agree, please state your reasons briefly.-----

16. Civil society organizations working in the democratization process of Ethiopia have done their best so far especially in reforming and challenging the state.

- a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Strongly disagree d) Disagree

Please also explain the reasons for you choice-----

17. Does the government fear the activities of the civil societies working in the democratization?

- a) Yes b) No c) Indifferent

If your answer is yes, please state your reasons-----

18. Does the public at large participate in the political, economic and social affairs of the country?

- a) Yes b) No c) Indifferent

If your answer is no, please describe your reasons-----

19. What proportion of civil societies working in the democratization of the country complement the role of the government?

- a) Very little b) Little c) Very greatly d) greatly

20. How is the transparency of the state and civil societies with regard to their activities?

- a) Very poor b) Poor c) Very good d) Good

21. How do you evaluate the institutional strength of civil societies working in Ethiopia especially in the democratization process?

- a) Very strong b) Strong c) Very weak d) Weak

22. How do you evaluate the financial strength of civil societies working in the democratization of the country?

- a) Very strong b) Strong c) Very weak d) Weak

23. Both the financial and non-financial resources of civil societies have been deployed to the intended purpose.

- a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Strongly disagree d) Disagree

24. How is the efficiency and fairness of the Ethiopian Judiciary system especially in political affairs?

- a) Fair b) Unfair

25. In terms of geographical distribution, civil societies working in the democratization are fairly and evenly distributed.

- a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Strongly disagree d) Disagree

26. The relation between the state and civil societies working in the democratization of Ethiopia is:

- a) Cooperative b) Uncooperative c) In suspicion d) Isolationist

If you answer is uncooperative, or in suspicion, please briefly discuss the reasons-----

Section Two: Interview Guide

Direction: For each of the following questions, you are requested to provide short, precise and true statements. It is your right to refuse or discontinue from participating in this study. Finally, I would like to promise you that all your responses will be kept confidential and used only for the purpose of this study.

- 1) Are you a member of any civil society organization? If yes, please indicate the organization and why became a member and what roles you have played in?
- 2) How is the advancement of civic education and awareness raising in Ethiopia?
- 3) How do civil society organizations help people to claim their right?
- 4) How your organizations complement the role of the government in the democratization and good governance process?
- 5) Is there any opportunity that you have challenged the government in the democratization process? If yes, please indicate the area of challenge?
- 6) What is your organization role in conflict resolution and peace building in Ethiopia?
- 7) What looks like the status of democratic process, rule of law and violation of human right in Ethiopia?
- 8) Have you monitored the process of democratization in Ethiopia? If your answer is yes or no, please state the reason?
- 9) How is fair and democratic election is promoted?
- 10) What will be the role of civil societies in promoting democratic elections in Ethiopia?
- 11) How did you assess the 2005 may third national election in Ethiopia? Please state the strengths and weaknesses in terms of democracy and good governance? And what was the role of civil societies towards May elections and its aftermath?
- 12) How is the legal frame work on the establishment of civil society organization in Ethiopia?
- 13) Can you tell me what you know about civil society, democracy and good governance?
- 14) What are the impacts of civil society organizations on human right, and participation of citizens in Ethiopia?
- 15) Have civil society organizations resulted in a change in the roles of community? If yes, how and to what extent?
- 16) What is the attitude and perceptions of the community towards civil society and democracy?
- 17) What problems so far your organization faced with?

6. Does the committee facilitate budget hearing to gather the opinions of the public and other interest group?

7. Does MOFED report to the committee annually or semiannually about the budget implementation of the country?

8. How do you see the institutional capacity of the budget committee to challenge the executive on budgetary issues?

9. If you have additional comments?

Thank you!