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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENT

OF

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

MANAGEMENT

***ASSESSING THE ROLE OF ADVOCACY CSOs IN PROMOTING
VERTICAL POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY:***

(2015-2019)

A CASE STUDY IN SEPARET WOREDA OF BALE ROBE TOWN

By:

BRUK GONFA WORKU

ADVISOR:

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December, 2019

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Public Management and Policy.

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**BY:
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Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled as “*ASSESSING THE ROLE OF ADVOCACY CSOs IN PROMOTING VERTICAL POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY: A CASE STUDY IN SEPALET WOREDA OF BALE ROBE TOWN*” have been carried out by me under the guidance of Ass. Professor Fenta Mandefro as part of Master Degree in Public Management and Policy.

I further declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma and all sources of material used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Bruk Gonfa _____
Signature Date

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor for Bruk Gonfa.

Fenta Mandefro (Ph.D.) _____
Advisor Signature Date

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADAA:	Africa Development Aid Association
APAP:	Action Professionals Association for the People
CDI:	Centre for Development Innovation
CRDA:	Christian Relief Development Association
CSOs:	Civil Society Organizations
EHRCO:	Ethiopian Human Right Council
ERSHA:	Ethiopian Rural Self Help Association
EWLA:	Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association
FC:	Facilitator for Change
FSCE:	Forum on Street Children Ethiopia
FMO:	Promoting Farmers Marketing Organizations
GOs:	Government Organization
GROs:	Grass roots organization
HUNDEE:	Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative
IAG :	Inter Africa Group
ICNL:	International Centre for Not-for-profit Law
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
OSRA:	Oromo Self Reliance Association
SAHRE:	Society for the Advancement of Human Rights Education

Abstract

Considering the situation at large where the country has been, in Oromia there was political unrest. As a consequence the possible reasons were, like unlawful rallies, declaring state of emergency, robbing and burning of institutions as well as closing transport roads between years of 2015 and 2017 which are a big challenge for CSOs to pursue their activities especially in Amhara and Oromia regional states. Besides, in Bale Robe the trends in which communities try to hold the Kebele or Woreda administrators accountable in failure of their political activities are uncommon. Hence, this study explores the current roles of advocates CSOs in building strong democratization processes through promotion of downward political accountability trends in Bale Robe Woreda. Therefore, many important actors and institutions are expected to play role in building strong democratization processes from this, advocacy CSOs are one. In this regard, the purpose of this paper is to examine the role of advocacy CSOs in promoting downward political accountability in Bale Robe district. Therefore to achieve the objective, both primary and secondary data collection methods were used in conducting the study. Thus, the required data for this study has been collected from the Ethiopian resident and foreign charity and society organizations as well as from governmental institutions. Thus, all research questions were addressed using data obtained through descriptive analysis. In this regard based on data, summary, conclusion, and recommendations have been made with the hope that it will develop understanding to the advocacy CSOs in a Woreda. However, the study revealed, proclamation 621/2009 was confronting activities of CSOs in which still cast a shadow over their current state and characters. In addition, activities of advocacy CSOs which run their operation in the district were challenged by legal, economic, political and social misconception factors which are put an effect over their role. However, modified proclamations “1113/2019” have indications of mixed fortune in widening the scope and anxiety of practical undertakings. Finally, the study concluded that, advocacy CSOs in a Woreda shows rare role in promoting downward vertical political accountability. However, the study recommend that to realize the development of democratic political culture especially in promoting downward political accountability government also have to create conducive environment for advocates CSO in legal and economic sphere, as well governmental institution have to be widen its inclusivity and partnership trends with all relevant advocates CSOs.

Key Words: Advocacy, Civil Society Organization, Political Accountability, Downward Vertical Accountability, Woreda.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Different scholars define civil society in different ways. According to Linz and Stepan (1996) civil society refer to the arena of the polity where self-organizing groups, movements, and individuals, relatively autonomous from the state, attempt to articulate values, create associations and solidarities, and advance their interests. According to the Commission of European Communities (2001: 14) civil society includes groups of trade unions and employers' organizations ('social partners'); nongovernmental organizations; professional associations; charities grass-roots organizations; organizations that involve citizens in local and municipal life with a particular contribution from churches and religious communities.

However, in Ethiopia the development of CSOs exhibit three functions. First: full engagement in relief and humanitarian work, Second: the de-linking of relief and humanitarian work that focusing on basic services provision and thirdly: engagement in governance, advocacy and human rights in addition to the service delivery (CRDA, 2006:6). Thus, advocacy CSOs are rights based institutions which are engaged in human rights education, civic education, policy advocacy, women's empowerment, voter education, election monitoring and the like (Tessema, 2015).

Accordingly, political accountability also another broad issue defined by Mainwaring (2003; 7), as "a formalized relationship of oversight and/or sanctions of public officials by other actors". This implies, on the one hand, an obligation of certain public officials to answer as well as the right of other actors to impose sanctions or oversight on said public officials (Mainwaring, 2003). According to O'Donnell (1999), accountability has two dimensions: vertical and horizontal. In which Vertical accountability is linked to the control, support and censorship carried out by the electorate through the popular vote. It is also related to certain actions that civil society can perform to limit the actions of elected officials.

Tessema (2015:22) stated, Vertical accountability implies direct accountability occurs when the government or its organs, institutions and agencies are called upon to explain and justify their decisions to the public (electorates) in which it enables constituents and stakeholders (citizenry) including the

mass media and civil society seek to enforce standards of good performance on government. Additionally, vertical accountability of officials to the electorate is ensured through periodical election and active participation of citizens (Ibid, 2015:8).

Whereas, horizontal accountability implies, The existence of state agencies that are legally enabled and empowered, and factually willing and able to take action that span from routine oversight to criminal sanctions or impeachment in relation to actions or omissions by other agents or agencies of the state that may be qualified as unlawful (O'Donnell, 1999).

In Ethiopia as of the new paradigm shift democracy is a necessary condition for development and most importantly CSOs are required by different stakeholders to involve in this process and to link economic and social development with social justice and other basic human rights issues (Tessema, 2015). Despite the reality in a country, now a day engagement of CSOs in socio-political area of a country is tapered but as the modified civil society proclamation of “1113/2019” stated, their involvement is not undermined until they are contributing to the development of the people (Federal Negarit Gazette, 2019).

In 2008 there were 120 rights based organizations (of the total number of 3128 CSOs) and their numbers had shown a sharp increase around and after the 2005 election in Ethiopia (Cerritelli et al. 2008 in Yntiso, 2017:25).

According to Dessalegn (2010), despite the proliferation of scores of civil societies, however in a country, only few play a direct role in the democratization process from these; Ethiopian Human Right Council (EHRCO), Inter Africa group (IAG) and Chamber of Commerce are some which are on human right violation, Election monitoring, conducting civic education programs and organize forum for debate as well as there is Action Professional Association for the People, with the aim of promoting accountability and transparency in the operation of low level government are in operation. However, Africa Development Aid Association (ADAA), Centre for Development Innovation (CDI), Ethiopian Rural Self Help Association (ERSHA), Facilitator for Change (FC), Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative (HUNDEE), Oromo Self Reliance Association (OSRA) and Promoting Farmers Marketing

Organizations (FMO) are civil society organizations which running their operation in Bale Zone (CDI, 2015:15).

However, for aim of the research definition of CSOs which given by Commission of European Communities and advocacy CSOs are used. In fact, despite important progress made on the role of CSOs toward promoting accountability, the main purpose of the research is to assess the role of advocacy CSOs in promoting trend of downward vertical political accountability in Local District of Bale Robe

1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to political theory, a core function of civil society is to hold government accountable. Vertical accountability, in fact, refers to this essential role of civil society. Vertical accountability can also be understood as a particular form of civic engagement, one in which citizens engage with the state for the purpose of holding public officials account (Malena et al, 2004:11). Thus, non-state actors can fill in the accountability gap that formal institutions leave. Therefore, Citizens, civil society organizations (CSOs), and an independent media can also use a broad range of actions and mechanisms to hold the government and public officials accountable, such as “public demonstrations, protests, investigative journalism, and public interest lawsuits” (Malena et al, 2004:3).

As international studies of Yilmaz and Venugopal (2008:12) concluded in Oromia including Bale Zone, the trend in which communities try to hold accountable the Kebele or Woreda administrator for service delivery are uncommon. But current status of the district after eleven (11) years difficult to be described far by aforementioned finding, because of some advocates CSO are engaged in Bale Zone these are: Africa Development Aid Association (ADAA), Centre for Development Innovation (CDI), Ethiopian Rural Self Help Association (ERSHA), Facilitator for Change (FC), Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative (HUNDEE), Oromo Self Reliance Association (OSRA) and Promoting Farmers Marketing Organizations (FMO) (CDI, 2015:15).

Additionally, there is a lot of variance between Zones and Woredas through Ethiopia in terms of creating conscious community that vigilant enough in promoting political accountability. Regard to this, there is critical lack of capacity and experience within community of Bale Robe effectively to demonstrate grievances alone on those mal practices before decade ago. Additionally, the local political

environment could not create viable structural and institutional set ups which could have realized the co-action of the community.

With the same status, the local district administration which has been ruling the local unit since 1991 has didn't also undertake visible motivational actions that could strengthen communities in the District toward direction of their right; rather emphasis was on their duties. Beside, as before the role of other relevant stakeholders such as advocacy CSOs was not been encouraged in contributing their share to empower community at the local District of Bale Robe (Sisay A. 2012).

Moreover, considering the situation at large where the country has been, the overall performances of advocacy CSOs has not been satisfactory since they are not playing role they are supposed to be. As a consequence the possible reasons were, in a country there was political unrest like unlawful rallies, declaration of state of emergency, robbing and burning of institutions as well as closing transport roads between years of 2015 and 2017 which are a big challenge to pursue their vision especially in Amhara and Oromia regional states at large over the country (Freedom House blog, 2019). In light of these, in current time it is important to assess the extent to which advocacy CSOs play role in empowering communities and democratizing the political environment of the District.

In fact, in current time up till this study undertaken, in Bale Robe studies linked to CSOs role in promoting downward vertical political accountability has not been presented. Therefore, these factors motivate researcher to carry out the study toward roles of advocacy CSOs in special district of Bale Robe town and the research has been limited to assessing current roles of advocacy CSOs in building strong democratization process specifically in creating trend of vertical political accountability.

1.3 Research Questions

In addressing the issues mentioned in the statement of the problem, the study raises the following questions:

- What achievements are undertaken by advocates CSOs in the District?
- What mechanisms are practiced by advocacy CSOs to empower citizens, in the District?
- What challenges are facing advocates CSO in the District?
- What encouraged advocacy CSOs to operate in the District?
- What approaches of alliance and partnership are in progress between advocacy CSOs and government in the District?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The research explores the current roles of advocacy CSOs in building strong democratization processes through promotion of downward vertical accountability in Bale Robe Woreda.

1.4.2 Specific Objective

The specific objectives are:

- To illustrate current achievements undertaken by advocates CSO in promoting downward vertical political accountability in the District.
- To assess effectiveness of strategies employed by advocacy CSOs in building capacity of community in the District.
- To assess coalition and partnership between advocates CSO and governmental organizations to promote vertical political accountability in the District.
- To suggest recommendations which help advocacy CSOs in the advancement of strong democratization process, specifically in promoting vertical political accountability in the District.

1.5 Significance of the Study

A lot of research has been done on Civil Societies in the Ethiopian context. However, many studies lack comprehensive empirical findings in examining the nature and characteristics of CSOs in the context of Districts. Therefore, this study is supposed to fill this gap and provides direction about the nature and characteristics of advocacy CSOs role in promoting trend of downward vertical political accountability in light of an all-inclusive and rigorous study on how CSOs practices impact accountability at Bale Robe District. In this respect, this makes the study profoundly significant.

It is also imperative that researchers, politicians, and policy makers better have some research findings on the nature and characteristics of advocacy CSOs role in the District of Bale Robe. Thus, this research will made a noteworthy contribution to enhance the level of knowledge and understanding relating to this subject. Although the primary focus of this study is on role of advocacy CSOs toward downward vertical political accountability.

In order to know role of advocacy CSOs toward political accountability, this study provides valuable insights on the current proclamations of civil societies of “1113/2019” in comparing with proclamation “621/2019”. It has also the potential to serve as a benchmark study of current practices. The study can also be helpful to put in place workable mechanisms used by advocacy CSOs that are important to ensure downward vertical political accountability.

The findings of this research can also serve as important inputs for policy makers and advisors, city administrators, and interested individuals to differentiate the reality from the rhetoric and to come up with appropriate decisions. It can also serve as a source of reference for academic community and others who would like to know more about role of advocacy CSOs relationship with downward vertical political accountability. Furthermore, it would pinpoint research areas and pave the way for potential and interested researchers to conduct further studies on this and similar topics either to enrich the theory or to find out solutions for practical problems.

In general, this study is significant because it can address the need for comparable researches in the District toward downward vertical political accountability.

1.6 Scope of the Research

The research will focus on the need for getting a clear picture as to where advocacy CSOs in Bale Robe District lays for development of downward vertical political accountability trend. The scope of the study were mainly focused on downward vertical political accountability and initiatives taken by the advocacy CSOs towards promoting trends of political accountability within Bale Robe District having a time span of one and half academic year. To be more specific, the research were mainly emphasized on (a) role of the advocacy CSOs in promoting downward vertical political accountability by creating capacity building within communities (b) and the time interval of the study in which roles of advocacy CSOs investigated were cover only a year between 2015 to 2019.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The quality of this study has been dependent on the genuine responses of the respondents. However, there were three major limitations of the study. The first and foremost is title of the research was not convenient to respondents in accepting questioners and interviewed freely (until long time take clarification has been made to them). Secondly, reluctance of many officials and staffs which was from CSO and Governmental offices to provide the necessary information especially most executives of CSO, because they were often in meetings out of their offices, field work and workloads. Thirdly, there was a lengthy appointment to return questionnaire in which it been barrier for analysis part of the study.

This study was also affected by another limitation. One of this was that beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes of survey respondents were used in exploring the applicability of CSOs role in the district. It would have been sound to prove the applicability of CSOs role on the outcomes as well as any evidence documented before. However, there were problems to realize this in all CSOs in the District contexts to the level needed. The availability of tangible evidence was not adequate enough to help the researcher come up with conclusions about the applicability of CSOs role.

Despite this, the researcher overcame the problems by using various mechanisms. For instance, the researcher gave detail explanation about research title and factual intention of the study. Frequent phone calls were also used to deal with the constraints. As well as, until the executives in the field or meetings returned, the researcher also used to collect data from secondary sources.

1.8 Organization of the Study

This study has been organized into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the problem and its approach which contains background, statement, objectives, significance & scope of the study and emphasis on limitations. The second chapter presents Theoretical, Empirical and conceptual frameworks by reviewing different literatures. The third chapter illustrates research design and methodologies consequently chapter four deal with presentation and analysis of data collected from the organizations under the study. The last chapter focuses on the finding; summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURES

2.1 THEORETICAL LITERATURES

2.1.1 Understanding Political Accountability

Accountability is a concept of cross-disciplinary academic importance. According to Schedler (1999:17), Accountability described as, a relationship between two actors or groups of actors, where “A is accountable to B when A is obliged to inform B about A’s (past or future) actions and decisions, to justify them, and to suffer punishment in the case of eventual misconduct”. The two main dimensions of accountability in Schedler’s (1999) conceptualization are answerability and enforcement. The former aspect underlines the mechanisms of monitoring and oversight of political institutions, and includes the right to demand information as well as explanation and argumentation for them. The latter concept involves rewarding good behavior and punishing improper behavior through sanctions. However, many Scholars commonly understand political accountability as constraints on the use of power (Lindberg, 2013).

As a radial concept, accountability does not have a conceptual core of necessary and sufficient conditions (Schedler 1999: 17). Sub-types of such radial concepts might not share any attributes with each other (Collier and Mahoney, 1993:848). For instance, there may be acts of accountability, which involve only the provision of information but do not include sanctions (Schedler 1999: 17; Lindberg 2013: 210). Investigative journalists are unable to directly sanction politicians but their reports and research are nevertheless crucial for holding governments to account (Anna, Kyle and Valeriya, 2017:6).

2.1.2 Understanding Civil Society

Civil society, as a concept, has a long history of different usage. In light of political theorists like John Locke, society becomes civil when it strives to define and establish political authority; in which case it determines the rules as well as norms of political legitimacy (Wanyama, cite in Diamond, 2000). Hence, in classical usage, civil society was equated with the state. 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 where citizens associate according to their own interests and wishes (Inter Africa Group, citing Carthers, Thomas, 2001).

Accordingly, Department for International Development (DFID) (2001:1) used the term civil society to describe the broad range of organizations in society which fall *outside government* and which are *not primarily motivated by profit*. They include voluntary associations, women's groups, trade unions, community groups, chambers of commerce, farming and housing cooperatives, religious or tribal-based groups, cultural groups, sports associations, academic and research institutions, consumer groups, and so on.

However, Gordon White warns us to take care to distinguish between civil society as an ideal-type concept which embodies the quality's of separation, autonomy and voluntary association in their pure form and the real world of civil societies composed of associations which embody these principles to varying degrees. In support of this idea, Alan Fowler (2002), during the INRTACT 10th Anniversary Conference in Oxford, argued against conventional wisdom, by saying that civil society is not actually a sector with well-defined boundaries. Instead, he posed a more complex notion of a civic system that interacts and overlaps with both socio-political and socio-economic systems.

Conventionally, civil society is defined spatially as *the political space between the household and the state* (Costantinos, 2001:4). It takes a more organizational and instrumentalist view and thus sees civil society in terms of an arena of negotiation and organization. It is where individuals attempt to constitute themselves in arrangements through which they can express themselves and advance their interests. It thus comprises a set of non-governmental organizations, institutions, associations and collective activities, which group the mass of population together in different ways. Nevertheless, organizational and instrumental definitions tend to ignore relational aspects of civil society. Thus, for instance, although state and civil society are separate from each other, they are also in several ways dependent on one another at times even mutually reinforcing. In generally, the impetus for civil society involvement in the democratization movement can be located in two externalities: a wider social movement and political opportunity (Costantinos, 2001:5).

2.1.3 The Role of CSOs in Vertical Accountability

One common way to organize the sub-types of accountability is to divide accountability mechanisms in regard to the spatial direction between the actors (Lindberg 2013:212). Accordingly

O'Donnell's (1998), widely used classification distinguishes between vertical accountability, which describes a relationship between unequal citizens and elected officials, and horizontal, which refers to relationship between more or less equally standing institutions.

Vertical accountability refers to the ability of a state's population to hold its government accountable through elections and political parties. It focuses on the relationship between citizens and their elected representatives (Fox 2015, Mainwaring 2003, Schedler 1999).

Well-established theories going back to authors like Schattschneider (1942) and Schumpeter (1950) highlight elections as the main mechanism by which people exert control over politicians and political decisions. By voting for competing candidates running on the tickets of various political parties, citizens can select political leaders and punish them for improper behavior. This establishes accountability mechanisms based on incentives for leaders who want to gain and keep power (Skaaning, 2015:5). In order to be re-elected, incumbents should aim to meet voter's expectations in terms of policy and decision-making (Olson, 2000).

In addition to voting, political parties provide an important mediating function in establishing conditions for vertical accountability. Strong and organized parties constrain politicians behavior to the effect that they fulfill the party program and prevent illicit activities that would hurt the party's reputation (Gehlbach and Keefer, 2011; Svulik, 2012). Parties are also instrumental in minimizing policy volatility by committing to a coherent line of action (Bernhard et al. 2015: 8-10).

Moreover, Vertical accountability is linked to the control, support and censorship carried out by the electorate through the popular vote. It is also related to certain actions that civil society can perform to limit the actions of elected officials. According to Smulovitz and Peruzzotti (2000:152) state control can be exercised by societal accountability:

"(...) by exposing and denouncing wrongdoing (...). Second, societal mechanisms control because they can activate the operation of horizontal mechanisms. Social mobilization around particular demands, media coverage and investigations, and the initiation of proceedings in oversight or judicial agencies put corrupt politicians at risk of losing their reputations or even of being taken into court (...)"

Vertical and horizontal accountability reflect mainly the role of formal institutions elections, parliaments, courts in government oversight. However, effectiveness of vertical and horizontal forms of accountability by themselves is limited (Goetz and Jenkins 2010:364). Such formal institutions of accountability may lack the capacity to continuously oversee the day to-day activity of the whole state apparatus. Research on corruption and voting has shown that in practice citizens often fail to punish corrupt regimes through elections (Choi and Woo, 2010:250).

Therefore, Non-state actors can fill in the accountability gap that formal institutions leave. Citizens, civil society organizations (CSOs), and an independent media can use a broad range of actions and mechanisms to hold the government and public officials accountable (vertical accountability), such as in “public demonstrations, protests, investigative journalism, and public interest lawsuits” (Malena et al 2004:3). Thus, citizens and journalists can serve an important “fire alarm” function by monitoring government offices and reporting irregularities (Grimes 2013:382). In other way, the term *social accountability* is frequently used to describe the direct involvement of CSOs and the media in the realization of accountability towards politicians and state institutions beyond formal political participation (Malena et al. 2004: 3).

Thus, Success actions of civil society organizations and the media ultimately depend on whether the institutions of vertical and horizontal accountability respond to them (Mainwaring and Welna, 2003).

2.1.4 Factors Affecting Enabling Environment of CSOs toward Contributing to Democracy

It is important to clarify factors that shape the enabling environments for CSO contribution to democratization. Nonetheless the democratization functions of CSOs is often the result of the interplay between different factors such as legal, socio-cultural, socio-economic, political governance factors, institutional etc (Salmon and Toepler, 2000).

2.1.4.1 Socio-cultural factors

Mercer (2002), for instance highlighting the impact of culture argues that traditional norms, rituals and patterns of authority are part of the reasons why a strong and viable civil society is absent in many third world countries. Others also emphasize the impact of socio-cultural

factors, particularly in countries where tradition, culture and religion have a dominant place in the social fabric. Kamrava (2000:134) also, in reasoning out why CSOs in third world countries fail to have a political dialogue with the government or to influence the political decisions of the government, asserts that the third world political orientations are seldom expressed openly and often find expression through religion and various cultural forms.

2.1.4.2 Socio-economic factors

The socioeconomic conditions also have an impact on the democratization role of CSOs. Poverty may cause disinterest amongst the marginalized and the vulnerable groups within society from participating in public matters. This is evidenced by the World Bank research that demonstrates the negative correlation between income inequality and measures of ‘voice and accountability’ (Migliorisi and Wescott, 2011). Indeed part of the democratization role of CSOs is articulating, aggregating and advocating for the interests of such groups affected by economic, gender or political inequality.

However, the participation of poor people even in CSOs that advocates for their rights and equality is limited not only because of disempowerment but also the opportunity costs it entails, as active participation in CSOs might force them to trade off the time they spend to earn an income. In generally, the socio-economic conditions of a nation affect how CSOs would influence the democratization process in an intricate manner (Gurr, 1970 cited in Beyene 2015:57).

2.1.4.3 Political governance factors

The political context, which includes the governance system, the relation between state and CSOs, formal and informal rules that govern the relations among the different actors in the public sphere, also affect the democratization role of CSOs. In a democracy where the freedom of association is recognized and well respected the number of CSOs tends to increase thereby enhancing the civic engagement of citizens. Also where the state-society relation is commanded by a genuine vote cast, CSOs will also have better and wider space to cooperate and to challenge the government. Thus, in a healthy democratic system, CSOs can influence the formation and implementation of policies and legislations by delivering ideas, information and evidence to policy makers and legislators through established channels (ICNL, 2012).

The political context and the political will of the government are thus particularly powerful in constraining the actual and potential role of the law. Depending on the state-CSOs relation and the political will of the legislators, the law may be either enabling or disabling for CSOs. A general presumption is that political will yields an enabling law for CSOs and in turn an enabling law brings forth democratization. Conversely, lack of a political will causes the enactment of disabling laws that can serve as tools to narrow the space for CSOs and stultify their functions (Despesoto, 2001).

2.1.4.4 Institutional and structural factors

The presumption which asserts ‘no political will- no enabling law for the CSOs role in democratization’ however, considerably reduces the significances of the law and puts it altogether at the mercy of the political context. Nevertheless, law is also bound to be more than a dependent variable. In spite of the major place that the political will of the government has in shaping the law either as enabling or disabling, the relation between the political context, the law and CSOs is nonetheless not always straightforward (Beyene, 2015).

The relation between the law, CSOs and collective actions for democratization is a more complex institutional field that constitutes interactions among different actors, including CSOs, individual activists, politicians, donors who seek to change the socio-political dynamics and the public at large. Although the state demands compliance with the law, individuals and their associations do not always unreservedly accept all laws, particularly disabling ones. Hence, CSOs may disregard, or resist disabling laws (Tessema, 2015).

On the other hand as cited in Tessema (2015:59), the existence of a political will and an enabling legislation for CSOs does not necessarily warrant a democratic contribution of CSOs. The law can shape institutional behaviors only to the degree that there is compliance. The compliance culture of organisations is again highly dependent on the content of the law, CSOs relation to the state, the capacity of law enforcing institutions and the severity of penalties imposed for non-compliance.

The inference to be made here is, thus the relation between the State, the law and CSOs should be conceptualized as overlapping institutional arenas that help to constitute and shape one another within a multi-institutional environment. Although the enactment of an enabling legal framework is one of the

most important inputs governments can make to the development and the active engagement of CSOs, nonetheless the enactment of an enabling law does not entirely depend on the political will of the government. The vibrancy of CSOs themselves and the public support they can secure also influences state action (Paxton, 2002: 254-277).

In general, the legal, political, socio-cultural, economic, institutional and structural contexts and their complex interrelation shape CSOs' operational environment that defines their positions and influence in the public sphere and the space available to pursue democratization.

2.1.5 Legal barriers which undermine functions of CSOs

The legal framework for civil society is a primary manifestation of a country's governance theory and plays a key role in the ability of nations to advance human development (Moore and Rutzen, 2009). However, the report co-authored by the International Centre for Not-for-profit Law (ICNL) and the World Movement for Democracy (2008), identified the following commonly used legal constraints used to undermine civil society (Abebe, 2010:33).

A) Barriers to entry

A state can create a legal space which is open, broadly accessible, supportive and enabling or which is closed, difficult to access, constraining, and inhibitive. In doing so states might not provide for the right to association both formally or informally. Apart from not providing for the right the law might provide for punishment or prohibition of unregistered groups (Gershman and Allen, 2006).

This situation is aggravated where the state makes it nearly impossible for associations to register and obtain legal personality by providing for a burdensome registration or incorporation procedure (Belarus, 1997). Lack of clarity regarding the registration procedure or vague regulations; complex documentation requirements and excessive delay in the registration procedure are only a few of the hurdles of registration. In general, the use of overbroad and vague grounds for denying registration application has been indicated as being a common legal tool for barring the registration of associations (Gershman and Allen, 2006:40).

B) Barriers to operational activity

After surviving the hurdle of registration CSOs are faced with the situation where the law makes it nearly impossible for them to undertake their legitimate activities. The law might in some cases provide a direct prohibition against certain type of activities i.e. working on governance and human rights issues or it might stipulate vague and general prohibitions which make CSOs vulnerable to arbitrary administrative action refrain. The other means by which the activities of CSOs may be stalled include the use of legislation which permits unlimited administrative interference by public officials in their work.

C) Barriers to speech and advocacy

Especially for human rights NGOs whose work requires the full benefit of freedom of speech and advocacy, laws that place requirements such as prior censorship, broadly worded defamation laws and general restrictions on advocacy works have proved to be a problem.

D) Barriers to Contact and Communication

It is submitted that collaboration and coordination between CSOs working towards one or more common objective results in a better outcome in their impact. States adopt laws which go against this practice either by forcing network of CSOs to join one organ set up by government or a right out prohibition against the formation of network associations, federations or coalitions.

E) Barriers to resources

The target being on foreign funds, limiting access of funds that are crucial to their operations is becoming a very typical method of stifling CSOs (Elone, 2010). Under the pretexts of ‘ensuring security, political stability, and non-interference in the country’s internal affairs governments are taking steps that drains the ability of CSOs to undertake their activities. Therefore, Governments must allow access by NGOs to foreign funding as a part of international cooperation, to which civil society is entitled to the same extent as Governments. The only legitimate requirements of such NGOs should be those in the interest of transparency (Jilani H. cited in Abebe 2010:35).

2.1.6 Strategies Globally Employed Thought Activities of CSOs

Covey (1994), provides a clear breakdown of strategies used by CSOs to influence policy. She says that CSOs apply five commonly used strategies throughout their different activities. These strategies are education, persuasion, collaboration, litigation and confrontation.

The *education* strategy is one where the CSOs attempt to give the government a lot of information, analysis and policy alternatives. CSOs also educate the government by creating and testing innovative development approaches that could be adopted by the state.

Education is done through workshops, conferences, physical visits and initiation of pilot projects. Education strategies may also target other groups besides the government such as the public at large, the media, and CSOs or community members.

In using *persuasion* as a strategy, a CSO acts like a pressure group to press for policy changes and show public support. The idea here is to convince the government that the CSO supported policy or policy change needs to be recognized and enacted into legislation. Persuasion is done through various means, which cover meetings, workshops and conferences, invitations to the site, lobbying, demonstrations and even strikes. The main aim is to pressurize the government into changing its policy direction.

The *collaboration* strategy is one where a CSO works hand-in-hand harmoniously with the government. Relations are usually good and amicable between the government and the CSO that is collaborating with it. Collaboration calls for mutual trust between the government and the CSO it is dealing with. It also calls for transparency within the collaborating bodies. That is, both sides need to show all their intentions, interests, needs, goals, agendas, etc. to each other. This is the basis of building trust and relationships.

In the *litigation* strategy, the CSOs use the courts to press for policy change. When a CSO believes that the law is being broken or misapplied it can take the government or other offending parties to court for the issue to be legally dealt with. In Zimbabwe the Commercial Farmers Union took the government to court over the new land policy by which the government aimed at redistributing land. The government intended to repossess land that it regarded as lying idle and to resettle people from the communal areas there. On the other side, the commercial farmers were arguing that their land is private property. So the

union took the government to court for embarking on the resettlement policy and legislate it by the 1992 Land Acquisition Act (Sibanda, 1996).

Lastly, *confrontation* involves protesting in various forms for policy issues. The protests usually involve radical tactics such as violent demonstrations, destroying property, etc. In most cases, relationships between the government and the CSOs become sour and there is a lot of animosity between the two parties.

2.2 EMPIRICAL LITERATURES

2.2.1 Role of CSOs in Holding Local Government accountable (Uganda Experience)

CSOs play a two-dimensional role in local government. On one hand CSOs, particularly NGOs and CBOs are often involved in the implementation of programmes funded by government; and on the other hand, they form a countervailing force that is necessary in providing checks and balances to public sector agencies. Other than the conventional service areas such as health, education and community development, CSOs in Uganda are increasingly getting involved in advocacy roles and oversight of local government (Fourie and Kakumba, 2011).

The Poverty Action Fund (PAF) monitoring committees that have been established in several districts to oversee poverty eradication expenditures, have enlisted civil society groups in ensuring that effective resource utilization is adhered to the formation of health and education management committees, farmers' forums and water resource committees are part of the effort to enlist civil society participation and to procure a strong accountability relationship between service providers and users within the framework of decentralization (Ibid).

The nature of the relationship between the civil society, the public sector and the private sector has a bearing on establishing accountability and sustainability of quality service delivery. The illustrative model of local government presupposes that communities are represented by CSOs, who in conjunction with the elected political representatives oversee public sector performance and other private sector agencies contracted to satisfy the local community needs and priorities (Fourie and Kakumba, 2011).

A. Interventions to support community capacity

One of the major factors constraining community participation in Uganda's local government is the lack of civic competence caused by low levels of awareness (Kakumba 2010). This makes the public unable to demand quality services and to hold their leaders accountable in local government. Building capacity for civic competence, thus, requires civil society to be sensitized about their rights and role, and empowered through participation in policy decision-making.

Several intervention mechanisms have been undertaken by the Inspectorate of Government (IG) to promote awareness and civic competence among the public (civil society). In particular the IG has a duty to foster the elimination of corruption, abuse of authority and of public office (Constitution of Uganda, 1995 [Art. 225]). Some of the interventions made by the IG include: media awareness programmes, integrity surveys, monitoring and evaluation, inter-agency forum, and sensitization workshops.

B. Public awareness programmes

Public awareness programmes have been undertaken by the IG through: radio and television programmes; publication of booklets and flyers; and newspaper inserts advertisements, to educate the public about the nature and evils of corruption. During 2005-2008, the public awareness programmes were funded by the African Development Bank through the Institutional Support Project for Good Governance. Another form of public awareness that targets the youth in academic institutions has given rise to the formation of integrity clubs, especially at universities, and whose launching is fully supported by the Inspectorate of Government (IG-Report, 2009).

These programmes continue to encourage the public to report corrupt practices and to create dialogue and interaction with the IG in promoting public sector accountability. Representatives from civil society reported that these media programmes have indeed made a positive impact on informing the civil society about its role in promoting accountability and effective service delivery (Gregory and Giddings, 2000:5)

C. Inter-agency forum

The inter-agency forums spearheaded by the external control agencies of the IG and OAG present an important intervention and avenue through which representatives of civil society groups are enlisted in

combating public resource wastefulness. The most notable CSO coalitions in these forums include the Anti-Corruption Coalition of Uganda (ACCU), Transparency Uganda Chapter, and the Uganda Debt Network. These forums facilitate interaction and dialogue among the various stakeholder agencies in the fight against graft. They often pass resolutions that either pronounce public condemnation of any act of public resource abuse, or make demands and recommendations that influence policy-decision making and reform (Kakumba, 2010).

E. Training and capacity building

A number of external agencies including international organisations, consultancy firms and academic institutions carry out capacity-building programmes for CSOs (DENIVA, 2006).

2.2.2 Role of CSOs in Socio-political and Democratization (In Ethiopian case)

Unlike many other parts of the world, CSOs whose functions are to preserve basic rights of constituents and society at large, educate citizens and advocate popular claims and promote effective participation in the social, economic and political life of the country are just beginning to emerge (Action Aid Ethiopia, 2000).

With the fall of the socialist regime in 1991 a significant number of local NGOs interest groups and professional associations mushroomed (Kassahun, 2002). According to Desalegn and CRDA (2010 and 2014) the number increased from meager 24 in 1994 to 246 in 2000, and rise to 3500 in 2009. The new aid regime, which channels bilateral aid and social services through civil societies, has also rendered the latter as key agents both in the development and in the political discourse (Mikias, 2010).

The approach changed due to the awareness that in wide contrast to the state apparatus which is burdened with red tape and infested with corrupt officials, civil society organisations are more accountable and more transparent as conduits of development assistance. As the former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan (2015) remarked:

‘The United Nations once dealt only with governments. By now we know that peace and prosperity cannot be achieved without partnerships involving Governments, international organisations, the business community and civil society. In today’s world, we depend on each other.’

Thus both regime change internally and Aid policy externally caused the burgeoning of trade unions, peasant cooperatives, youth and student organisations, professional associations, non-governmental organisations and advocacy groups in Ethiopia (Mikias, 2010). In spite of such internal and external challenges however, as we shall see below, those very few civil society organizations in Ethiopia have played indispensable roles in the democratization process of the country for nearly two decades in promoting accountability and efficiency of the state, promoting justice and law enforcement and empowering the citizenry (Desalegn, 2010:82-97).

I. Empowering the citizenry

One of the ways in which the Ethiopian CSOs contribute to the democratization process is through awareness raising programmes and the advancement of civic education. Nearly all of the advocacy organizations sensitized and created community awareness through civic education, human rights education, promotion of the principles and values of democracy etc. employing different means such as organizing public platforms, through mass and mini Medias, dissemination of information and communication (IEC) materials etc. Those awareness raising projects informed the public of their rights and duties thereby enabling them to actively participate in the democratic and development agendas of the country that affects their life and enabled them to make an informed decision and to demand their rights (Desalegn, 2010).

In this regard, SAHRE is an indigenous CSO established in 1994 and its mission is to contribute to the process of building a democratic and peaceful Ethiopian society through such strategies. In the year 2001, APAP, through its human rights popularization activities, disseminated information about human rights and corruption to more than 25,000 people, particularly through staging drama, puppet show and public speech.

APAP organizes different Community Level Voluntary Human Right Association in different regions of the country and provides financial and technical support. These associations provide legal aid service in their respected localities to poor people especially to poor women. The type of cases brought to the attention of the associations include, property related matters, compensation, rape, family dispute, divorce and disowning and discrimination (Ibid).

Other organisations such as HUNDEE and FSCE promote such activities as a component of their larger program (Sisay, 2002). In addition to raising awareness of different groups of society, some organisations support people, especially poor and marginalized people (whose rights have been deprived), to claim for and fulfill their economic, social, cultural and political rights.

As well as, The Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA) supports women whose rights are violated, so that they may get legal protection. EWLA Legal Aid Service is a rapidly growing community service program that protects women's rights. Since its establishment in 1995 it has handled more than 4,000 cases related to rape, abduction, domestic violence, property inheritance, employment contracts, etc. and is providing the necessary legal aid services accordingly. It has also been calling to the public to protest against violence, unequal treatment and discrimination against women and to influence the government to take the necessary actions (Sisay, 2002:9).

II. Promoting Accountability and Efficiency of the State

Recognizing the need to build the capacity of the state apparatus to enforce the constitutional rights of its citizens, in a new democracy and decentralized system, several Ethiopian advocacy organisations have been engaged in building the capacity of the democratic institutions of the government including the parliament, the judiciary, the police and different executive branches particularly in the regions (Dessalegn, 2000). APAP, EWLA, OSJE and Forum for street children (FSCE), African Initiative for a Democratic World Order (AIDWO) can be cited as very prominent examples (Dessalegn, 2000: 116-118; Norwegian church Aid, 2010).

Although the primary responsibility of legislation and ratification of international laws and treaties lies with the government, the Ethiopian civil societies notably the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA), Action Professionals Association for People (APAP), Ethiopian Human Rights Council Organization (EHRCO), Organization for Social Justice in Ethiopia (OSJE), Confederation of the Ethiopian Trade Union (CETU), have also played a role in identifying the loopholes or predicaments of the laws in addressing the socio economic challenges of the society and lobbying for the enactment and amendment of some laws. This has result in the amendment of the Ethiopian Family Law, the Penal Code of Ethiopia and the Labour law (Desalegn, 2010:106-116).

In addition to building state capacity and playing a complementary role, civil societies occasionally challenge the state in its decisions and policies although in general, they have not reached the point of critically challenging government's policies and plans or acts of violations (Sisay, 2002).

The Confederations of Ethiopian Trade Unions (CETU's) opposition to the Ethiopian government's economic reform known as Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1995; and APAP's challenge to the city administration decision of eviction of hundreds of households devoid of fair compensation in pursuance of international standards and the challenge by coalition of Ethiopian civil societies represented by OSJE, in the court of law against the decision of the government forbidding civil societies to monitor the 2005 election and the subsequent verdict in favor may be cited as an illustration Dessalegn (2010:86).

The Ethiopian Human Right Council (EHRCO) has also been very active in its watchdog role and stands as the only human right organization that regularly monitors and reports on human right violations of government, political parties or any other organ. EHRCO monitors and reports on human rights violations such as extra-judicial killings, arbitrary detentions, 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 calling for immediate action by concerned organ (Desalegn 2010:110-111; Sisay 2002:83).

Further to election monitoring, some advocacy organisations such as OSJE, APAP, EHRCO, Inter Africa group (IAG), chamber of Commerce have worked to advance free and fair elections through voters' education and the promotion of human and democratic values and culture among the community through trainings and information dissemination. In the 2005 national election in particular, a coalition of thirty five civil societies were highly engaged in voter education and election observation activities mobilizing and training more than 3000 election observers (Ibid).

Indeed many people in the CSO sector believe that the most restraining Ethiopian Charities and Societies Proclamation is the result of the civil society engagement in election related activities in the controversial 2005 national election where the ruling party lost a significant number of parliamentary seats (Kassahun, 2002). With the advent of the new charity law, the greater majority of CSOs have

given up their advocacy work. Few others such as EWLA, EHRCO, and EBA determined to pursue their advocacy work however, downsized their operations in the regions and cutting their human resource owing to the financial challenges caused by a restriction imposed on them to raise funds from foreign source. Thus, in general, the contribution of CSOs to the nascent democracy that Ethiopia experienced since 1991 was interrupted after the enactment of the CSP 621/2009 (Desalegn 2010).

III. Promoting Efficiency of the Justice and Law Enforcement Services

CSOs can play role in democratization process of the country through involving in decentralization system work. The importance of decentralization that involves and empowers local government is indispensable for the democratization of the country. CSOs greatly contributed to facilitate the decentralization system by building the capacity of local law enforcement organs of the governments which were seriously lacking technical expertise. The contribution of local CSOs such as Management Development Forum (MDF), APAP and foreign charities such as Action Aid-Ethiopia and Save the Children in training the local government officials and offering technical expertise was significant (Tessema, 2015).

Corruption jeopardizes the democratization of any nation but could be worse in countries such as Ethiopia which are already challenged by the many facets of poverty. Ensuring the accountability of public officials and sanctioning corrupt practices is therefore essential. The role of CSOs advocating for transparent and accountable governance system and the monitoring of corrupt practices will therefore minimize the risk of undermining the democratization process. In this regard, the contribution that was made by Transparency Ethiopia and Human Rights Council (formerly Ethiopian Human Rights Council) in sensitizing the public and monitoring corrupt practices was enormous (Tessema, 2015:165).

IV. Complementing government as Advocacy

Civil societies also assist the government in identifying social problems, which have not been detected or addressed by the government. The level of involvement of civil society, actually, varies from region to region depending on different factors such as attitude and behavior of local government officials (Sisay, 2002).

In this regard, some civil society organization such as EWLA, SAHRE and Peace and Development Committee (PDC) are involved in democratization process through advocacy work by complementing the government's effort. EWLA is involved in the reformation of the discriminatory Family Law of 1949 along with government and other concerned bodies. It even had a chance to get a seat in parliament representing civil society in response to the lobbying by women rights activist groups. The NCTPE is an NGO whose main objective is to eradicate Harmful Traditional Practices (HTP) in the country. As HTPs are considered critical gender related problems by the government, NCTPE has formed branch offices in all regions of the country under government structures of Women's Affairs Office to accomplish its objective. PDC has been involved in establishing local councils of elders with a view to promoting a culture of peace by ensuring the prevalence of sustainable peace (Sisay, 200:10).

In conclusion, the agenda for CSOs in promoting healthy governance specifically in the area of downward vertical political accountability is a long and diversified one. It can include focusing on advocacy practices to governance; human rights, children rights, promoting an independent judiciary, strengthening of auditing, improvement in public procurement, etc. As more civil society organizations understand the vital need to curb mal administrative practices in the quest for building stronger and more human societies, so the anti-mal practices movement will expand. Aligned to this, if CSOs strengthen their approaches and work more closely together as well as if strive constructively to work business and government, so their leadership effectiveness will rise.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.3.1 Conceptualizing Partnership with Vertical Political Accountability

The need for partnership between a state and civil society organizations for protection of resident's rights and effective and efficient functioning of government officials does not require much debate. Therefore, partnership in relation to accountability can be described as a relationship rooted between State and Non-state actors in the acceptance of their shared vision and responsibility for the protection of citizens and delivery of basic services within policy and legislative frameworks governing a country's response to the needs and problems of citizens (Landrigan, 1995).

Many literatures note in partnership, parties need to accept that there is strength in unity and that the total is greater than the sum of the individual parts (Thompson, 2009). Thompson (2009) argues that accountability between the parties must be reciprocal with the parties carrying equal status. The interdependent and interactive nature of the partnership as a working relationship requires openness, transparency and accessibility between the partners. Therefore, a partnership policy, agreement or compact should include the philosophy and principles that underpin the partnership, shared values and goals, roles and responsibilities and commitments to action.

Studies show that unless there is mutual respect for each other's roles, government and the NGO communities can't well informed of each other's roles, and there will not be negotiation or agreement on how the respective parties are going to pursue a shared vision and common goals, and thus, the political accountability arena turn out to be a chaotic one (Nef, 2009). It is noted that partnership arrangements, especially between government and development NGO community would go a long way in the development of joint policies and inter-related, comprehensive service programmes directed to the needs of the community.

It is widely acknowledged that the state alone cannot achieve its goals in addressing social needs and those organs of civil society in a democratic dispensation, firmly rooted in society and with popular participation and voluntary support, are essential for a caring, responsive and effective advocacy network. The degree to which there is a presence and activity of a voluntary welfare initiative and wider NGO life is said to be an indicator of the level of a country's democracy. Therefore, recognition and formal acknowledgement needs to be settled with a partnership agreement.

A work by Michelson (2009), show that formal partnership arrangement acknowledges and cements the distinct but complimentary and supplementary roles of state and the NGO community into a synergistic strategy to achieve a shared vision and common goal. Moreover, other studies by Axford (2006) show that partnerships are fluid and flexible and that they evolve. The nature of the partnership would also vary significantly according to the unique characteristics, such as structure, culture and objectives of a particular NGO or consortium of NGO's.

Moreover, advocacy CSOs are considered to play crucial role to ensure the co-ordination of its own services and to engage government in discussions on the co-ordination of services between the government and civil society Organizations. The civil society organization, through representative structures should be accessible to the government for purposes of joint planning, information sharing and decision-making and it is found imperative that the respective roles and responsibilities of government and the civil society sectors need to be negotiated, clarified and understood by all. This must be based on a shared vision and common goal, the competencies and mandates of the partners.

2.3.2 Conceptualizing Advocacy Practices to CSOs

In relation to CSOs, advocacy can be described as an activity designed to influence positive political and societal, to tackle community problem, reduce their vulnerability and promote their wellbeing by moving specific constituencies into action through empowering communities and support key initiatives to tackle community problems. Advocates help community use their rights, articulate other (or own) needs, as they perceive them, or legal decisions they require and or the right to which they are entitled (Daiute, 2008).

In other way, advocacy refers to organized efforts to effect systematic or incremental change. This definition could therefore cover the activities of any pressure group within business, government, or civil society, which is pushing for change. This might mean pushing for reform within a particular organization, it might mean pushing for the interests of a particular group vis-a-vis others, and it might mean the practice of politics (Holloway, 1998:1).

In line with this, Holloway views NGOs as value based organizations of citizens whose motivation is a desire for a better world for the poor and disadvantaged. Therefore, advocacy as the word is used by NGOs, contains two specific and particular elements, which underline the NGO way of doing advocacy:

1. The advocacy effort must involve citizens in the advocacy process. Their involvement should be conscious, intentional and democratic.
2. The advocacy effort must be directed towards specific and identified disadvantaged groups, or must attempt to redress situations, which the citizens as a whole find themselves in - situations, which particularly disadvantage the poorer and less powerful citizens.

Advocacy, therefore, as it is practiced by NGOs/CSOs, is a systematic, democratic, and organized effort to change, influence, or initiate policies, laws, practices, and behavior so that disadvantaged citizens in particular or all citizens in general will be benefited (Holloway, 1998:1). Moreover, the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms must be designed in such way it is compatible with the following typologies of advocacy:

1. Case Advocacy

Case Advocacy is intervening to address an individual or group problems. By being aware of and documenting service-delivery problems, providers can share important information and collect examples that help identify policy issues (Thomas, 2008). The desirable strategies in the case Advocacy include researching the rules or eligibility requirements of a particular program or policy; documenting the problem, its history, and make sure whether others have had similar difficulties; meeting with local agency staff and/or affected family to discuss a problem and filing an appeal if services are denied.

2. Administrative Advocacy

Administrative Advocacy is all about creating new policies, revising guidelines, and resolving program problems through activities directed at administrative and governmental agencies with authority and discretion to change rules and regulations (Durr, 1993). Many decisions are made informally, so interacting with the managing entity rather than working through the legislature can be the most effective way to make a positive change. The strategies for administrative advocacy includes developing ongoing relationships with advocates and agency staff to influence decision making, participating in forums where decisions are made, and providing reliable information about the impact of policy decisions in your community, agency, or program to build your credibility (Thomas, 2008).

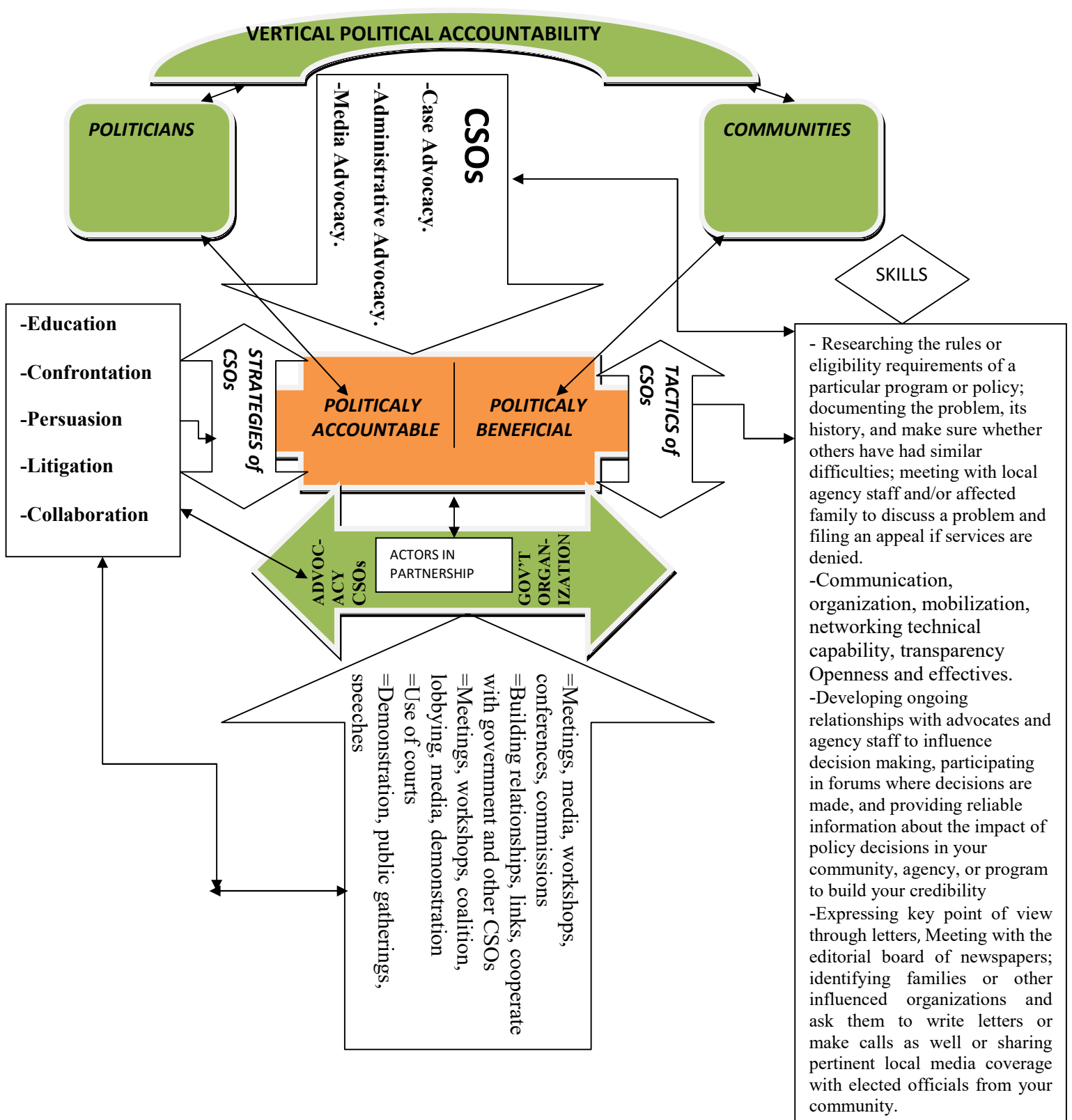
3. Media Advocacy

Media Advocacy is using media to increase public awareness and influence broader public debate about their rights. Keeping your issue in the news creates public recognition and support, thereby increasing its practical and political importance. The key strategies for media advocacy includes expressing key point of view through letters to the editor and call-in opportunities or contacting local reporters when your organization has news to share or contacting local radio and television stations about appearing on local talk shows or public-affairs programs to share your expertise. Meeting with the editorial board of newspapers; identifying families or other influenced organizations and ask them to write letters or make

calls as well or sharing pertinent local media coverage with elected officials from community are also other mechanisms of media advocacy (Durr, 1993).

Therefore, advocacy practice in vertical political accountability need to collaboratively seek constantly new ways to engage with policy makers, individuals and practitioners and the wider with governmental organizations through wellbeing's.

Figure 1: Depicting role of CSOs in partnering with government organizations toward vertical political accountability: An Analytical Framework.



Source: Designed by the researcher from different sources (see Holloway, 1998:1; Covey 1994; Durr, 1993 et al)

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The study employed a qualitative approach, because it carries out strategies of inquiry case study which offers an opportunity to study a particular subject, e.g. one organization, in depth. Case study is popularly preferred in order to explore processes and activities, like the specific area of research selected by the researcher. In addition, in order to collect multiple forms of data and spending a considerable time in the natural setting and gathering information; adopting case study is appropriate. The study is undertaken by information which are gathered via qualitative data like, questionnaire survey, an in depth interview and non participant personal observation.

3.2 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

To collect data required to answer research questions, the researcher selected all target population of advocacy CSOs existed in a Woreda, which are seven advocate CSOs and purposively two Government Organization that work in Woreda were selected, this is due to existence of a little number advocacy CSOs in a Woreda which are working in vertical political accountability. As a technique to draw the appropriate sample size, purposive sampling have been used to draw two government organization and interviewed personnel's, as well CSOs are categorized as per their similarity in which classified to Ethiopian and Foreign charity and society that leaning to stratified random sampling. The reason here to have this technique is, some organization believed to be most essentials for this study and relatively they have homogeneity in their vision. However, not all advocacy CSOs and GOs are expected to have similar structure and functions as they are located in different areas and have diverse management philosophy. According to higher executives from diverse CSOs contacted by the researcher in the study, the respondents within the organization were minimum in number. Thus, the researcher selected all respondents from the CSOs through random sampling technique which are not haphazard and arbitrary in selection process thus, respondents expected to behave equal chance of giving relevant information.

Therefore, the lists of organizations contacted are presented as follow:

❖ **Ethiopian Charities or Societies**

1. Bale Robe Women's Association

❖ **Ethiopian Residents Charities or Societies**

1. Yokokeb Berihan Pact Project
2. Oromo Self Reliance Association (OSRA)
3. Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative (HUNDEE, Branch in Bokoji)

❖ **Foreign Charities**

1. Save the Children
2. Action Aid Ethiopia (AAE)
3. Compassion International Ethiopia

❖ **Government Organization**

1. House of People Representative (Council for special district of Bale Robe Town)
2. Bale Zonal Ombudsman Institute (Branch in Shashemene)

3.3 Data Sources and Types

Both primary and secondary data used in order to assess the specific issues. The primary data were collected through surveyed questioners, in-depth interview, non participant observation and documents such as written reports, legislations, letters, agendas, lists, brochures and flyers are reviewed. A review of various publications also conducted to get facts about contributions, challenges and CSO's relation with the community and state in the area. Secondary data were also collected from published and unpublished materials that are available in the form of directives, rules and proclamation.

3.4 Method of Data Collection

3.4.1 Questionnaire Survey

A survey uses a questionnaire which is a research instrument consisting of questions and prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Thus, to collect primary information, questionnaires which consisting of both open and close-ended questions have been employed, in which gather opinion from a target population about the role of advocacy CSOs in the development of democratic political culture specifically in vertical political accountability at Bale Robe Woreda.

3.4.2 Semi structured Interview

Semi structure interviews were conducted with selected interviewees who are from selected CSOs. Thus, Semi-Structured interview was preferred for several reasons. First, when compared with the structured interview, the semi-structured interview provides greater scope for discussion and learning about the problems, opinions and views of the respondents. It is also more flexible for the researcher in collecting the required data because the researcher can ask additional questions if he thinks they are useful. Besides, each interviewee will have different characteristics and can make it difficult for the researcher to adhere strictly to questions that are prepared in advance. In this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted to triangulate the data with the information obtained through other data collection methods (survey questionnaire, and observation).

3.4.3 Non Participant Observation

According to Creswell (2009), qualitative observations are those in which the researcher takes field notes on the behavior and activities of individuals at the research site. The observations serve as a complementary method to enrich and triangulate the information gathered via other techniques and address the research questions adequately. The observation as a data collection method has provided an important opportunity to gather valuable facts during the field work. The intention of the researcher at this stage was mainly to secure an opportunity to observe and record issues of interest as far as the accountability and ethical situations are concerned. The reason here to link non participant observation within accountability is, as a researcher's grown up in the area and following the statuses within the district at zero intervals, researcher's cross checked appropriateness of each single reports and activities undertaken by advocates CSOs.

3.5 Data Analysis Method

Collected data are organized and analyzed with statistical tools such as percentages and tables. At the same time, the data obtained through open ended questions, interviews and non participatory observations were summarized and incorporated to the analysis in which supplemented by data obtained from closed end question items that secured studies. As well as, qualitative approaches were also

employed. Hence, descriptive research has also employed for the purpose of the study to describe the overall contributions of advocacy CSOs role toward political accountability throughout the District and it also employed to show various social events that interlink with role of advocacy CSOs.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

During the process of carrying out qualitative interviews strict observation of the ethical issues is important, Kajornboon (2005) and Kothari (2006) have identified ethical issues to be acknowledged as a most important concern of any interview process. Gray (2013) has suggested the importance of making an interviewee comfortable, otherwise upsetting her/him may result in undesired outcome of the interview, or even may be forced to cancel or postpone the interview. Another crucial element is confidentiality which is to be considered at the highest level during the interview process (Gray 2013). When carrying out the interview process for this research, target respondents were thoroughly briefed about the intention of the research and they were clued-up about freedom of denying or answering any question. In order to avoid confusions, interviewees were made to be aware of the scope and context of the research. In addition, the author has tried to keep the interviewees comfortable, by sharing confidentiality clause with them, which was highly appreciated. The copy of the confidentiality clause is presented in Appendix. Due to the confidentiality clause, the author has refrained from revealing real identities at corporate level or any interviewee in some specific issues which they feel sensitive in any part of this document. All the respondents were addressed in general names as “respondents” to make it simple for the readers of this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The findings of the study are discussed in this chapter. Starting with a presentation of background information of the study samples, description on the involvement of the study organizations will be presented as well as the mechanisms that applied by CSOs to empower community can be presented. Following to this, socio-political environment for CSOs and intention of selected CSOs in Woreda also presented. Finally, relation of advocacy CSOs with government and role they behave in Woreda's are discussed.

4.1 Frequency Analysis of the target population

Target population of the research was comprised nine (9) organizations as a whole. Table 1 shows the distribution of the surveyed organizations together with respective respondents. Two (2) of the study organizations are government bureaus/offices, four (4) of the study organizations are Ethiopian resident charities and society, and three (3) of the study organizations are Foreign Charities and society. All of them are purposively selected organizations that are directly or indirectly working on promoting of democratic political culture in a woreda through promoting trend of downward vertical political accountability.

Table 1: Percent Distribution of target population

Category of Respondent's Organization	Samples study distribution			
	Freq	%	No. of Respondents	%
Government Bureaus/office	2	22.2%	15	35.72%
Ethiopian CSOs	4	44.5 %	18	42.86%
Foreign CSOs	3	33.3%	9	21.42%
Total	9	100%	42	100%

Regarding the distribution of respondents in the survey organizations, 15 of the respondents (35.72%) are from the government offices/bureaus; while 27 of the respondents are from Charities and Society that constitute about 64.28% of the total respondents; i.e. 18 (42.86%) are from Ethiopian resident

charities and society and 9 of the respondents (21.42%) are from Foreign Charities and society. In this regard we observe that Ethiopian resident charities and society in the District cover maximum number than foreign ones. The reasons for possible maximum numbers of Ethiopian resident charities and societies have been analyzed under Table eight (8).

4.2 A Critical Assessment of Advocacy CSOs in Bale Robe Woreda

Table 2 and 3 presents intention of advocacy CSO Practices. Accordingly, in table 2, about 48% (12) of the total respondents reported that their organizations have worked on mal practice of public officials such as those linked to violation of children's and women's right, in failures of developmental projects which linked to corruption. In this regard, only 36% (9) respondents respond that directly their overall tasks/programmes are related to advocacy of downward vertical political accountability.

According to Table 2, out of the 36% respondents that have acknowledged their organization` have planned program to work on political accountability, only about 16% respondents expressed that their level of involvement is 81-90% of the overall programmes. In this view, Ethiopian resident charities and society are the largest group highly involved on political accountability activities in which maximum level of involvement is (81-90%) with 25%.

Table 2: Percent distribution of involvement level in Advocacy Practices of political accountability

Category Respondent's Organization	Level of involvement in Advocacy Practices of Political Accountability													
	Has working on mal practice of public officials (which linked to Political status)?			Level of involvement on advocacy Practices of Political Accountability										
		Yes	No	1-10%	11-20 %	21-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-60%	61-70%	71-80%	81-90%	91- 100%	Total
Ethiopian CSOs	Freq	12	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	4	-	9
	%	75	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	18.75	25	-	56.25
Foreign CSOs	Freq	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	%	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	Freq	12	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	4	-	9
	%	48	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	12	16	-	36

Moreover, Table 2 also presents that all respondents from foreign CSOs reported that they did not have purposely planned progress to advocate on activities that related to political accountability. Additionally, majority of respondents (75%) from Ethiopian resident CSOs reported that they are working on mal practice related activities of officials besides, (25%) of them respond as they don't be involving in such practices. This implies that, in planned progress unlike Foreign CSOs, Ethiopian charities and society are working on good governance inline to political accountability and the possible reason is the existed civil society law which allowed them to work on area unlike Foreign CSOs.

Table 3: Percent distribution of CSOs involvement in downward political accountability by the type of Advocacy Practices

Category of Respondent's Organization	Involvement in the Advocacy Activities by type					
	(A).Case Advocacy		(B).Admin. Advocacy		(C). Media Advocacy	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Ethiopian resident CSOs	6	33.4	10	55.5	2	11.1
Foreign CSOs	2	22.2	1	11.1	6	66.6
Total	8	29.6	11	40.8	8	29.6

The above Table 3 presents Ethiopian resident and foreign charities and society involvement in the advocacy practices by types of advocacy. According to the data (Table 3), 29.6% of the total respondents reported that their organizations are involved in the case and with the same number on media advocacy; however, 40.8% of the total respondents reported that their organizations are involved in developing relationships with government institutions to influence public officials by providing reliable information about the impact of mal practices of officials, Participate in forums where administrative service centered decisions are made, and speak out about problems facing community at different public gatherings such as in Political Party, Trade Union, Women Association, iddir and kebele meetings. In this regard it observed that, majority of CSOs has appreciable tendency of working in downward political accountability.

Despite the fact that all respondents (100%) of foreign CSOs responded that they are not involved in the advocacy of political accountability activities in the first question (Table 2); however it was noted from their responses to the second question that (66.6%) are involved in the media advocacy especially by planning and organizing message for media coverage to publicize appropriate events related to mal practices; by contacting local radio and television stations about appearing on local public-affairs programs to share their expertise and by identifying undermined community.

Moreover, foreign CSOs can be considered as the largest group from the organizations involved in the media and the smallest in administrative advocacy by (66.6% and 11.1%), while Ethiopian resident CSOs took the highest in administration and the lowest in media advocacy by (55.5% and 11.1%). This implies, those foreign CSOs which ignoring as they don't has progress under table-2, now observed that they has role in governance beside with political dimensions.

Table 3 also shows that all respondents of Ethiopian resident CSOs (33.4%) reported that their organizations are involved in the case advocacy by documenting and sharing important information on administrative problems in which paving way to terrible consequences of political problems, researching rules or eligibility requirements of community as a beneficiary in administrative and social services and meet with woreda's agency staff and/or affected community to discuss a problem and filing an appeal if services are denied. About 22.2% of the respondents from foreign CSOs are also responded that they are involved in the case advocacy. Therefore, to promote downward political accountability in a woreda, the role of local CSOs have to be considered that, as behaving involvements through case advocacy than foreign CSOs. Depending on the result of respondents, therefore, it was noted that local and foreign CSOs have significant role in case, administrative and media advocacy activities in which used to claim public officials.

Beside their involvement in the advocacy activities, respondents were also asked whether there are enabling socio-political environments or not for CSOs to work in downward vertical political accountability. Based on their responses, Table 4 below presents ranks which indicate how socio-political environment are enable or not. No. 1 being the biggest challenge and No. 2 being the next and so on.

4.3 Barriers to advocacy CSOs

Table 4: Percent distribution on the ranking of Barrier to Advocacy Practices

Ranking of Barriers	Category of Respondent's Organization						
	Ethiopian resident CSOs		Foreign CSOs		Total		Ranking
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	
Economic Problems	7	38.9	-	-	7	25.9	2 nd
Political Problems	3	16.7	3	33.3	6	22.2	3 rd
Legal Problems	5	27.8	4	44.5	9	33.4	1 st
Social Problems	2	11.1	-	-	2	7.4	5 th
Religious Problems	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 th
Misconception	1	5.5	2	22.2	3	11.1	4 th

According to the data (Table 4), a significant number (33.4%) of respondents surveyed at Ethiopian resident and foreign CSOs ranked “legal” as #1 most challenging problems. About 25.9% of all the respondents ranked “Economic problems” as #2 most challenging problems while about 22.2% of respondents ranked “Political problems” as #3 most challenging problems that prevented their organizations from advocating more on activities of downward vertical political accountability.

Striking number of respondents from Ethiopian resident CSOs, (38.9%, 27.8%, 16.7% and 11.1% respectively) ranked ‘economic problems’ as #1, ‘legal problems’ as #2, ‘political’ as #3 and ‘social problems’ as #4 most challenging problems while all respondents (100%) from international CSOs ranked ‘legal problems’ as #1 most challenging problems, ‘political problems’ as #2 and ‘misconception’ are ranked as #3 most challenging problems respectively with 44.5%, 33.3% and 22.2% responses.

Therefore, relaying on data it is noted that, now a day legal barriers are the most challenging factors for advocacy CSOs in a Woreda, while economic, political and misconception and social factors are also one of barriers which put anxiety to CSOs unlike high pressure of legal barriers.

4.4 Strategies employed by CSOs to empower communities

Table 5: Percent distribution on Strategies used to create awareness by CSOs in promoting downward vertical political accountability.

Category Respondent's Organization	Awareness creation events			
		Inter-agency (collaboration)	Training capacity building (Education)	Confrontation and persuasion
Ethiopian Resident CSOs	Freq	2	15	1
	%	11.1	83.3	5.6
Foreign CSOs	Freq	3	6	-
	%	33.3	66.7	-
Total	Freq	5	21	1
	%	18.5	77.8	3.7

Respondents to this study, therefore, were asked whether they applied mechanisms to promote downward vertical political accountability in a Woreda. The overall results of the data (Table 5) reveal that the surveyed organizations used noticeable mechanisms that contribute to development of democratic political culture in a Woreda, specifically in downward vertical political accountability. These mechanisms are encompassed clearly under five (5) general strategies that are applied by all CSOs stated in Covey (1994). Of all the respondents, those who have revealed the above facts constitute about 77.8% of the respondents reported that they organized awareness creation events through training and capacity building (education), 18.5% of the respondents reported that they organized awareness creation events through inter-agency forum (collaboration) principle and 3.7% of the respondents reported they organized awareness creation events on the importance of community participation on the matters that affect their lives.

Moreover, Table 5 reveals that Ethiopian Resident CSOs have high involvement(83.3%) in organizing awareness creation events through training and capacity building in promotion of political accountability; and not negligible number of respondents from foreign CSOs (66.7%) also undertake through training and capacity building. while considerable number of respondents (33.3%) from foreign CSOs respectively responded that their organizations have relative involvement in organizing events through inter-agency forum toward interest of community that affects their lives.

Table 6 below presents percent distribution of best media outlets used in creating awareness on the downward vertical political accountability. From the various typologies of media outlets presented for choice, the overall results from the Table below shows that 52% of all respondents reported ‘Workshop’ is the best channel of conveying messages and 22.2% of the respondents reported ‘poster and pamphlet’ as the second best channel while 18.5%and 7.5% out of all the respondents in the surveyed organizations responded ‘newspapers and Tv’ as the third and fourth best channel of conveying messages on downward vertical political accountability.

Table 6: Percent distribution of Best Media Outlets used in empowering community as responded by the Respondents

Category of Respondent's Organization	Media Preference											
	Radio		TV		Newspapers		Poster & Pamphlet		Billboards		Workshop	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Ethiopian Resident CSOs	-	-	-	-	3	16.7	4	22.2	-	-	11	61.1
Foreign	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	2	22.2	-	-	3	33.4
Total	-	-	2	7.5	5	18.5	6	22.2	-	-	14	52

According to Table 6, majority of respondents (61.1%) from Ethiopian Resident CSOs responded that ‘Workshop’ is the best way and 33.4% of respondents from foreign CSOs share the same percent with Ethiopian Resident CSOs. Thus, workshop considered as primary way of conveying message by CSOs; while ‘Poster and pamphlet’ and ‘news paper’ respectively are considered as the second and third way of

conveying messages to community. This implies, promoting vertical political accountability through community at Woreda require preferred media and it have to be through workshops.

4.5 Alliance between CSOs and Government institutions toward downward political accountability

Table 7: Percent distribution of Respondents Opinion`s on the inclination of the partnership among CSOs and Government organizations

Inclination of relation	Category of Respondent`s Organization					
	Ethiopian Resident CSOs		Foreign CSOs		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq	%
Complement	12	66.7	3	33.4	15	55.6
Reforming	3	16.7	5	55.5	8	29.6
Opposing	2	11.1	1	11.1	3	11.1
Combination	1	5.5	-	-	1	3.7
Don`t know	-	-	-	-	-	-

Interestingly, the results depicted clear indication. Adding the responses in the complement option, i.e. about 55.6% of all the respondents believed their relationships with other organizations were complement, while only 29.6% of respondents considered their relationship reforming besides, 11.1% respond it is opposing and 3.7% of respondents considered the relationship status contain all aforementioned relations.

Based on the category of the respondents` organizations, the result was that majority of the respondents (66.7%) from Ethiopian Resident CSOs were of the opinion that their relationships with government are ‘Complement’ while (55.5%) of respondents from foreign CSOs considered their relationship with government were ‘Reforming’. However, a clear and qualified explanation of this answer needs a separate study to explore the reasons.

Equally, important discourses have made in the following paragraphs that go in line with the above discussions depending on the responses to the question presented in Table 7. The table presents the significance of relationship/partnership made by the CSOs in promoting downward vertical political accountability. To gauge how important is the relationship so far made by the CSOs on the promoting downward vertical political accountability, one question was asked and the responses presented as followed.

Table 8: Percent distribution of Respondents’ Opinions on Importance of alliance and networks made between CSOs and Government toward promotion of downward vertical political accountability.

Category Respondent’s Organization	Significance of Relationship									
	Very important		Fairly important		Not important		No collaboration		Don’t Know	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Ethiopian Resident CSOs	11	61.1	6	33.4	-	-	-	-	1	5.5
Foreign CSOs	3	33.4	6	66.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	14	51.8	12	44.5	-	-	-	-	1	3.7

In response to this question—”how important is the alliance and networks so far made by your organization on the promoting downward vertical political accountability? ”— as presented above in Table 8, about 51.8% of respondents replied “very important,” while 44.5% responded “fairly important”. This can be interpreted as proof that the respondents were somehow conversant with the importance of the alliance and networks so far made by their organizations in promoting downward vertical political accountability.

As the response indicates, the respondents both from foreign and Ethiopian Resident CSOs believe that the Woreda administration have long been unfriendly to advocacy CSOs especially on those running in political environment. According to the respondents, key provisions of the former Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 of Ethiopia have severely weakening the activities of civil society

organizations advocating in promotion of downward vertical political accountability trends in District and the Country at large. They reported that the government appears to equate their activity with intelligence work, viewing them as subversives rather than allies in the struggle to improve problems of community. However, many respondents also reflect their ideas that in which put hope on 2019 modified proclamation 1113/2019 of CSOs in which widen scope of their involvements in enabling the democratic trends in a District and in a Country at large.

4.6 Analysis of Key Informant Interview

Citizen's neglects and absence of supports they rightfully deserve is serious human rights violation. It violates the fundamental rights of the citizens for survival and development including rights to health, education, family life and protection from abuse, neglect and exploitation. One of the purposes of this study was to assess efforts made by the advocates CSOs to promote trend of downward vertical political accountability in a District.

Accordingly, extensive open-ended questions focusing on the respondents work in relation to the wellbeing of community, problems of residents in the District and its consequences, interventions done to curb the problem, collaboration with other sectors, existing policies, the extent of implementation of the proclamations, the existence of legal provisions and recommendations to prevent the problems were prepared and presented to eight research participants that were selected from key informants groups i.e., CSO actors. Details of the interviews are presented in the following subsections.

4.6.1 Civil Society Actors

In this analysis, two representatives which are, one from Yokokob Berihan Pact Project & Bale Robe Women Association and the other from Oromo Self Reliance Association (OSRA) and Oromo Grassroots Development Initiatives (HUNDEE) were volunteered for the interview. Both respondents agreed reluctance of officials exist in the District. According to them, government officials and their institutions at large, in sewerage disposal, clean water provision, planning and provision of infrastructure, basic health services and Kebele administrators are among the major abusers of the rights of residents.

The NGO actors indicated absence of clear and detailed guidelines to bring accountability in the focused organizations which is one of the problems to reduce multivariate problems in the District. The informants also expressed that they use the existing government structure for protecting residents from different types of abuse and maltreatment. That is government established structures which protect and gave an opportunity for wider community at large but at the District level it didn't function well. The informants reported that some of officials are not willing to actively participate in line to public interests even not well motivated.

The informants strongly emphasized to work with government and other NGO's to protect residents from abuse neglect and exploitation. In order to overcome problems the NGO actors suggested the community should play crucial roles together with the other groups (i.e CSOs) and establish a steering committee that monitors public issue in all political and administrative levels in the general.

As well as, informants pointed out the importance of establishing well organized community representatives to enhance their participation; however the informants noted that such community leader established earlier in the District were not well functioned because of their incompetency in the upraising statuses. The informants also expressed there was efforts made to create opportunity and conducive environments for resident's to express their views through different ways in collaboration with the Women, Youth and Children Affairs Bureaus in 2013. But due to narrow scope of previous charities and societies proclamation 621/2009 are not warmly active until modified proclamation of 1113/2019 were in practice. However after a long way discussion with the members of the Woreda Council, received all mentioned grievances and promised to oversight those spotted organizations throughout the District.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

The findings of the study revealed that the surveyed organizations in Bale Robe Woreda particularly the Ethiopian Resident CSOs have significant connection in downward political accountability. In this regard, 36% of CSOs in Woreda found to be comparatively involved in advocating downward vertical political accountability and from this 25% Ethiopian Resident CSOs are involved with at most level of 81-90%.

Despite the fact that all respondents (100%) of foreign CSOs responded that they are not involved in the advocacy of downward vertical political accountability; however it was noted from their responses to the second question that (66.6%) are involved in the media advocacy especially by planning and organizing message for media coverage to publicize appropriate events related to children rights, human rights and mal administrative practices; by contacting local radio and television stations about appearing on local public-affairs programs to share their expertise and by identifying undermined community.

Moreover, it was noted that the overall involvement of all the surveyed organizations in the media and case advocacy activity is very rare compared to the administrative advocacy. Beside their involvement in the advocacy activities, respondents reported the problems/barriers that prevent their organization from doing more on advocating of downward vertical political accountability, accordingly, a significant number (33.4%) of respondents ranked “Legal problems” as #1 most challenging problems. About (25.9%) of the respondents ranked “Economic problems” as #2 most challenging problems while about (22.2%) of respondents ranked “Political problems” as #3 most challenging problems and putting social (incorporating religious and misconceptions) as a least problem that prevented their organizations from doing more on advocacy of downward vertical political accountability.

Regarding organizing awareness creation events on five (5) general strategies that applied by all CSOs stated by Covey (1994), the study noted that appreciable efforts were made to organize awareness creation events on downward vertical political accountability. Table 5 reveals that Ethiopian Resident CSOs have high involvement (83.3%) from the rest in organizing awareness creation events through training and capacity building. Besides, the best media outlets used in creating awareness on the

downward vertical political accountability, the study noted ‘Workshop’ as the first best channel of conveying messages.

Concerning the inclination of the relationship/partnerships, majority of the respondents from Ethiopian Resident CSOs were of the opinion that their relationships with government are ‘Complement’ while foreign CSOs of respondents considered their relationship with government were ‘Reforming’, this indicate the district administration has restrict follow up mechanisms to Foreign CSOs and more harmonizing relationship with Ethiopian Resident CSOs in a woreda.

Generally, if public officials do not receive proper care from the outset, the detrimental effects can well be irreversible. If community do not receive awareness raising on how to shape public officials, they are more vulnerable to exploitation, abuse and likely to remain trapped in a vicious cycle of /no infrastructures in wide range to poverty that will easily extend to their own life’s. Therefore, it is the time to focus on inclusive/deliberative advocates CSO and transformative political accountability of public officials’ to bring good governances in a Woreda.

5.2 CONCLUSION

Based on the foregoing data present and analysis, the following conclusion is made. Accordingly, the involvements of the Ethiopian Resident CSOs in advocating downward vertical political accountability is significant; however their overall programmes related to downward vertical political accountability in Woreda are rare. The findings of this study also reveal that, the reasons for this case are Legal, social misconceptions, economic and the political environment were the main challenging factors which make role of CSOs rare in a woreda. As well the study reveal that the foreign CSOs has been hampered by legal environment to play role in downward political accountability however, the study in fact reveal their involvements in advocating downward vertical political accountability especially, through media by planning and organizing message for media coverage to publicize appropriate events related to mal administrative practice; by contacting television stations about appearing on local public-affairs programs to share their expertise and by identifying undermined community, consequently media has play paramount contribution for foreign CSOs. In this regard in a Woreda, promoting vertical political accountability via community require preferred media and this have to be through workshops in which make accessibility easy for Local CSOs.

As was identified earlier, the analysis of socio-political environment in relation to advocacy CSOs in Woreda's, respondents from both Ethiopian Resident and foreign CSOs offered a testimony that the Woredas' administration have long been unfriendly to their organization in enabling them to political environment but in recent years, the attitude shows optimistic status. However, until recent time, one particularly unhelpful provision of the CSO law narrowed the scope to local and foreign CSOs from engaging in activities pertaining to the good governances specifically in political spheres. This precarious position of the CSOs in a Woreda has responsibility disagreement that they thought to have role in the overall development of Woreda, while those in authority through the CSO law also view them disloyal to the government and constitution. Such responsibility inconsistency is further impacted by the fact that local CSOs have inadequate funding.

Given the lack of fundraising opportunities inside Ethiopia, most Ethiopian Resident CSOs rely on foreign sources of funding. Therefore, by cutting off the sources of funding for Ethiopian Resident CSOs, the former Proclamation has resulted in the closing down of many local and prominent organizations or

made them drastically alter the scope of their work, one of evidence in this study is Yekoeb Berihaan Packt Project (on way to close down the activity); particularly those who has been working in the area of good governance and human rights advocacy etc. However, Article 31 of the Constitution of Ethiopia guarantees; “Every person has the right to freedom of association for any cause or purpose”. It is, therefore, undemocratic or not in favor of public interest to restrict a substantial section of civil society’s activities directed towards most vulnerable population of the Woreda.

Regarding information sharing practices in Woreda, it is widely noted there is flow of information between CSOs and the government agencies however; in the reality, between government and foreign CSOs toward downward vertical political accountability is much narrowed this is due to the fact that the government appears to equate their activity with intelligence work, viewing them as subversives rather than allies in the struggle to improve problems of community.

The study also noted presence of several effective strategies that have to be in place to foster development of downward vertical political accountability trends in Woreda. These strategies are a reflected and build based on those strategies implemented at all level of CSOs activity. Thus, the study pointed out that Inter-agency forum (collaboration), training and capacity building (Education), and Confrontation and persuasion strategies has been allocated in order to get awareness of community toward downward vertical political accountability.

Moreover, the study noted that in order to put forth decisive awareness in community majority of CSOs utilized training and capacity building (Education) mechanisms. Thus, the greatest achievement of those CSOs engaged in the work of downward vertical Political accountability areas has been sharing information’s, advice and opinion on the reality of community lives through wide-ranging mechanisms, much of it through various workshops and trainings, newspapers, TVs, Poster & Pamphlet. As the cursory review of that information sharing, efforts confirm the various advocates CSOs has been served across the Woreda’s mainly through Workshop in highlighting to community in behaving what the law permit and not to them as per legally written principles and on consequences of mal practices of failed public officials in executing their obligation majority of them relay on children and women rights.

Additionally, the respondents to this study from CSOs also suggested that the oversight bodies of governmental institution need to be accommodative of all relevant partners and required the right to appropriate services and protections for all community in the Woreda and Lastly, based on the responses of the respondent this study highlights the facts that all the mechanisms and approaches require enabling environments from government perspective in legal, political and economic sphere

5.3 Recommendations

CSOs in a Woreda complained about lack of enabling environment. However, advocates CSOs in a Woreda need to have the freedom to engage in any purpose as long as both the end and the means involved are lawful. Such recognition of advocates of CSO offers the right to pursue democratic promotion as a legitimate purpose and allows them to employ any lawful operational strategies such as government accountability (targeting failed and negligent public officials in their activities), community empowerment and capacity building, lobbying for reforms of institutional bureaucracy thereby greatly contribute to the aspects of good governance. The recognition to pursue any lawful purpose and strengthening with economy also allows the formation of advocacy CSOs which serves as a school of democracy and thereby enhances the developmental aspects of democracy.

As well, as repeated studies have shown that the activities of most CSOs in Ethiopia are dependent on funds from donors and governments. In this regard, revising the condition that income generating activities must be limited only to incidental activities to the main objectives of the organizations to enable CSOs engage in better income generating activities to ensure their financial sustainability and probably apply a ceiling to the amount of money an organization could annually earn from the commercial activity. Thus, the rights of CSOs need to rely on resource mobilization and the law needs to broaden up their potential source of fund such as membership fee, public collection, tax concessions, public grants, foreign aid and commercial income generating activities that will be reinvested for the purpose of the community.

Furthermore, a major challenge observed in a study is a relationship or alliance existed between advocates CSO and government in a District which is reforming, specifically to foreign CSOs that force them to change their first mandate to government oriented dimensions that should not merely emphasize on downward vertical political accountability but Proclamation 1113/2019 stated that, any Organization shall make the necessary efforts to ensure that its activities help to bring about sustainable development, contribute to the democratization process, promote the rights and interests of its members or enhance the profession they are engaged in. Thus, to overcome this challenge require merely, bottom structures of government in which the legal framework needs to uphold a constitutional doctrine that CSOs are entitled to do what its members can do in their individual capacity to the extent that the applicability of such right permits, as the right to association is derived from the individual liberty. Thus it needs to

recognize the right of CSOs to pursue any lawful purpose that do not threaten the rights, freedoms, safety and security of other individuals, groups or the public as a whole. The right to pursue any lawful purpose shall also include among others the right of CSOs to independently choose their own purposes of formation; to pursue the same autonomously without any undue interference from the government or any other organ; and the freedom to choose any lawful operational strategies, approaches and activities that leads to the attainment of such purpose; and the freedom to solicit fund from any lawful purpose and to utilize the solicited fund for the purpose. Thus CSOs need to have the freedom to engage in any purpose as long as both the end and the means involved are lawful.

As aforementioned, Such recognition offers CSOs the right to pursue democratic promotion as a legitimate purpose and allows them to employ any lawful operational strategies such as government accountability, community empowerment, capacity building of democratic institutions, lobbying and advocacy for reforms of laws and policies etc. and thereby greatly contribute to the institutional aspects of democracy. Moreover the recognition to pursue any lawful purpose allows the formation of diverse types of CSOs which serves as a school of democracy and thereby enhances the developmental aspects of democracy.

Besides, the oversight bodies of governmental institution need to be accommodative of all relevant partners and required the right to appropriate services and protections for all community in the District and government must realize the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture especially in downward vertical political accountability. It should also establish various types of incentives and facilities for advocates CSOs such as, giving certificates in public which raised their relations with community, widening their cordial scope that they have with lower level government Structures. Citizens have also widely take part in the activities of CSOs through participation and contribution than before in which, it is by reducing negligence and having passion to participate when there is programs called by CSOs to residents. As well as, CSOs on the other hand, should institutionalize formal procedures which enhance sustainability, accountability and transparency for citizens and government institutions. In general, if this all mentioned pointed to be in practice, advocates CSOs will improve internal democratic culture.

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X-DZMPA

Addis Ababa
University
(Since 1950)



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT
MANAGEMENT

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am Bruk Gonfa a graduate student at Addis Ababa University and I am conducting a study titled ***“ASSESSING THE ROLE OF ADVOCACY CSOs IN PROMOTING VERTICAL POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY IN BALE ROBE DISTRICT”*** under supervision of Assistant Professor Fenta Mendafo as part of the requirement for the successful completion of the Masters Degree in Public Management and Policy. The study specifically focuses on ***socio-political role of CSOs in promoting democratic political culture, by creating trend of downward vertical political accountability*** in a Bale Robe Woreda. To attain this purpose your honest and genuine participation is very important. I, therefore, highly appreciate you for sparing your time in answering my questions. Finally, I would like to promise you that all your responses will be kept confidential and used only for the purpose of this study.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

PART I. Research Questionnaire prepared for selected respondents from CSOs

In relation to CSOs, advocacy can be described as an activity designed to influence positive political and societal, to tackle community problem, reduce their vulnerability and promote their wellbeing by moving specific constituencies into action through empowering communities and support key initiatives to tackle community problems. Advocates help community use their rights, articulate other (or own) needs, as they perceive them, or legal decisions they require and or the right to which they are entitled.

The following questions are intended to assess extent to which your organization is involved in the following types of advocacy in promoting trend of downward vertical political accountability in a Woreda.

1. Name of Your Organization _____

Question 1

1.1 Does your organization directly or indirectly contributing to effectiveness of good governance in a woreda?

a). Yes b). No

1.2 If your answer is Yes, for Q #1.1 through what ways? (eg. Voicing for disadvantaged community etc)

1.3 Has your organization work on advocating mal administrative practice of public officials through means of community to benefit community themselves?

A). Yes B). No

1.4 If your answer is ‘yes’, for Q1.3 how much of your organization’s work is related to advocating? (Give an estimate by placing an [✓] in one of the following boxes.)

None	1- 10%	11- 20%	21- 30%	31- 40%	41- 50%	51- 60%	61- 70%	71- 80%	81- 90%	91- 100%

Question 2

2.1 What is the intention of your organization in Woreda?

2.2 In which of the following areas (see the table below) is your organization currently involved primarily? If any of your organization task/s is/are related with the items under bullets lists, please tick (✓) all that applies in column ‘A’.

	A
1). Case Advocacy*	
✓ Documenting and sharing important information on administrative problems facing a community;	
✓ Researching rules or eligibility requirements of community as a beneficiary in administrative and social services;	

✓ Meet with woreda’s agency staff and/or affected community to discuss a problem and filing an appeal if services are denied;	
2). Administrative Advocacy*	
✓ Develop relationships with government institutions to influence public officials by providing information about the impact of mal practices of public officials;	
✓ Help Woreda’s institution capacities in creating conducive working procedure, revising guidelines and resolving procedural problems;	
✓ Participate in forums where administrative service centered decisions are made, and speak out about problems facing community at different public gatherings such as in Political Party, Trade Union, Women Association, iddir and kebele meetings etc;	
3). Media Advocacy*	
✓ Plan and organize message for media coverage to publicize appropriate events related administrative practices of public officials;	
✓ Expressing key issues of community through letters to the editor and call-in opportunities or contacting local reporters;	
✓ Contacting local radio and television stations about appearing on woreda’s public-affairs programs to share your expertise;	

If others please write here;

Question 3

3.1 Are there any barriers that currently prevent your organization from contributing to building democracy, specifically on promoting trend of downward vertical political accountability?

a). Yes b). No C) No answer

3.2 If yes for Q. #3.1, how would you rank the following barriers or problems that have prevented your organization from doing? (please put No. 1 being the biggest challenge and No. 2 being the next and so on at the top of barrier you think)

Economic problem	Political problem	Legal problem	Social Problems	Misconception

If others (please specify here): _____

Question 4

4.1 What are strategies used by your organization in promoting downward vertical accountability in a woreda? Please check all that apply on the table under ‘A’ by putting (✓) if your organization organizes mechanism by these events.

	A
Community/Household Surveys, monitoring and evaluation	
Inter-agency forum	
Training and capacity building	

If other (please write here):

4.2 Which media were utilized? (Check all that apply on the table under A by putting (✓)):

	A
Radio	
Television	
Newspapers	
Billboards	
Posters and pamphlets	
Workshops - meetings – trainings	
Other media (Specify) _____	

Question 5

5.1 In the last years, has the Woreda’s administration introduced any network relations that have an effect to your organization?

- a). Yes b). No c). No response

5.2 If your answer is yes to Q. #5.1, how your organization and Government relationship inclined?

- a). Complement b). Reforming C). Opposing D) Combination E) Don` t know

5.3 How important is the alliance and networks so far made by your organization on promoting trends of downward vertical political accountability? (Please tick (✓) on one of them inside the box!)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very important	Fairly Important	There is no collaboration	Don't know	Not important	Not at all important

Question 6

6.1 Please describe the socio-political environment that negatively influences the contribution of your organization activities:

6.2 Please describe the socio-political environment that positively influences the contribution of your organization activities:

Question 7:

7.1 Are public office holders are responsible to the interests of the community?

- a). Yes b). Not at all C). Completely No D). No Responses

Please provide a short description for your answer “How/why” :

7.2 What do you recommend for the rest advocatory CSOs to have decisive influence on the mal administrative practice and to play crucial roles in empowering communities in a country?

PART II

Research Questionnaire prepared for selected respondents from Governmental Institutions

1. In the last years, has the Woreda's administration introduced any network relations that have an effect on advocatory CSOs?

- a). Yes b). No c). No response

5.4 If your answer is yes to Q. #1, how the relationship between your Institution and CSOs inclined?

- a). Complement b). Reforming C). Opposing D) Combination E) Don't know

2. CSOs working in the development of democratic political culture in Bale Robe have done their best so far especially in improving bureaucracy of Woreda's institutions?

- a). Strongly Agree b). Agree c). Disagree d). Strongly Disagree

Please, explain the reasons for your answer briefly.

3. In terms of developing democratic political culture specifically in promoting trend of downward political accountability, the Woreda's administration is in the right track.

- a). Strongly Agree b). Agree c). Disagree d). Strongly Disagree

Please, explain the reasons for your answer briefly

Thank you for your time!

Please complete and return to Bruk Gonfa.

Should you have any questions please telephone: 0979-01-05-85 or

Email: brukarrow@gmail.com

PART III

Interview Questions for Selected personnel of CSOs

1. What do you think the remarkable contribution of your organization has on downward vertical political accountability toward benefiting community in a Woreda?
2. What progress have you noticed so far in the Woreda, in holding public officials accountable? What do you think, are there determinant factors besides that your organization used to empower community in a woreda?
3. What looks like the relationship between your organization and Government in improving democratic trend of vertical political accountability in a Woreda?
4. If there are any challenges face your organization before 2018 and after, toward executing tasks in advocating to downward vertical political accountability, please reveal with truth!

TRANSLATED QUESTIONER APPEARED AS FOLLOW:



Kabajamaa/ kabajamtu,

Maqaan kiyya Buruuk Gonfaa jedhama Yuunivarsittii Finfineetti, mumees Buulchinsaa Ummataatiifi Hogansaa Misoomaati Digriikoo lammaffaa, Public Management and Policy kan Jadhun Hojichaa jira, haata'u malee xummuurra sagantichaatiif qo'anooffi qorranoo ***“ASSESSING THE ROLE OF ADVOCACY CSOs IN PROMOTING VERTICAL POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY IN SPECIAL DISTRICT OF BALE ROBE TOWN”*** specifically focuses on ***socio-political role of CSOs in promoting democratic political culture, by creating trend of downward vertical political accountability*** kan jadhun gorrssaa koo Qarqarraa Profesarra kan ta'an Fantaa Maandaafrootin gagessaa jira, kanaaffis hojii kiyya fixaan baasuudhaf gaafiiwan armaan gadii dhiheesse jirra, hata'utti milka'iina kiyyaaf gahee issin gafiwan armaan gadii deebissun tapatan kana kan hin jadammedha, kanaafu qarqaarrssa akka naaf gootan kabajaadhan issin gaaffadha. Dhuumarrati, Deebiin kamiyyu issin naaf keenitan dhiimma barnootaatiif qoffa kan oluudha dabalataaniis dhuunfumaan issa kan egamee dha. Ulfaadha!

Gaafiin kuun kan dhihaate deebistoota hojataoota dhaabata Civil Society kan ta' aniif qoofa.

Goola 1FFAA

Gaafiileen armaan gadii kan dhiyaattan, dhaabani Civil Society Anaa kessati xiyeeffano ijaarraa dimookraassitiif kennu kessati, aadaa ittigaafatamuumaa ijaarru keessatti gahe qabu beekudhaaf kan qopha' edha.

1. Maqaa dhaabaticha _____

Gaafii 1

1.1 Dhaabanni keessan kallattidhaanis ta' e alkalattin milka' inna bulchiinssa gaarittiif gumaacha qabaa?

a). Eyeen b). Lakki

1.2 Deebiin keessan gaaffi lakk. 1.1 Eyeen yoo ta' e, haalla akkamitiin gummacha goodha? (Fkn. Ummata humna hinqabneef Sagalee ta' udhan fi kkf...).

1.3 Dhaabani keessan dantaa ummataaf, raawii rakkoo bulchiinsaa hogantootaan dhuuffan xiyyeffanoo keessa galchaa?

a). Eyeen b). Lakki

1.4 Deebiin keessan gaaffi lakk.1.3ttif Eyeen yoo ta' e, parsantaadhaan dhaabanni kessan haangam hojii akkanaarrati xiyyeffata? (Tilmaama sitti fakaatetti sanduuqa keessa mallatoo [✓] ka' i)

Hommaa hinjirru	1- 10%	11- 20%	21- 30%	31- 40%	41- 50%	51- 60%	61- 70%	71- 80%	81- 90%	91- 100%

Gaafi 2

2.1 Kaayyoon hojii dhaaba keetti Anaa keessati qabu maalin?

2.2 Yeroo amaa kannati gaheen hojii dhaabni keetti tarree armaan gadii kessaa saddarkaadhan (sanduuqa ilaali), issa kam kessatti rammada? ((lakk. 1ffaa , 2ffaa , 3ffaa) jechaa gahee dhaabnni keetti sadarrkaadhan qabu saanduuqa “A” jallati [✓] barressi).

	A
1). Haala Dhiimootaa Ilaalchisse	
✓ Rakoo bulchiinssaa ummatta mudattan ilaalchisse waraqa raagaadhaan kuusuufi oddeefanoo barbaachiissa akka barbaachissumaa issaati dhiheessu.	
✓ Fayyadamuuma ummataa irratti hunda' uun, seera itti fayyadamuuma fi kaadhimamuuma ummataa tajaajilootaa adeemssa bulchiinssa kessatti qabu	

qo' annoo irrati gaggessu.	
✓ Hoogantoota Anaa fi ummataa midhamnrae jedhu waliin walitti dhufenyaan marii gochuu ykn yoo tajaajiili ummatta birra hingenne taate koomi galchu.	
2).Haala Bulchiinsa Ilaalchisse*	
✓ Walttidhufenya dhaabata Mootumma waliin oll-guudissudhaan oddeffanoo amanamaa dhihessun rakoo hoogantootaan muddattan iarratti dhiibaa akka umamuu gochu.	
✓ Dandaeti dhaabatoota Anaa kessati argamaniif haali walxaxaan adeemssa hojii issaanni akka foya' uuf gargaarssa gochu.	
✓ Carraa waltajiiwan adda addaa, tajaajilla bulchiinsaa irrati kan xiyeftan irratti hirmaachuuniffi fayyadamun rakkoo ummatta irrati gaha jirru iffa baasu.	
3). Haala Miidiiyaa Ilaalchisse*	
✓ Ta' eewan rakkoo bulchiinsaa hogantootaan rawwataman irratti miidiiyyadhaaf caraa iffa baasu karoora karooru fi qoopessu.	
✓ Gazeexeesitoota gabaastootaf rakkoo ciciimoo ummattaa karraa xalayyaatiin huubachisu.	
✓ Dhaaba raadiyyo fi televissiyoonna naannoo wajiin walitti dhufuudhaan qabxiwaan ummatta ilaalattan irratti gorssa kennu.	

Maaloo qabxii birraa qabduu taanan naan qooda;

Gaafii 3

3.3 Yerroo Kannatti rakkoowan adda addaa kan dhaabake, gahee ijaarssa Dimookraassi keessatti bahu irraa dhorgan jirru? Kessattu ijaarssaa aadaa ittigaafatamuuma irraa?

a). Eyeen b). Lakki C) Sirrumaa hin bekku

3.4 Deebiin kee Eyeen taanaan lakk G. 3.1ttif, Mee rakkoo kaniin akkamitti sadarrkaan keeta? (maaloo, rakkoo ni ta' a jatee yaadu guubaarrati lakk. 1 rakkoo issa guda kan jadhuuf fayyadami, 2 rakkoo issatti anaa kan jadhuuf, akkasummatti itti fuufi.)

Rakkoo Dinagdee	Rakkoo siyaassa	Rakko Seeraa	Rakkoo Hawaasawaa	Rakkoo waliigaltee dhabu

Maaloo qabxii birraa qabduu taanan naan qooda;

Gaafii 4

4.1 Dhaabnii kee akka aadaan ittigaafatamuuma Anaa keessatti calaqa' u tooftaawan akkami fayyadama? (maaloo, issa hin ta' a jatee yaadu saanduuqa "A" jalatii malattoo [✓] ka' i)

	A
Gageessaa shalagaa lakkofssa ,to' annoo fi madaalii jirratoota/ Hawaassaa	
Waltajii dhaaboota walinii qophessu	
Dandeediidhaan ijaarru fi Qophessu	

Maaloo, qabxii birraa qabduu taanan naan qooda;

4.2 Miidiiyya kam fayyadamttu? (Maaloo saanduuqaa "A" jalla kan jirran ilaaliti malattoo (✓) ka' i):

	A
Raadiyoo	
Teelevisiyoona	
Gazeexootta	
Biilboordoota	
Waraqaa sosocho'a, kan akka poostararaa.	
Waltajii Hoojii fi walgahii	

Maaloo, qabxii birraa qabduu taanan naan qooda

Gaafii 5

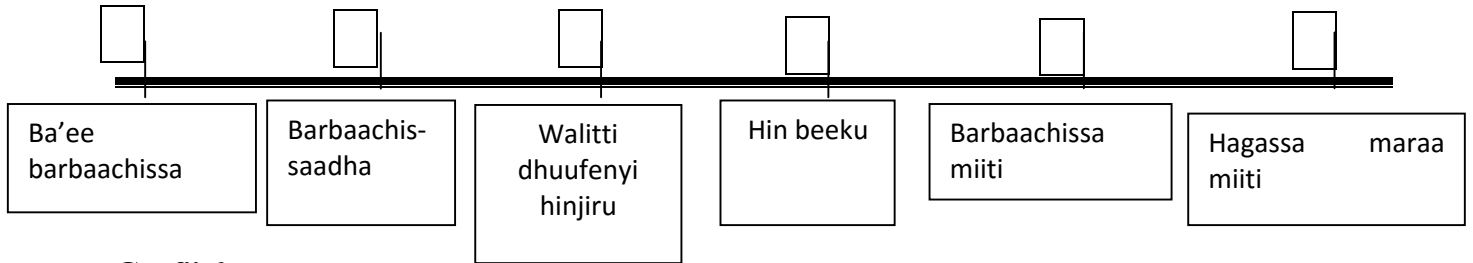
5.5 Wagootan darban kessatti bulchiinssi Anaa walitti dhuffenya dhaaba keessan waliin godhee jiraa?

a). Eyeen b). Lakki c). Deebii hi qabuu

Deebiin kee lakk 5.1ttiif eyeen tanaan,waliiti dhufeenyi keessan maal fakaata?

a). Kan Wal-qarqaarssatti b). Kan jijirramaatti (Reform) C). kan wal-hinsimanne
D) Wal-makaadha (a,b fi c) E) Hin beekuu

5.6 Barbaachisumaa walittidhufeenyaa dhaabatta keetiin admesiffame bu' aa ykn gahee, aadaa ittigaafatamuumaa Anaa keessatti ummuuf qabu akkamitti ilaalta? (maaloo, kan filatterrati malattoo (✓) saanduuqa gubaarrati ka' i)



Gaafii 6

6.3 Maaloo ta' ewwan hawwaasawaa fi siyaassawa karraa hin barbaachisneen gahe adeemssa dhaaba keetii midhan naaf bareessi/ibsi?:

6.4 Maaloo ta' ewwan hawwaasawaa fi siyaassawa barbaachisoo ta' an adeemssa dhaaba keetiif guumaacha goodhan naaf bareessi/ibsi

Gaafii 7:

7.3 Hojatoonii motummaa (hogantooni) kan warradaa kessaa aadaa itti gafatamuummaa feedha ummataaf qabuu? a). Eyeen b). ba' ees miiti C). sirruumaa lakki

D). deebii hin qabuu

Maaloo, qabxii filatee irrati waan beektu naaf barreessi (deebii hinqabu filate tanaan birra darbi!)

7.4 Maaloo, Dhaabatoota walfakkaatoo biyyatti kessatti argamaniif yaadni/goorrsi calaqisisttu yoo jirrate, karraa ummata kakkassun hojii aadaa ittigaafatamuumaa babalissu keessati qabaniif naaf barreessi.

Goola 2ffaa

Gaafiin kuun kan dhihaate deebistoota hojatoota dhaabata mootummaa kan ta' aniif qoofa.

1. Wagootan darban kessatti bulchiinssi Anaa walitti dhuffenya dhaabatoota Civil Society waliin godhee jiraa?

a). Eyeen b). Lakki c). Deebii hi qabuu

Deebiin kee lakk 1ttiif Eyeen tanaan, waliiti dhufeenyi keessan maal fakaata?

a). Kan Wal-qarqaarssatti b). Kan jijjirramaatti (Reform) C). kan wal-hinsimanne
D) Wal-makaadha (a,b fi c) E) Hin beekuu

2. Dhaabatoonni Civil Society ijaarssa diimookrassi Anaa kessatti gahee taphatan dhaabatoota motummaa qarqaarru kessatti gahe qabu?

a). Gar-malee Qabu b). Qabu c). Qabaataniis, gadi bu'a d). Goonkumma hin qaban

Maaloo, qabxii filatee irrati waan beektu naaf barressi

3. Adeemssa ijaarssa diimokraassi kessattu aadaa itti gaafatamuuma hogantootaa Anaadhaan walqabatee, adeemssi bulchiinssi itti jirru daandii sirridha.

a). ba'ee sirridha b). Sirridha c). sirri miiti d). Gonkuumaa sirri miiti

Maaloo, qabxii filatee irrati waan beektu naaf barressi

Yeroo Keessaniif ba' ee galatoomaa!

Maaloo, yoo xummuurtan Buruuk Gonfaattif deebissa.

Gaffii qabdu tanaan lakk. Bilbillaa kannarrati naaf bilbilla: 0979-01-05-85 ykn

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