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Good Governance and Participatory Democracy:
The Challenges and Opportunities
A Case Study of Addis Ababa City Administration (AACCA)

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This is to certify that the topic entitled
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The Challenges and Opportunities
A Case Study of Addis Ababa City Administration (AACCA)

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List of Acronyms

AACA	Addis Ababa City Administration
ADB	Asian Development Bank
A-I-C	Appreciation, Influence, and Control
AU	Africa Union
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CSA	Central Statistical Authority
CSOs	Civil Society Organisation
EAs	Enumeration Areas
EU	European Union
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
OAU	Organization of African Union
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SD	Standard deviation
SIGA	Special Initiative on Governance in Africa
SPSS	Statistical package for social science
TDRI	Thailand Development Research Institution Foundation
UN	United Nation
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UN-ESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UN-NADAF	United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa
UNDP	United Nation of Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WEF	World Economic Forum

Abstract

This study assessed key governance challenges in Addis Ababa City Government, and present recent empirical evidences. The paper begins defining and elaborating key governance components, such as participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness consensus building, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, fairness and inclusiveness and strategic vision.

The study developed a random sample based on a multi-stage, stratified, area cluster approach, which gave every eligible adult in each enumeration area to have an equal chance of being selected. In the 10 sub-cities, in total 350 of respondents were carried out 318 of which were responded- an overall response rate of 90.86%. Design of the questionnaires used in the study has contained certain standard questions. Identically worded items are used for purposes of comparison and locating public opinions in city governance system.

The main governance issues discussed in this study include citizen participation and governance partnership, civil society engagement in governance process and development programs, working arrangements between city government and the private sector, culture of accountability, communication practices and access to information, extent of transparency in financial arrangements, decision-making approaches, inclusiveness and fairness in dealing with citizens, attractiveness of laws and programs to assist community, management efficiency and effectiveness in adopting and resourcing a customer-centered strategy for budgeting and finally, democratic consolidation and its working culture in city administration. The study then provides evidences which suggest a sobering picture: on average, there appears to be weak progress in terms of good governance and participatory democracy in city government jurisdiction in recent times.

Recommendations in the study are suggested including ensuring effective participation, promoting effective partnerships and participatory planning approach, strengthening accountability culture and a corruption free governance system, addressing political polarization in governance system, and nurturing and choosing foresighted leaders.

CHAPTER I: Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Good governance is a concept that has lately come into focus in development and management. The applicability of the norms of good governance to urban settlements requires rigorous commitments of governments and donor agencies. There is a growing international consensus that the quality of good urban governance is the most important factor for the eradication of poverty and for sustainable urban development. That is, the concepts and terms of good governance and democracy are widely promoted by the both global (international) and regional donor agencies on governance such as the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and ADB (Asian Development Bank). More importantly, good governance and participatory democracy are closely associated with the public sector reforms in most developing countries (Agree, 2000:1- 4).

Good governance in its entire feature i.e. functioning democratic institutions, rule of law, transparency and accountability, effective service delivery, participatory decision making is can significantly increase the impact of poverty-reduction policies. Effective relationships between institutions at national and sub-national levels undoubtedly will improve responsiveness of the public sector. Conversely, bad governance is an additional burden borne by the poor in society. In recent years there has been a large and rapid shift in thinking about governance approaches that involve strategic, structural, and procedural reforms in managing public services in the public sector. There are also large-scale changes to use various market models as substitutes for direct provision of services to ensure efficiency and effectiveness of governing processes. Demands for different kinds of services, expectations for new approaches to getting access to these services and a demand for new models of organization and management are some of the challenges in public service organizations. These changes suggest that services provided by the service organization should be:

- Available and accessible to those groups or individuals given explicit priority;
- Equitable- that is fairing the treatment of individuals or groups of people in similar circumstances;
- Acceptable in terms of the quality of service provided, and the manner in which it is provided. Acceptability of the service includes reliability, timeliness, responsiveness and convenient; and

- Appropriate and relevance to meet individual and community preferences; economic and efficient from the viewpoint of service users and effectiveness in terms of the benefits they bring to service users (Maxwell's, 1991, as cited in D.Mcdevitt and A. Lawton, 1994: 45).

Given that good governance is the effective implementation and enforcement of appropriate political, legal, economic, and administrative institutions of a society, many areas of the academic institutions such as universities and research organizations have important role to play in improving governance system in the countries of the developing nations. It is generally acknowledged that good governance would benefit the developing countries. The problem is how to put governance programmes and democratic principles into practice in these countries. Because development partners have diverging views on the substance and even the objectives of good governance, it is necessary, in order to ensure the effectiveness of their actions and to identify major problems and emerging trends in this area.

Since the early 1990, Africa has been experiencing a major ground swell of political change with the people of the continent taking resolute steps to demand participatory and democratic systems of governance. After being gripped by serious crisis of governance for much of their post-independence history, nearly all African countries have recently begun to initiate radical political and institutional changes. While a number of countries are still going through a period of civil strife and armed confrontation, it has become increasingly apparent that the region as a whole is engaged in searching for appropriate ways and means of establishing democratic political foundation and the necessary environment for the promotion of good governance. Tremendous efforts are being made to create more open pluralist and participatory political orders and to develop effective, transparent, accountable and responsive institutions of governance.

In line with this, the Government of Ethiopia has been implementing programmes aimed at improving governance as part of its poverty reduction strategy. Nevertheless, Ethiopia continues to face major governance challenges, particularly with respect to democratic consolidation, accountability and rule of law where its performance ranks lowly even in comparison with the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa Ethiopia's Governance Indicators Compared to those (World Bank, 2000).

Governance - the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs - is definitely the most critical factor in any country's development dynamics. The age-old monarchy, which held sway

for many centuries, was essentially based on the 'divine' right of the ruler to manage state affairs in accordance with the tenets of absolute control of political power, economic and environmental resources, and societal institutions and world-views. With the spread of modern education and the growing consciousness of the population, the rather anachronistic divine right of kings was not only considered outdated but also challenged frontally, in spite of attempts to make half-hearted changes in the institution of constitutional rule and modern forms of economic and resource management, the monarchy's legitimacy to continue its rule was beyond any repair. The 1974 revolution was thus the product of such dynamics.

What have been the experiences of the last 33 years of 'constitutional' governance? In 1974, the age-old monarchy was overthrown by widespread public revolt and the subsequent takeover of power by a military junta (Dergue regime) that declared socialism as both ideology and strategy of governance and development. Ethiopia's experience with 'socialism' as ideology and strategy of governance and development was a tragic episode in the long history of an ancient country and proud people. In spite of a platform of good governance that espoused principles of democracy, equality, accountability, public participation, peace and accelerated socio-economic growth and rational utilization and management of environmental resources, the socialist experiment unleashed a train of major events that culminated in the enslavement and maladministration of an entire population by an ignorant, vengeful, sadistic and conceited military clique. Neither religious nor other cultural norms could save the thousands of young and old people of Ethiopia from being slaughtered like sheep at the hands of street thugs turned 'revolutionary guards' under the banner of 'red terror'. The true political, social, economic and environmental cost of the 'socialist' experiment will not be known. Even the excesses of the 'Italian Fascists' probably paled before the atrocities of the designers and perpetrators of the red terror. The psychological shock of the period has left an entire generation traumatized beyond easy redemption. The leader of the Ethiopian blood bath destroyed a country and cowardly managed to save his miserable skin for life in exile.

Since 1991, both during the transitional period and Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, a wide range of political and economic reforms has taken place. The reforms started with adoption of the transitional charter. Several steps have been taken to ensure and strengthen civil and political liberties.

1.2. Problem Statement

It may be realized that democratic governance depends on the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and to deliver efficient and effective public services, able to create an enabling policy environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct. The successful democratic system requires the ability of democratically-elected governments to provide "good governance." While many citizens of Addis Ababa value characteristics associated with democratic principles, they are often equally interested in qualities such as public accountability, responsiveness, transparency, and efficiency.

In practical terms the situations were different at local government levels of City Administration of Addis Ababa even though the government of Addis Ababa City Administration tried to achieve above administrative reform areas. Good governance dimensions were undermined by a range of factors in the city administration. Some of the key governance challenges those were addressed in this study include:

- City Administration lacks to work with people and civil society organizations in achieving people-centered development approach that was based on popular participation and democratic consensus with different social groups within the city government.
- Weakness in fostering popular participation in city development programs and transformation process and debate over development policies and implementation.
- Inadequate cooperation and partnerships with development partners in the city administration. Lack of commitment to institutionalize civil society participation and to create and establish strong, viable, assertive, independent and politically active civil society in city governance system.
- Lack of clear, open and understandable work procedures, regulations and policies, and well-defined rights and duties, mechanisms for their enforcement
- Lack of responsiveness and weakness in taking account of majority interests in promoting efficiency and better services in city administrations.
- Service delivery process in a city administration lacks client orientation.

- Inadequate institutional capacity in conducting political and strategic leadership in city administration. Weakness in nurturing and choosing farsighted leaders is a major challenge for the city administration system.
- Lack of democratic consolidation due to absence of mediation of different interests to reach a broad consensus. But good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures. This is one of the most important pre-requisites for consolidated democracy.

All these are the underlying drivers of poor governance in city administration. It is important to be clear about the sources of poor governance, as possible remedies will vary accordingly. And it is important to assess the extent of demand for good governance, which requires an understanding of the incentives of the main actors involved in the governance process. An understanding of the specific mechanisms and nature of the specific costs imposed on the city residents by weak governance is needed in order to design realistic action plans for dealing with it. The extent to which information is available and people can be held accountable for their actions is critical to any chance of improving governance.

Research questions

The following research questions were identified as means to direct and guide the study:

- How is AACCA engaged in promoting good governance and participatory democracy?
- Why has participatory decision-making been lacking in the system of Addis Ababa City government?
- What are the experiences with regard to democratic governance in Addis Ababa City Administration?
- To what extent is strategic partnerships between civil society organizations and government be fostered in a city administration in building democratic working culture and good governance?
- To what extent is good governance principles in city government translated into real access to citizens?
- How can democratic spaces be maintained in city administration?

- If good partnership practices are also fostered in the institutions of civil society, what can city government do to foster strong, viable, assertive, and independent civil society?
- What measures are taken by city government to create democratic consolidation and solidarity (consensus) among different social groups in the city administration? How does city government maintain the ties of social solidarity and express principles of equity?
- What mechanisms are under use in the city administration to improve effectiveness and responsiveness of public agencies to the needs of the city residents?
- How are the conditions set by the public institutions in city administration that enable participation and empower citizens?
- Can city government policies create a sense of belonging?
- What are the problems with access to information in city administration?

1.3. Objectives of the Study

This study intends to analyze the opinions of public on good governance and participatory democracy, now widely accepted, in conjunction with the governance initiatives undertaken by developing countries. Based on the information available through the survey study, this research gives an overview of governance and democratic working practices in Addis Ababa City Administration, bearing in mind the context of the current governance debate and the progress made by developing countries for sustainable development and poverty reduction. In line with this, the following general and specific objectives are stated to address above challenges and research questions.

a) General Objectives

The general objective of the study was to assess the progress of democracy and good governance in Addis Ababa City Administration and to suggest ways and means of minimizing the political, economic and social costs of transition from authoritarian regime to democratic, open and transparent governance system. Moreover, its main objective was to define strategies for constructive partnerships between the government and other relevant stakeholders to improve their contributions to promote democratic governance in Addis Ababa City Administration.

b) Specific Objectives

The ultimate goal of this study was to address the principles and realities of good governance and participatory democracy in Addis Ababa City Administration and their applicability to promote best practices in city administration through supporting local governments, non-governmental organizations and the business community to engage constructively in the development, implementation and dissemination of good governance practices at their localities. The followings were specific objectives of the study:

- To assess the practices of citizen participation in the decision-making process based on political and social pluralism, i.e., to assess human and organizational capacity of local governments to promote participatory management and planning practices in the city administration;
- To review the contributions and roles of different development partners in promoting good governance and democratic culture in the city administration and in building democratic governance and thereby to provide a framework that is necessary for enabling different players to participate fairly and effectively in a city administrative system;
- To assess work practices of city administration whether they are currently accountable, transparent, and responsible and fair and equitable in service delivery or not;
- To examine community engagement practices in governance processes;
- To assess city residents' satisfaction level with democracy and service delivery and to assess institution capacity of local governments to manage public services; and
- To review current institutional and capacity deficits for the policy formulation and to the implementation of governance reforms in city government.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This paper might be of great interest to the applicability of principles of good governance to the realities of Addis Ababa City Administration, and should be seen as an invitation for further localized debate on principles and realities of urban governance in Ethiopia. It is hoped that the paper inspires all urban actors – public sector managers, policy-makers, development actors,

practitioners, researchers, individuals and organizations involved in governance and development actions. Its findings will play important role in addressing the major determinant factors undermining democratic governance practices in city administration. Some of the possible justifications are stated below:

- Findings and recommendations of this paper will help to provide an opportunity and establish databases relating to good governance for institutions, researchers, practitioners, consultants, and to conduct further researches in the future;
- It creates an opportunity for researchers and consultants with cross-disciplinary interests related to good governance to meet and interact with the contemporary local government challenging issues concerning the theoretical and practical aspects of good governance strategies.
- It provides new insights in filling the gap in the knowledge pertaining to the good governance and democratization process.
- It establishes a new academic paper that will be used to disseminate research and promote discussion of governance issues.

Despite the past decade of local government reforms and the entrenchment of decentralization policies in some urban centers in the country, cities throughout country continue to exhibit limited capacities to provide adequate services as well as to generate adequate urban livelihoods means for their populace.

1.5. Scope of the Study

This study is designed to assess opinions and attitudes towards good governance and participatory democracy in Addis Ababa city administration and track the evolution of such opinions over time. This particular study was concerned with the attitudes and opinions of the citizens of city administration. Respondents were asked to rate city administration's overall performance, to assess the working culture of city government and to state what they considered to be the most important issue facing the city residents. Opinions were gathered on the role of the government in endeavors such as improving the governance dimensions of economy, politics, and administration in city administration.

Questions addressed whether good governance existed in various levels of local and city governments and public institutions, how well the current government had fulfilled its promises,

the government's handling of public affairs, whether government officials were responsive to problems of the general population, and whether the government, civil society organizations, and other social, political, and economic institutions could be trusted. Respondents were polled on their knowledge of government officials, their level of personal involvement in political, governmental, and community affairs, the inclusiveness of the government, and what reactions would be to government-imposed restrictions on their lives and ideas. Opinions were gathered on whether city government and its local government units such as sub-cities and kebeles are participatory, transparent, responsive, efficient and effective, democratic in their leaderships, faire in treatment and equitable (city residents should have equal rights) or not. In addition, sets of questions addressed the government policies and strategies, whether government laws and policies hindered or promoted economic growth, whether government policies benefited one group more than other groups, and whether respondents were satisfied with the performance and democratic culture of the city government.

Moreover, the reference period of the study covered three years (from 2004-2006 G.C) to assess the practices and progress of the good governance programs/packages implementation in city government administration.

Finally, background information of (demographic characteristics of sample) includes sex, age, education level, occupation, and income level of residents.

1.6. Research Design and Methodology

This section describes the research techniques of the survey and steps taken to select a representative random sample of 350 of respondents aged 18 years and above.

1.6.1. Type and Method of Research

The study employed descriptive type of research and survey research method was used for this research because it is an appropriate method for measuring public opinion and attitudes towards governance and democracy issues and for collecting original data from target population.

1.6.2. Study Population

The study population is that aggregate of objects from which the sample is actually selected. The first instrument, seeks the opinion from different panel. It was opinion-based and used to collect responses from an appropriately represented segment of political and non- political actors on issues pertaining to democracy and good governance in their administration units. These included the following units of analysis (sampling unit) such as public officials (appointed) and city government employees, civil society organizations, political parties, and city residents. Other social artifacts or products of social beings such as books, report documents, journals, newspapers, court cases, parliamentary hearings and like may also be used as units of analysis.

1.6.3. Sampling Frame

A sample frame is the actual list of sampling units from which the sample is selected. The sample was selected through a multi-stage process based on the sampling frame used by the Central Statistical Authority (CSA), the institution mandated to collect official social and economic statistics. The distribution of the sample populations for city residents was based on the 1994 census national distribution of the population per sub-city whereas the sampling frame used for the civil society organization was their lists in the supervisory organizations. Finally, the sample frame for public officials and government employees was their lists in their perspective organizations.

1.6.4. Sampling Design

This section describes the sampling techniques employed in the survey and steps taken to select a representative random sample of 350 of respondents aged 18 years and above. The study developed a random sample based on a multi-stage, stratified, area cluster approach, which gave every eligible adult in each enumeration area an equal chance of being selected. In the 10 sub-cities, a total of 350 respondents were asked. Multi-stage cluster sampling process was carried out based on division of the city administration into ten sub cities, which are further sub-divided into enumeration areas (EAs), called Kebeles. These are areas considered convenient units for purposes of population-based data collection. The primary sampling unit adopted for the survey was thus the Kebeles. The respondents were selected from pre-selected kebeles that were all

selected randomly from each enumeration areas (EAs). The households from which respondents were drawn were not pre-selected. Instead, data collectors selected households based on strict guidelines to ensure a random sample was also achieved at this stage of the selection process. The same was true for selection of an individual respondent within the pre-selected government institutions and civil society organizations. Simple random sampling technique was also used to select sample of CSOs and public officials and government employees from the formal office since every sample in the population must have an equal chance of inclusion.

1.6.5. Sample size

From the practical aspect, it is too difficult to cover or consider all the elements of population in the study. Sample populations were selected proportionately within each category of the overall sampling framework.

More specifically, sample representatives were grouped in the following category for a rough balance between the respondents (see table1.1 below):

Category I: High ranking public officials and government employees

Category II: Members of civil society organizations (NGOs, Business persons, academics, consultants or policy advisors, the media)

Category III: City Residents

Table1.1: Category of sample size

No.	Category	Sample size	Remark
1	Public officials and government employees	50	
2	Civil society organizations	70	
3	City Residents	230	
Total		350	

1.6.6. Sources of Data Collection

1.6.6.1. Primary Data

The major sources were used for the collection of primary data from public officials and government employees, civic society organizations and city residents. Therefore, both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered from the above sources through observation, interview and questionnaire methods.

1.6.6.2. Secondary Data

The secondary data were collected from various sources such as books, report documents, journals, newspapers, court cases, parliamentary hearings, constitution and city charter, technical and administrative records and minutes of city administration.

1.6.7. Instruments

Three survey instruments were designed to obtain data and pertinent information with respect to democratic governance. These are:

I) Questionnaire

A structured survey questionnaire was prepared to collect data from sample respondents. The content of the questionnaire has two major sections. The first section of the questionnaire on the social background of the respondent asked conventional questions about gender, age, residential location, education and income. A second section examined the respondent's views with regard to governance and democracy performance indicators. This section comprised of twenty three indicators. The items are divided into seven sections covering one to six governance questions per arena.

The final version of the questionnaire contains two open – ended questions (see Appendix A).

Types of formats were:

- Open-ended questions (to allow the responder a variety of response options)
- Closed - ended questions (to certain responder choices among provided options)

II) Interviews - Interviews were conducted through face-to-face.

III) Observations - Non participant observation was applied.

To adapt the questionnaire to local conditions, the instruments were translated and then administered into national language (Amharic).

Respondents in three categories were asked to rate various issues concerning governance and democracy using the same five-point response scale.

1.6.8. Data Processing and Analyses

A volume of observations made in a form that isn't easily interpretable. Here, "raw" observations were typically made in the form of questionnaires with boxes checked, answers written in spaces and the like. The data processing phase for the study typically involved the classification (coding) of written – in answers and the transformation of all information to some computers for quantitative analysis.

Depending on the type of research method involved in the study and the level of measurements that was used to measure the variables, relevant Statistical Packages of Social Science (SPSS) was used to analyze the data and to come up with the findings and conclusions. As I have already suggested, descriptive statistics was a method for presenting quantitative descriptions in a manageable form. In this case, the study used the following statistical methods for data analysis: percentages, ratios, averages, standard deviations and cross-tal ulations. For the perception differences among the each group of respondents, qualitative method of data analysis was also employed in the analysis part.

1.7. Limitations and Problems

The major problems encountered in conducting the study were related to the respondents. The respondent survey took more time than expected because of many problems that data collectors encountered in the field.

The following were some of the problems faced:

- Shortage of time to gather all reliable data from different sources.

- As indicated above, one of the sample frames was the 1994 census national distribution of the population of Addis Ababa. As a result, population figures do not match with the current reality due to the multi-faceted changes that have taken place over the last twelve years
- In some city government offices the process of obtaining data was not smooth as many sub-cities and kebeles were not cooperative.

1.8. Organization of the Study

This research paper hopes to critically analyse the challenges and issues of democracy and good governance practices in Addis Ababa City Administration that may help to complement the government's efforts in instilling greater awareness of and concern about the importance of democratization and good governance. It is structured around five chapters: The first chapter outlines the introductory parts including research designing strategy and methodology of the research. The second chapter will cover the theoretical framework which deals with the conceptual aspects of the good governance and democracy. Third chapter focuses on experiences, lessons and data discussion. Chapter four examines the data discussion and analysis. Finally, the fifth chapter deals with summary of key findings, concluding remarks and recommendations expected to solve the problem stated in the introductory part.

CHAPTER II: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

As it was noted earlier, the purpose of this study is to assess the governance challenges of the city of Addis Ababa within a theoretical framework of good governance and participatory democracy. Hence, the following theoretical review of the tasks of democracy and good governance is provided to serve as a conceptual framework within which the city's governance performance and problems will be analyzed. In addition, this chapter also outlines the criteria or indicators that will be used to assess the progress of good governance and participatory democracy in Addis Ababa City Administration. In this connection, it is essential to provide both conceptual and operational definitions and features of good governance and democracy that may highlight the features of the governance environment in city administration. The indicators used for assessing the progress of good governance and participatory democracy in city administration can only be established after defining the concepts of good governance and democracy and identifying their salient features. This chapter, therefore, seeks to explain, as much as possible, what "good governance" and "democracy" means.

2.2. Definitions and Dimensions of Governance

2.2.1. Definitions

The concept of "governance" is not new. However, it means different things to different people. The actual meaning of the concept depends on the level of governance we are talking about, the goals to be achieved and the approach being followed. Good Governance is a theme that has gained popularity over the last decade. It has many definitions and implications at the national and international levels.

Governance refers broadly to the exercise of power through a country's economic, social, and political institutions in which institutions represent the organizational rules and routines, formal laws, and informal norms that together shape the incentives of public policymakers, overseers, and providers of public services. Here, we can see three key dimensions such as:

- (1) The process, by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored, and replaced;

- (2) The capacity of government to manage resources and provide services efficiently, and to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations; and
- (3) The respect for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them (World Bank, 1992:1).

According to World Bank (1994), the problems of poverty and governance are inextricably linked. As a result, the Bank argues that adjustment alone cannot put developing nations on a sustained poverty-reducing path; such must be complemented with institution building and good governance.

If power is abused, or exercised in weak or improper ways, those with the least power—the poor—are most likely to suffer. Weak governance compromises the delivery of services and benefits to those who need them most; the influence of powerful interest groups biases policies, programs, and spending away from the poor; and lack of property rights, police protection, and legal services disadvantage the poor and inhibit them from securing their homes and other assets and operating businesses. Thus, poor governance generates and reinforces poverty and subverts efforts to reduce it. Strengthening governance is an essential precondition to improving the lives of the poor (WB, 1994: 2).

Governance is viewed by UNDP as the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels and the means by which states promote social cohesion, integration, and ensure the well-being of their populations. It embraces all methods used to distribute power and manage public resources, and the organisations that shape government and the execution of policy. It encompasses the mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and resolve their differences(UNDP 1997a: 2-3).

According to UNDP (2002) governance denotes the “exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels. Good governance encompasses the state, civil society, and the private sector ... Its dimensions are the rule of law, transparency, responsiveness and efficiency, accountability, and strategic vision”.

Good governance, therefore, depends on public participation to ensure that political, social and economic priorities are based on a broad societal consensus and that the poorest and most

vulnerable populations can directly influence political decision-making, particularly with respect to the allocation of development resources. Good governance is also effective and equitable, and promotes the rule of law and the transparency of institutions, officials, and transactions. There are many actors - individuals, organizations, institutions, and social groups - essential for the elements of sound governance. Governance encompasses the state, but it clearly transcends it by including roles for both the private sector and civil society organizations. The state is generally defined as including all political and public sector institutions. The state has particular responsibilities for the delivery of public services, the control and exertion of authority, and the establishment of an enabling environment for development at international, national, and local levels (Ibid).

This definition is consistent with the above World Bank definition 'to denote the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to management. Two aspects of this definition merit closer attention. First, the concept of governance is broader than government. Governance is normally described as involving government, civil society and the private sector. In the urban context, this means that the responsibility for managing a city's affairs is not limited to local government, but includes a wide variety of stakeholders including: national and regional (provincial and state) governments; the private sector; non-governmental organizations(NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs), the media, professional associations and other members of civil society. As it will be discussed later in this chapter, each actor has a specific role to play based on its source of legitimacy and comparative advantage.

According to Oxley (1999), governance has to do with the institutional environment (the set of political, economic, social and legal conventions that establish the foundational basis for democratic governance) in which citizens interact among themselves and with government agencies and officials. The capacity of this institutional environment is important for development because it helps determine the impact achieved by the economic policies the government adopts. This capacity, then, and the governance quality it reflects, is a vital concern for all governments¹.

I think that the term good governance was used to replace modernization of the public

¹Asian Development Bank (ADB): <http://www.adb.org/>

administration because the World Bank wanted to address the problem of administrative corruption in developing countries but was unwilling to use the word corruption as such because it is a negative word and might offend governments of countries which the World Bank works with. The phrase good governance is more neutral and can be defined to have a broader meaning, including the issues of transparency and accountability which are really about the problems of corruption.

In the context of a political and institutional environment that upholds human rights, democratic principles, and the rule of law, good governance is the transparent and accountable management of human, natural, economic, and financial resources for equitable and sustainable development. It entails clear decision-making procedures at the level of public authorities, transparent and accountable institutions, the primacy of law in managing and distributing resources, and capacity building for elaborating and implementing measures that aim to prevent and combat corruption.

Good governance means competent management of resources (human, financial, material and information resources) and affairs in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to people's needs. It is also effective and equitable and it promotes the rule of law. It assures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources.

Good Governance is also the sum of the many ways of individuals and institutions, public and private and managing their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest.

It is epitomized(symbolized) by predictable, clear, open and understandable policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs. Poor governance (on the other hand) is characterized by arbitrary policy making, unaccountable bureaucracies, unenforced or unjust legal systems, the abuse of executive power, a civil society unengaged in public life, and widespread corruption.

Apart from the World Bank's and other institutions' emphasis on good governance, it is also necessary to refer to academic literature on governance, which mostly originates from scholars working with international development and donor agencies. The majority of these scholars has concentrated almost exclusively on the issue of political legitimacy, which is the dependent variable produced by effective governance.

According to Hyden (1992:7), good governance can be defined as follows: good governance refers to the conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the public realm. The catch phrases of the governance realm are authority, reciprocity, exchange, trust and accountability, with each of these components emphasizing or reinforcing democratic norms and practices in one way or the other. For instance, authority seeks expression in the legitimate use of power in which the people elect and control their leaders, while the parameter of accountability is the extent to which the people can hold their elected or appointed officials responsible for their actions or inaction. Reciprocity refers to the nature and quality of the social interaction among members of a political community and its major indicator in the public realm is the extent to which individuals are free to form associations to defend and protect their interests. Put differently, the emphases of the governance realm are elections, political control and responsiveness, freedom of expression and plural politics, which are principles, and nuances of liberal democracy. Kooian (1993: 258) defines governance as "the pattern or structure that emerges in a socio-political system as an outcome of the interacting intervention efforts of all involved actors. This pattern cannot be reduced to one actor or group of actors in particular".

Governance, therefore, refers to self – organizing, intergovernmental networks characterized by interdependence, resource exchange, rules of the game, and significant autonomy from the state (Rhodes, 1997a:15). Along the same line, Stoker(1998: 17- 28), contends that governance is primarily concerned with ordered rule and collective action, but one in which political power must be seen to be legitimate, there must be autonomous self-governing network of actors, and a balance between state and civil society. It is when this is achieved in qualitative terms that there may be good governance. Moreover, Stoker points out,

In the modern world of government, 'what is' is complex, messy, resistant to central direction and in many respects difficult for key policy-makers let alone members of the public to understand. Broadly the governance perspective challenges conventional

assumptions which focus on government as if it were a 'stand alone' institution divorced from wider societal forces (Ibid: 19).

According to Hyden (1999:185), governance is the stewardship of formal and informal political rules of the game. It refers to those measures that involve setting the rules for the exercise of power and settling conflicts over such rules. Rhodes definition refers to as a vogue word for reforming the public sector whereas Hyden talks about governance by relating it to theories of development and democratization in the Third World. Rhodes's definition of governance can be placed in the field of public administration and public policy.

In his new edition, Hyden (2000:6) also restated governance in the following manner: Governance was never allowed to become a conceptual straight-jacket but was expected to function as a rather loose framework within which each researcher could creatively explore political issues of significance. The problem that we encounter, therefore, is not the limitations stemming from the imposition of a confining concept, but rather the opposite.

According to Joseph (1990: 205), accountability is the most fundamental principle of good governance, which is assured through competitive elections in a democratic society. To him, "free and fair elections are the bedrock of any democratic society and the most important means of making governments accountable to the citizenry. Given the class basis of politics, governance is not a classless political exercise defined by a social pact imbued with a sense of "commonness", neither can political accountability in real terms, be a little more than a political myth, an enduring political cliché, which is characterized by a reciprocal, but grossly unequal relations between the governors and the governed, the king and his subjects, a relationship characterized by collaborations, subordination, coercion and violence (Chabal, 1992: 53-54).

To conclude, it is clear that the concept of governance has over the years gained momentum and has a wider meaning. Apart from being an instrument of public affairs management, or a gauge of political development, governance has become a useful mechanism to enhance the legitimacy of the public realm. It has also become an analytical framework or approach to comparative politics. These definitions of governance are a small sample of many that can be encountered when assessing the literature.

2.2.2. Dimensions of Governance

What types of governance have been identified?

According to Leftwich (1993:611, 1994:371), the concept of “democratic good governance” has the four main levels of meaning which can be classified into economic, political, administrative and systemic governances.

Economic governance: encompasses decision-making processes that have a bearing, direct or indirect on a country's internal or external economic activities. Economic governance greatly impacts production of wealth, its distribution and the general quality of life.

Political governance: refers to political decision-making and policy implementation of a legitimate and authoritative state. A democratic state is predicated on separate and checked powers, a pluralist polity and regular and frequent participation of citizens in election of their leaders and representatives.

From a political sense, good governance presupposes a regime or state which enjoys legitimacy and authority, derived from a democratic mandate and built on the traditional liberal notion of a clear separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers.

Administrative governance: refers to a system of administration and policy implementation carried out through an efficient, independent, accountable and open audited public service which has the bureaucratic competence to help design and implement appropriate policies and manage whatever public sector there is. It also entails an independent judicial system to uphold the law and resolve disputes arising in a largely free market economy. The administrative aspect of good governance focuses on four main areas of public administration in general and public sector management in particular. They are:

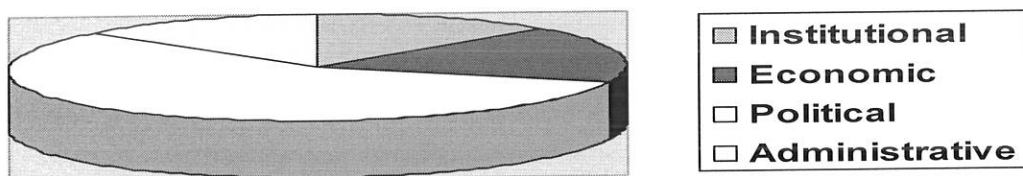
- accountability, which in essence means holding officials responsible for their actions;
- a legal framework for development, which means a structure of rules and laws which provide clarity, predictability and stability for the private sector, which are impartially and fairly applied to all, and which provide the basis for conflict resolution through an independent judicial system;
- information, by which is meant that information about economic conditions, budgets,
- markets and government intentions is reliable and accessible to all, something which is

- crucial for private sector calculations; insistence on transparency, which is basically a call for open government, to enhance accountability, limit corruption and stimulate consultative processes between government and private interests over policy development.

Systemic or institutional governance: embraces all the attributes of governance geared to enhancing the life of citizens and subsumes the three types of governance mentioned above. This is to mean that, from a systematic angle, good governance is government that embraces the formed institutional structure location of authoritarian decision making in the modern state power. In this sense, good governance denotes the structures of political and crucially, economic relationships and rules by which the productive and distributive life of a society is governed.

Developing countries face challenges in all four types of governance. The task ahead is to construct and sustain systems that respond to economic, political and management needs of the Ethiopian people in general and city residents of Addis Ababa in particular.

Figure 2.1: The Four Dimensions of Governance



Source: UNDP (1997) Governance for Sustainable Human Development

2.3. The Features /Elements of Good Governance:

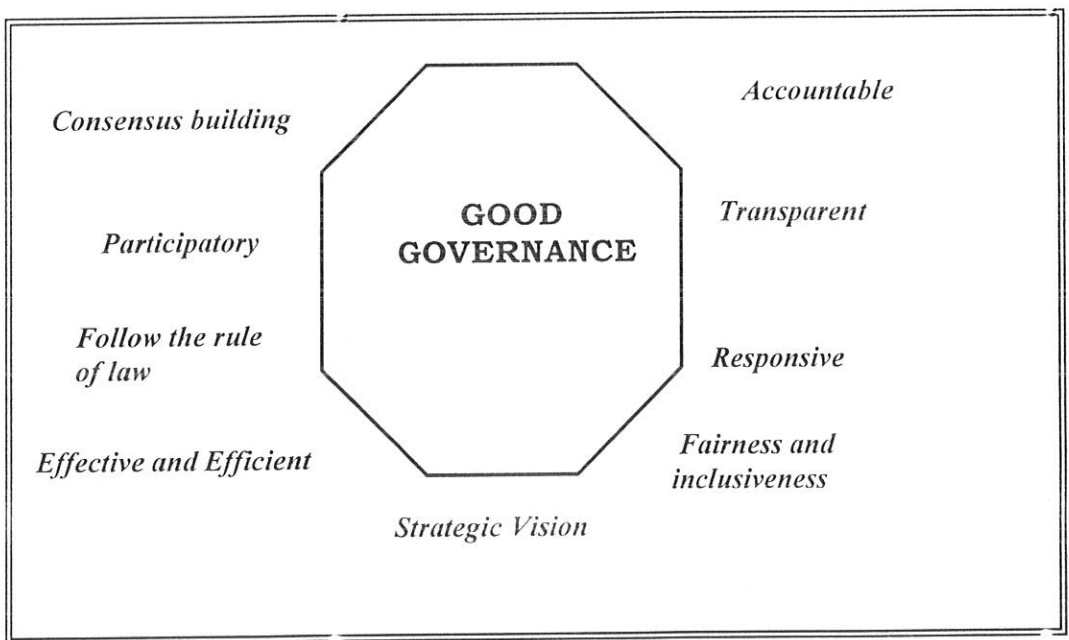
Underlying Assumptions of Good Governance

A number of multilateral organizations including the United Nations Development Programme(UNDP) and the World Bank (1992) have reflected on the elements of good governance, and on their relation to development. As the experience of these organizations

varies, so, too, do their perceptions of what constitutes good governance. In its report, Governance for Sustainable Human Development, the UNDP Report (1997: 36) and (Linder 1998: 16) acknowledge the following as core elements of good governance.

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1) Participation | 4) Responsiveness | 7) Effectiveness and efficiency |
| 2) Rule of law | 5) Consensus orientation | 8) Accountability |
| 3) Transparency | 6) Fairness and inclusiveness | 9) Strategic vision |

Figure 2.2: Elements of Good Governance



Source: UN-ESCAP <http://www.unescap.org>

2.3.1 Participation

The condition of participatory democracy requires that free and public discussions allow a broad range of affected parties to engage in rational, open-minded debate leading to collective decision-making. This, it is argued, can best be accomplished through the extensive use of consultative processes and the democratization of those aspects of public administration that can facilitate the input of societal interests into state policy making, even to the extent that these interests effectively have control over the policy-making process. Participation in development concept means developing and implementing activities jointly, based on the realization that the active participation of those directly involved increases the sustainability of development,

strengthens its legitimacy and promotes capacity-building. According to Patten (2001: 226), clear and transparent decision making processes at the administrative level are an important element in the realization of the participation principle and are essential for a functioning democracy. Participation can involve consultation in the development of policies and decision-making, elections and other democratic processes. Participation gives government's access to important information about the needs and priorities of individuals, communities and private businesses.

Empowerment

According to Bailey (1992:71-82) empowerment is a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power (that is, the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important.

As it was suggested by Bailey, there are three basic components of empowerment. Empowerment is multi-dimensional, social, and a process. It is multi-dimensional in that it occurs within sociological, psychological, economic, and other dimensions. Empowerment also occurs at various levels, such as individual, group, and community. Empowerment, by definition, is a social process, since it occurs in relationship to others. Empowerment is a process that is similar to a path or journey, one that develops as we work through it. Other aspects of empowerment may vary according to the specific context and people involved, but these remain constant. In addition, one important implication of this definition of empowerment is that the individual and community are fundamentally connected.

2.3.2. Rule of Law and Justice

According to Dicey (1982: 120) rule of law means, "in the first place, the absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power, and excludes the existence of arbitrariness, of prerogative, or even wide discretionary authority on the part of the government".

The rule of law is the principle that governmental authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with written, publicly disclosed laws adopted and enforced in accordance with established procedure. In other words, as long as the process is fair, transparent and consistent, justice is obtained and legality is achieved.

It refers to the effective functioning of institutions such as a formally independent and impartial judiciary, legislatures, police, prosecutors, and other formal institutions with some direct connection to law. It is a system in which laws are public, where no laws apply only to particular individuals, classes, or groupings, and includes provisions for judicial review of government action. The rule of law is also something that resides in the consciousness of the citizens of a society – how they understand, use, and value the law. In the context of good governance, rule of law must enable freedom of association and speech as well as citizen capacities to participate constructively in their society. Rule of law should ensure predictability, meaning fair and consistent application of laws and government policies.

It also refers to the institutional process of setting, interpreting and implementing laws and other regulations. It means that decisions taken by government must be founded in law and those private firms and individuals are protected from arbitrary decisions. Reliability requires governance that is free from distortion incentives - through corruption, nepotism, patronage or capture by narrow private interest groups; guarantees property and personal rights; and achieves some sort of social stability. This provides a degree of reliability and predictability that is essential for organizations and individuals to take good decisions.

Predictability refers to (i) the existence of laws, regulations, and policies to regulate society; and (ii) their fair and consistent application. The importance of predictability cannot be overstated since, without it, the orderly existence of citizens and institutions would be impossible.

Therefore, good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and corruption free governance system.

2.3.3. Transparency and Open Information Systems

Governance is the competent management of resources and business in a manner that is transparent, accountable and responsive. Transparency and Openness is ensuring that information is accessible and that objectives and expectations are clear. It is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them. As

the UNDP has observed, transparency means “sharing information and acting in an open manner.” Moreover, transparency is defined by UNDP (1997: 36) as:

“allows stakeholders to gather information that may be critical to uncovering abuses and defending their interests. Transparent systems have clear procedures for public decision-making and open channels of communication between stakeholders and officials, and make a wide range of information available”.

The free access to information plays an important role in promoting transparency. Information, however, must be timely, relevant, accurate and complete for it to be used effectively. Who produces what information, and for what purpose, become key issues when competing interests converge on a particular issue.

Transparency is another term that gets confused with accountability. Gregory (2001) defines transparency as greater openness and specificity of governmental activity, transactions, and information. Based on this definition, there has been a large and significant increase in transparency in government organizations in the last few years, due in part to their ability to provide a wide and vast amount of information.

Improved transparency is seen as a necessary basis for improving efficiency and effectiveness of fiscal management. Better information makes government more accountable and leads better fiscal policies. Fiscal transparency thus provides a powerful force to link government policies to market forces and promotes sound financial management. It also provides available evidence indicates that lack of transparency contributes to poor economic performance. Transparency is necessary for government accountability and helps to limit public sector corruption

2.3.4. Responsiveness

Thomas, (1998:355) defines responsiveness as "responding readily and sympathetically to some request or signal from an outside source. Being responsive is recognizing stakeholders' needs and addressing them by providing appropriate services and programs.

It involves both the capacity and the inclination to address the needs of individuals, groups, or society at large. Governance also implies that institutions and processes have to demonstrate

their responsiveness to the hopes and aspirations of the people at large, not just certain social groups or elites. It includes the extent to which public service agencies demonstrate receptivity to the views, complaints and suggestions of citizens and service users, by changing their own structure, culture and service delivery patterns. Allowing citizens to obtain redress for their grievances and advocate for change in policies and processes increases participation and promotes transparency. Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe.

2.3.5. Consensus Building

Good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.

Consensus building is an ongoing process that requires discourse among people with diverse points of view, including those that challenge prevailing norms in order for “best judgments” to be determined. Mezirow (2000:12) states, “agreement based on the unchallenged norms of a culture will obviously be less informed and dependable than those based on a wider range of experience”. Consensus requires people to transform their points of view or frames of reference, which is a process of learning. Effective discourse requires that individuals be willing and prepared to seek understanding and to come to some reasonable agreement and an environment that is free from coercion and power imbalances, that encourages respect for self and others and that welcomes diversity (Ibid).

There are several actors and as many view points in a given society. Good governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community.

2.3.6. Fairness and Inclusiveness

The equity dimension of governance seeks to ensure that development is inclusive, that all people benefit from well-functioning political and economic institutions and political, economic and social processes. Equity is often used in the context of giving traditionally disadvantaged groups such as women, disabled persons, ethnic minorities, and indigenous peoples, equal access

and control over resources and opportunities. Measures are often used to compensate for historical and social disadvantages towards creating a level playing field. Inclusiveness is the inclusion of all whether groups and individuals.

According to Jae and Judy (1993), what does inclusiveness look like?

- Everyone is included regardless of religion, social status, sexual difference, gender, age, physical or mental ability, or any other factor that separates people;
- Differences in values, cultures, concepts, learning styles and perceptions that individuals possess are used constructively;
- Workplaces and communities are more diverse;
- An openness and an enriched, safe, equitable, hospitable, and appreciative environment exists to support everyone;
- A wide range of involvement is evident: government with business people, with citizens, with other stakeholders and etc;
- The weakest and those generally most excluded in a society are included in decision making; and
- Inclusiveness keeps faith with dream of a nation where all are welcome.

Features of an inclusive governance system:

- **Anticipates and welcomes diversity** in the characteristics and the needs of citizens and responds to all citizens in a way which is respectful and which recognizes their starting points. It is well informed about legislation and associated guidance relating to equalities. Values individuals and makes arrangements which meet individual needs. Citizens are confident that public servants understand their circumstances and needs and are genuinely interested in their progress and success. All members of the public organizations share values of respect for individuals and promotion of wellbeing of others.
- **Identifies and addresses barriers to participation.** It is well informed about possible barriers to participation among citizens. It understands that barriers can be located in the individual citizen, in the stakeholders, government or in the interaction among them; and that the barriers can include physical, emotional, geographical, socio-economic, and other factors.

- **Identifies and responds to under-represented groups** or groups with unrecognized need. It does this through its detailed knowledge of social issues in the local and wider community, and it is creative in devising provision which attracts and meets the needs of citizens.
- **Works in partnership with other agencies.** It has strategic alliances with local authorities, regeneration agencies, and other key organizations working to a social inclusion agenda, and with public and private sector bodies. It uses these partnerships to develop or contribute to service provision which enables citizens to develop further confidence.
- **Takes a proactive, supportive interest** in the progress and outcomes of all citizens and encourages them to take a purposeful approach to development. It provides guidance and support to inform their choice of a programme which matches their abilities and aspirations, helps them sustain successful participation in the programme and helps them develop further aspirations and plan next steps.
- **Designs** programmes and learning activities which give citizens the best possible opportunities for success. It **provides an appropriate service delivery arrangements** to meet the diverse needs of citizens, where possible consulting citizens on design and delivery. It recognizes that standard, conventional programmes may not match the requirements of all citizens and is ready to develop or adapt programmes and delivery methods that best match citizens' needs. It provides learning environments which are appropriate for the individuals using them.
- **uses information and feedback from citizens**, from external organizations and from in-house and external research to effect improvements in inclusive practice.

2.3.7. Effectiveness and Efficiency

Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

Effectiveness is the extent to which an activity fulfils its intended purpose or function. It is a measure of the match between stated goals and their achievement.

According to Vlasceanu et al., (2004: 37) effectiveness defines as an output of specific review/analyses that measure the quality of the achievement of a specific goal or the degree to which a institution can be expected to achieve specific requirements. It is different from efficiency, which is measured by the volume of output or input used. As a primary measure of success of a programme, clear indicators, meaningful information, and evidence best reflecting institutional effectiveness with respect to institutional achievements have to be gathered through various procedures (inspection, observation, site visits, etc.). Engaging in the measurement of governance effectiveness creates a value-added process through quality assurance and accreditation review and contributes to building, within the institution, a culture of evidence.

Efficiency is an ability to perform well or to achieve a result without wasted resources, effort, time, or money (using the smallest quantity of resources possible). Efficiency can be measured in physical terms (technical efficiency) or in terms of cost (economic efficiency). Greater efficiency is achieved when the same amount and standard of services are produced at a lower cost, if a more useful activity is substituted for a less useful one at the same cost, or if unnecessary activities are eliminated. A programme or an institution may be efficiently managed, but not effective in achieving its mission, goals, or objectives (Ibid: 38).

2.3.8. Accountability

According to Thomas (1998:351), accountability is “answerability for performance or the process of holding someone answerable for performance”. It calls on the actors (a government, ministry, project manager or other stakeholders) to bear responsibility for their actions. It is the opposite of arbitrariness and demands openness and the assumption of responsibility towards the population.

Accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Accountability is about power-about people having not just a say in official decisions but also the right to hold their rulers to account. They can demand answers to questions about decisions and actions. And they can sanction public officials or bodies that do not live up to their responsibilities. Today the insistence that public officials be held accountable is extending to corporations, multinational organizations and others who have more power in public decision-making. Because of their influence over the lives of people and communities, they are holders of the public trust and so answerable for their actions to national legislatures and

to the public. Accountability means different things in different contexts. To whom, for what and by which standards is accountability judged? Often the concern is with sanctions against legal wrongdoing. All these kinds of accountability are central to democratic governance to ensuring that the holders of the public trust are acting effectively and fairly (Human Development Report 2002:65).

2.3.9. Strategic Vision

Leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded (UNDP 1997: 36).

2.4. Definitions and Features of Democracy

2.4.1. Defining Democracy and Its Culture

The visualization and definition of democracy varies from situation to situation. However, in almost all circumstances democracy may be conceived as involving the guarantee of social justice, government accountability and human freedoms. In broad terms, therefore, democracy refers to as system of governance in which the rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives

According to Beetham (1992: 40), the meaning of democracy can be summarized as:

“A mode of decision-making about collectively binding rules and policies over which the people exercise control, and the most democratic arrangement is that where all members of the collectivity enjoy effective equal rights to take part in such decision-making directly- one that is to say, which realizes to the greatest conceivable degree the principles of popular control and equality in its exercise”.

Democracy is a system of government in which the whole population is engaged. It can take many different forms, depending on local culture, society and history. There is no single, ideal model. For democracy to take root, thrive and endure, certain “procedural and institutional minimal” conditions must be met; and civil and political rights must be recognized and observed.

Democratization: the promotion of democratization in governance processes calls for the strengthening of democratic governance mechanisms. These include ongoing daily decision-making processes and mechanisms at the national, regional and local levels by which a country is democratically governed. The institutions, processes and traditions that determine decisions within a country need to be identified. However, democratization is a gradual and long-term process that takes place within a specific socio-economic and cultural context.

Democratic Culture: it is necessary to briefly define what we mean by democratic culture. The term describes the necessary cultural conditions which need to be put in place for democracy to take place (Linder, 1998: 16). The idea of democracy is based on the human quality of free will, the ability to make independent choices but at the same time fully recognizing that man is a member of an interdependent society. This interdependency of free thinking people necessitates the development of values, norms, rules and regulations that will guide the conduct of social interaction. According to Keane (1998), without the habits of association, without the cultivated taste for sharing, without the concrete experience of helping others and being helped in turn, without the very idea that others face the same situation, a democratic culture cannot grow.

Institutions are set up to allow the articulation of various interests of social groups. It is in these institutions that authority and power are exercised. Only when the people can hold their leaders to account, are these institutions sensitive and responsive to the wishes of the people. To safeguard the interests of the people against autocratic rulers, there must be enough checks and balances among institutions of state that ensure the independence of legislative and judiciary, and turn the bureaucracy and military into professional pro-people institutions. Thus a democratic culture is based on the principles of equal rights of citizens in running affairs of society, equal right to representation and tolerance of divergent views in the debate to look for solutions of common good. Once debate is concluded whether by consensus or by vote, the decision becomes binding to all.

The most important requirement for a government to be democratic is that it holds fair elections. Democracy is founded on the principle of 'one person, one vote' and on the rule of the majority which makes collective decisions binding all. Voting is fundamental to democracy because it is the main mechanism through which citizens can influence the actions of their government. Building a democratic culture is a process which is articulated in the 'national strengthening of good governance programme' in a country. The Governments of developing nations take good

governance to refer to the exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority to manage the nation's affairs and the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions as well as leadership behavior through which citizens' groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations, and mediate their differences.

Like the concept of 'good governance', democratic governance seeks efficient institutions, and a predictable economic and political environment necessary for economic growth and effective functioning of public services. But the concept of democratic governance concerns political freedom and human rights, and removal of discrimination as central objectives. A reform agenda would aim at building institutions and rules that are not just efficient but also fair, and that are developed through a democratic process in which all people have a real political voice.

Democratic governance thus incorporates into the notion of good governance for development, democratic processes and institutions, and a concern with the securing of political and civil rights and freedoms as human rights.

2.4.2. Features of Democracy

The main features of democracy include the following:

- promoting pluralism;
- developing, nurturing and maintaining an electoral system that provides for the free and fair expression of the people's will through genuine and periodic elections;
- the accountability of elected officials under the rule of law;
- guarantee of human rights and political freedoms;
- military accountability to civilian authority;
- presence of civil society;
- an independent judiciary;
- openness of society;
- a democratic culture and democratic spirit;
- enhancing social cohesion and solidarity.
- constitutional limitation of political power through the separation of powers checks and balances (Schmitter and Karl, 1993: 40-45).

For democracy to flourish, people must be able to hear and articulate differing opinions and they must have unhindered access to information on which they can base their political views. We

continue to lobby those governments that seek to suppress freedom of expression, as well as supporting freedom of expression projects around the world.

Democratization, on the other hand, refers to the process of replacing the institutions and culture of a civilian or military dictatorship with those of democracy. Two broad stages of the process have been identified. The first stage, which is generally short-lived, has to do with the transition from a dictatorship to a civilian government formed through multi-party elections under a democratic constitution. The later outlines the formal institutions that must be established together with the norms that should be observed. The second stage is what is termed democratic consolidation. This is the process whereby the formal institutions and the norms of democracy attain widespread acceptance and thereby become entrenched as the preferred system for conducting public affairs. In other words, in democratic consolidation, the majority of the citizens, including, especially, the political leadership must “believe, at a minimum, that democracy is the least bad form of government” for society and themselves (Huntington, 1993: 23-25).

Democratization—the process of making the transition to democracy—also depends on an effective legislature that is supported by strong constitutional and procedural systems and that is sustained by capable legislators, a free media, a strong civil society, and effective citizen engagement. When democracy is weak, the needs and rights of the population are not represented and consequently are often overlooked or denied. This is particularly true for the rights of the most marginalized members of the population, such as the poor, minorities, women, and children, which further marginalizes them and prevents them from contributing to, or benefiting from, social and economic progress.

Democracy is not an all-or-nothing affair. It is a question of the degree to which citizens exercise control over political decision-making and are treated as equals. These values of democracy are realized through political institutions and practices. There is no universal model of democracy. A country’s political institutions and practices are often shaped by its history, culture, social and economic factors. Democratization is not a linear process that moves from an authoritarian to a democratic regime. It is a multi-faceted, multi-disciplinary process that moves back and forth, where some institutions are more developed than others. A functioning democracy therefore requires many interdependent elements and processes that are based on a culture of citizen participation in public affairs.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a theoretical framework (model) of governance and democracy which implies that good governance and democracies provide public services at different levels than dictatorships. The section has also entailed several principles of good governance and democracy that apply to all levels of government, whether global, national, regional, or local. Systems of governance, under the conceptual framework, are characterized by (1) participation, (2) rule of law, (3) transparency, (4) responsiveness, (5) consensus orientation, (6) fairness and inclusiveness, (7) effectiveness and efficiency, (8) accountability and (9) strategic vision the degree to which public decisions reflect the interests of all citizens versus an elite subset. The theory has indicated that less inclusive (autocratic) governments will under-provide development programs relative to more inclusive (democratic) governments. Autocratic governments are found to provide public services like schooling, roads, safe water, public sanitation, and pollution control at levels far below democracies.

CHAPTER III

Experiences, Lessons and Data Discussion

3.1. Introduction

Chapter two of this study has addressed the theoretical framework of good governance, its dimensions and its key elements for meeting the development goals and creating sustainable development. This chapter reviews some evidences and research findings by taking initiatives and experiences at international, regional and national levels in order to see how effective good governance and participatory democracy are enabling people to live in an environment which is more attractive in all dimensions of governance such as political, economic, institutional and administrative and services needs to the public.

I, in the field of public administration, prefer to study good governance and participatory democracy challenges and problems in Addis Ababa City Administration in line with political, economic and administrative dimensions of governance as well as their policy outcomes in the context of City Administration through examining adherence to principles of good governance and participatory democracy. To facilitate this process, I prefer to see some experiences of developing countries such as Thailand, Ghana and Botswana as a model in addressing governance challenges including governance foundation, achievements and challenges in Ethiopia for the last few years and Ethiopian government efforts to overcome development challenges of the country.

3.2 Initiatives to Good Governance

3.2.1 International Framework: Global Initiatives to Good Governance

Good governance and Democratization have been linked to sustainable development. As it is stated by World Bank in previous chapter, good governance can be defined as "... the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs" (World Bank, 1989:60) and also regards as synonymous with sound development (World Bank, 1992:1). The good governance and democratization programmes supported and promoted by institutions such as the World Bank, United States, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the European Union and the Commonwealth

Secretariat, is based on the fact that the latter (good governance) has the ingredients, features, the functional and institutional prerequisites as well as the building blocks of democratization. These include an efficient public service; an independent judicial system and legal framework to enforce contracts; the accountable administration of public funds ; an independent public auditor, representative legislature; respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government; a pluralistic institutional structure; and a free press.

At the international level, there have been a number of initiatives/activities devoted to good governance. Some of them are:

In March 1996, the United Nations launched the System-wide Special Initiative on Africa in order to provide support for the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa (UN-NADAF). Within that framework, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) created a subsidiary programme, the Special Initiative on Governance in Africa (SIGA). This programme is intended to promote good governance by developing sound institutions, increasing the role of civil society and encouraging transparency, responsibility and effective results.

Within the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and International Financial Institutions (IFIs) such as IMF and WB, the promotion of good governance became an essential instrument on development agendas in the 1990s and often an integral component of programmes and projects. Awareness of the significance of good governance is also growing in partner countries²

3.2.2. Regional Initiatives

What are the highlights in the development of good governance in Africa in the past decade? At the regional level, there have been also a number of activities devoted to good governance, four of which are particularly noteworthy. OAU has articulated some parameters of good governance:

In the 1990 Declaration on the International Changes, African heads of state committed themselves to the establishment of political systems that guaranteed human rights, adhered to the rule of law and ensured high standards of probity and accountability for those in public office. This was a clear demonstration of political will and commitment by African states to change in the direction of good governance

²*Africa Recovery, Vol.11#4 (March 19 - 37 -98), page 14*

The 1991 Commonwealth Declaration of Good Governance adopted in Harare by heads of government reaffirmed their commitment to change and respect for universally accepted principles of good governance. The key components of the declaration are the right of people to freely elect their governments; the primacy of rule of law; the independence of the judiciary; freedom of expression and association; and transparency and accountability in government.

In June 1995, the Cairo Agenda for Action, adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), recognized that good governance, like democracy, peace, security and stability, is an essential factor in economic and social development. In the Cairo Agenda for Action adopted in July 1995, African Heads of state committed themselves "to the promotion of good governance characterized by accountability, probity, transparency, the rule of law, and a clear separation of powers."

At the Commonwealth Round-Table on Democracy and Good Governance in Africa held in Kasana, Botswana, in February 1997, several African leaders underlined that "sustainable democracy could only grow from within societies, and could neither be prescribed nor imposed."

What are some of the setbacks that have marked Africa's democratic experiment? Poverty reduction and sustainable development in Africa will require major improvements in governance. Accountability and transparency are crucial for the political and economic transformation of Africa. But such principles can only be sustained if African governments take extra measures against corruption, and if they promote civil society participation in all spheres of national life. Nonetheless, there is irrefutable evidence that good governance practices are taking root and are irreversible.

- In February 1991, the World Bank organized a seminar on governmental management and economic development in Senegal. The seminar brought together several experts and political decision-makers in order to analyze the interaction between development activities and conditions for governmental management. The seminar focused on criteria for analyzing good governance.

- In November 1991, the International Institute of Administrative Sciences (IIAS) and other development partners organized a regional seminar in Dakar (Senegal) on the theme of institutional capacity for change and support of public policy. The seminar brought together representatives of the Governments of a number of African countries, political decision-makers and experts in order to consider the importance of an appropriate institutional framework for public affairs management.
- In November 1996, a regional seminar on good governance and development was organized in Dakar by the African Institute for Democracy in cooperation with UNDP, USAID, the Agency for the French-Speaking Community and other multilateral development assistance agencies. The very concept of good governance and its content and purposes were reconsidered at this important meeting.
- In July 1997, an African Governance Forum was held in Addis Ababa under the auspices of UNDP and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). The Forum brought together representatives of a number of African Governments in order to describe and discuss their national governance programmes. This Forum was followed by an international conference on African development organized by UNDP in order to discuss international practices and experience in the area of development.
- In March 1998, the United Nations organized a conference in Addis Ababa on the theme, "Governance in Africa: Strengthening the Institutional Framework". The goals of the conference were to encourage discussion of the best means of strengthening State institutions as an essential condition for good governance, to identify obstacles to the consolidation of good governance and strategies for overcoming them, to establish a strategic plan of action for consolidation of the institutional framework with a view to achieving good governance in African countries and to publicize the lessons drawn from experience in various countries³.

3.3. Country Experiences

3.3.1. Thailand's Experience in Governance

Thailand changed from an absolute monarchy to a democratic government in 1932 as the revolutionists believed and stated that the Thai administration needed to be modernized and

³*Africa Recovery, Vol.12#1 (August 1998), page 36*

governed by the people's representatives. Indeed, a more modern, democratic system would allow the government to recruit professional and educated people to work for the country.

Although Thailand has a long experience with the development of local government at all levels, most local people have had limited access or control over political power and resources. Decentralization has largely been in the form of de-concentration through provincial and district offices. During the past five decades, the national government has never fully transferred power from the central to the local administration, even though many efforts have been made to establish real local government in Thailand. Decentralizing decision-making powers to the local level and people's participation in community development has become one of the most important development issues. Political demand for self-governing bodies at the sub-district level emerges because local bodies are considered as the fundamental governing units at the provincial administrative level⁴.

In addition, many reports and scholars have highlighted repeated problems and undesirable experiences from the failure of government efforts to eradicate poverty and improve the quality of life for rural people. Many questions were raised about the sustainability of the program and its projects that were mainly managed and implemented by the national government. Officials who work in the community are appointed by the central government; therefore, they are accountable to their supervisors in Bangkok- capital city of Thailand, rather than to the local community.

It is widely recognized that decentralization will increase the efficiency and responsiveness of local government. Locally elected leaders know their constituents better than officials appointed from the central government. They can provide the public services the local people required. Technically and physically, it is easier for local residents to hold local officials accountable for their performance. On the other hand, it is widely recognized that true and sustainable development takes place when the stakeholders of a community equally and democratically share ideas and visions, as well as participate and take responsibilities together to steer and implement development activities. This creates a sense of ownership as well as partnership in development. An effort to establish a bottom-up, people-centered planning and community development approach was initiated to administer rural development at the beginning of the fifth National

⁴ <http://pioneer.netserv.chula.ac.th>

Economic and Social Development Plan in 1982. In practice, however, real people's participation in planning their future and in development processes seems unobtainable as long as administrative power and resources are in the control of the central offices.

The movement to decentralize power to local authorities becomes alive after:

- 1) *the end of the cold war as communism was less of a threat to national security,*
- 2) *rural development gained higher priority and recognition, and*
- 3) *there were increasing pressures for political and bureaucratic reforms.*

The new constitution was promulgated on October 11, 1997. It creates a new framework for restructuring national and local governance and for the reform of electoral and political processes. It is the first Constitution to introduce many radical reforms on matters concerning relations between the state and civil society. Of particular importance to local governance, the Constitution's articles support the decentralization Act and the Local Council and Local Administrative Organization Act of 1994. In addition, the Constitution creates a framework for decentralization and people's participation that can be summarized in three areas, as follows:

1. **Organization and Administration** The local authorities have the freedom to manage development and provide public services according to the needs of their constituents in the local community. Local administration can formulate development plans, personnel policy, as well as budget and financial policy. In addition, the constitution emphasizes that all local authorities must be elected and will be in office for four years.
2. **Duties and Responsibilities** The local authorities are responsible for the development and conservation of natural resources and the environment in their local community. The national government will transfer appropriate functions (including public service delivery) as well as budget subsidies to the local government. The local government can collect certain taxes that a tri-party committee agrees upon, and this agreement will be reviewed every five years.
3. **Public Participation** The constitution indicates that people in local communities can monitor, control and oversee the results and performance of the local administration. It is the government's duty to promote the people's participation in conserving and protecting natural resources and the environment. People can sue any public officials or organizations that fail to perform their authorized functions.

3.3.1.1. Good Local Governance through People's Participation in Thailand

Over the past several decades, the Government tried to improve the quality of life and eradicate poverty among rural people. One of the significant efforts was to establish a bottom-up approach that aimed to mobilize people's participation in community development. The new system of local government (local Council and local Administration) Thailand serves the needs of the people in their community successfully and effectively since authority, functions and responsibility to the local bodies are decentralized. Good local governance in the country provides the people with democratic and equal opportunities to participate in decision-making processes.

A more transparent and effective local government will challenge people to effectively control and monitor their performance. Approaches to mobilize people's participation and methods to introduce a good local governance in Thai society are drawn from a series of action research projects carried out by the Thailand Development Research Institution Foundation (TDRI) between 1990 to 2000. TDRI conducted a series of action researches, used different models and methodologies to mobilize people's participation. The project discovered a powerful brainstorming technique known as the A-I-C (Appreciation, Influence, and Control) approach to be used as a tool to mobilize people's participation in community development and create a more transparent local administration. The approach that helps transforms this community from one of traditional bureaucratic control to a more transparent and participatory community is to stimulate development force and awareness among villagers and formulate development plan at the village level. It developed from our belief that true and sustainable development cannot take place through order, but it naturally happens when all actors and stakeholders equally and democratically participate and share their ideas, dreams, visions, and responsibility to steer and implement development projects. The Thailand Development Research Institution Foundation (TDRI) adopted and further tested the A-I-C (Appreciation, Influence, and Control) approach, which is a technique to provide and arrange a village forum for stakeholder groups at the community level to equally think and plan their community future.

Organizing a village forum in every village greatly benefits the decentralization process and the development of good local governance. From research experience, there are interesting findings and developments that can be summarized as follows:

- Local Administration Organization members who represent the village feel that they are accountable to their constituents and their new roles are to debate the local development budget for their village and to monitor the progress of decision for the villagers. After the forum, each Local Administration Organization member learned more about the needs and concerns of their constituents and understood the nature of development programs.
- The Local Administration Organization's annual expenditures were normally allocated for administrative costs and infrastructure projects, and did not include social projects, such as childcare center, skill development and employment projects, and women's projects. Once the Local Administration Organization Council members received information about the villagers' needs to develop these social projects, they are usually willing to finance any development activities in response to the needs of local citizens. This will lead to future opportunities that local people will be able to receive better public services from the Local Administration Organization.
- The model to bring various community stakeholder groups (including women, youths, farmers, disadvantaged groups, the rich and the poor) to exchange ideas, share views and visions, and commit to help achieve their dreams not only promotes community development but also create good local governance and support decentralization, as follows:
 - It empowers local residents to monitor and control their Local Administration Organization.
 - Stakeholder groups that were previously excluded from the planning process can voice their needs and concerns.
 - Community network at the village level are formed and strengthened.
 - Villagers are more interested in monitoring and follow-up on the progress of community development and they can exercise their power as given by Law.

Local Administration Organization council members and Local Administration Organization staff have changed to be more transparent and more honest with their constituents about all decisions. It becomes routine to consult people about big investment projects, tax increases or reductions, new fees, and annual budget expenditures. And people now expect to be informed and consulted. This can be considered a new political culture in Thai society.

In addition, many measures are nowadays put in place to stimulate people's roles in fighting corruption. One of them is whistle-blower and witness protection program. This program has been developed, for the first time in Thailand, to encourage people who have information and evident about any wrongdoing at all levels to work with proper authorities and to ensure they safety.

3.3.1.2. New Institutional set up in Thailand

a) Election Commission

The Election Commission organizes the election of members of Parliament, senators, members of local administrations and local assemblies. The Commission is to ensure a fair and clean public referendum. It is empowered to order re-counts of votes, disqualify candidates, and demand re-polls.

b) National Counter Corruption Commission

The new National Counter Corruption Commission has been given more power. Its main duty is to investigate corruption problems among members of parliament, senators, cabinet members, and high government officials, including the members of the independent government bodies and law courts.

The National Counter Corruption Commission members are appointed by the senate. The office has a free hand in its staffing, budgeting and other aspects of management permitted by law. It reports directly to the senate and any of its members can be removed from office if found guilty of acting unjustly, of being unusually rich, or of having committed an offence of corruption or malfeasance in office.

c) Parliamentary Ombudsman

The Parliamentary Ombudsman investigates people's complaints against government officials, employees of a government agency, state agency, state enterprises or local administration.

d) National Human Rights Commission

The National Human Rights Commission is set up to investigate and report on acts or omissions which have led to violations of human rights. This will help promote human rights in line with the international treaties to which Thailand is a signatory. The National Human Rights Commission will compile an annual report on the state of human rights in Thailand. The

members of the National Human Rights Commission have just been appointed. They include a wide range of people, many with an activist background, and it is likely the National Human Rights Commission will become a very prominent and controversial institution.

e) Constitutional Court

The Constitutional Court adjudicates on complaints involving actions or laws which may be in contradiction to the constitution, and on disputes regarding the power and duties of state organizations created under the constitution. The project to create such a court in Thailand goes back fifty years. Since it was finally established under this constitution in 1998, it has made several landmark rulings and has rapidly become a central fixture of the political landscape.

f) Public Finance Audit Commission

The Public Finance Audit Commission has replaced the Office of Auditor General, which was under the supervision of the Office of the Prime Minister. The Public Finance Audit Commission is an independent body and its commissioner will be appointed by the senate.

These independent bodies have been created beyond the control and influence of politicians or political parties. The constitution lays down procedures for members to be nominated by appropriate state and non-state bodies, reviewed by independent, expert selection committees, and finally approved by the senate. The new constitution has introduced a system of monitoring and a system of removal from office as a means to check the behaviour and performance of politicians and high bureaucrats. The senate has been converted from an ineffective law-making body into a monitoring institution.

3.3.2. What are Africa's experiences in governance?

Governance, as a management concept, has progressively become a major concern for the success of any development initiative. In Africa, governance has been debated since the 1960s following the independence of some African countries. Recently the concept of governance has been captured from different perspectives by political leaders, institutions, and national and international communities. Already, it represents a key item in the major international agendas. Many publications are issued on governance and several initiatives are taken both in the international arena and regional as well as national levels.

African government inherited modern governance institutions at independence. Elaborate constitutions with bills of rights followed. Things have not proceeded according to expectations.

In many African countries constitutions were jettisoned and one party or military regimes characterized by arbitrariness, lack of transparency and accountability, and corruption became the norm. The result was economic decline, national instability and insecurity. With authoritarianism arose perpetual rule and the privatization of the state in the interest of the ruling elite. Governance institutions began to decay. Major factors leading to institutional decay include:

- erosion of state legitimacy;
- conflicts and the confluence of forces in the international environment;
- personalization of power; and
- personality cultism, nepotism and brutal repression of dissent.

In some countries, there have existed highly developed systems of terror and repression complete with administrative restraints on freedom, the use of armed groups attached to state agencies, and large networks of spies, assassins and thugs.

Objective of this section is to see governance experiences in terms of progress towards democracy and good governance in specific African countries the so-called early starters – Ghana, and Botswana including Ethiopian case based on the following comparative criteria for such observation of the progress of democracy and good governance.

An examination of the literature suggests some key features worth noting. These are the features, which scholars have used as comparative indicators or criteria in measuring progress of democracy and good governance in many developing countries. Thus, a democratic policy is one with the following features⁵:

- Respects human rights – most preferably, these rights and freedoms have to be enshrined in the constitution and such a constitution has to be respected by the regime.
- There has to be rule of law – decisions of the courts have to be respected even in situations where they have decided against the state.
- Responsive and participatory democracy – in a democracy, the government is responsive to popular will. It appreciates the fact that it is there to serve the people, and thus has to be responsive and sensitive to their views on issues of major concern to them. By and large the regime should make all attempts to ensure that people have an input in whatever decisions are made.

⁵ECA-DMD.(1999). *Governance Indicators for African Smart States of the 21st Century*, Addis Ababa

- Civil Society has to have the space and freedom (i.e. legal and political space), to exist and to organize freely without fear of discrimination.
- A free and independent press must be part and parcel of any democracy. Otherwise the checks and balances necessary within such a system will be lacking and where they are lacking, corruption becomes the order of the day, and human rights abuses get trampled upon.
- Free and Fair Elections – free and fair elections have to be held periodically. This period has to be provided for in the constitution to ensure that no one, can or will decide otherwise. In a democracy, the will of the people should form the basis to govern. Elections are one important mechanism through which this will be expressed in a democracy.
- Presence of a viable and effective opposition. A democracy without an effective opposition is a weak democracy.

The above criteria or elements constitute the minimum of what has to be in place for a country to qualify as democratic in its governance. These are the yardsticks scholars and researchers have applied in measuring the progress of democracy and good governance in Ghanaian and Botswana has made so far.

3.3.2.1. The Ghanaian Experience

3.3.2.1.1. Ghanaian Progresses in Good Governance and Democracy

The governance principles enshrined in the constitution and other government publications have coincided with the features of democracy and good governance identified earlier on. My task in the next section is to review the progress of democracy and good governance in Ghana based on the criteria indicated above.

a) Consensus building

Good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures. This is one of the most important pre-requisites for consolidated democracy.

Indeed, it has been argued that a disposition toward compromise, flexibility, tolerance, conciliation, moderation, and restraints among elites is critical issues to consolidate democracy. For a democratic system to persist and flourish, elites must be engage in “politics-as bargaining” rather than “politics-as-war” (Field and Higley, 1980: 15; Sartori, 1987: 27). Elite consensus requires agreement on the worth of political institutions and on the rules of the political game played within and around those institutions. Furthermore, it involves formal and informal communication networks that encompass all or most elite groups and that enable them to defend and promote their interests through access to central decision-making processes (Higley and Gunther, 1995: 51).

Elite consensus was somehow achieved in Ghana with the formation the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (an elite consensus committee). Inter-Party Advisory Committee promoted elite interactions before and after the election and demonstrated how national elites transcended their disunity through settlements and convergences. Elite consensus is the key variable that determined the acceptance of the outcome of the general elections by both the government and opposition parties.

b) The Emergence of a Free Press

Action by civic associations led to the emergence of an independent media in Ghana just before the ban on political activities was lifted in April 1992. Ghanaian Constitution provides that there shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media; and in particular, there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a license as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal or other media for mass communication or information.

c) State-Civil Society Relations

Sections 21(1) Chapter 5 “Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms” of the 1992 Ghanaian Constitution seeks to create a favorable environment for the evolution and operation of pluralist civil society in Ghana under which the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals and groups is recognized⁶.

These provisions seek to do two things. First, they define the social and political space within which civil associations can emerge and function with relative freedom. Secondly, they regulate

⁶http://www.parliament.gh/const_constitution.php

the relationship between civil society and the state, that is, the government. It should be noted that without the freedoms of associations, movements and assembly, for example, civil society cannot emerge and operate freely and effectively. In the absence of the freedom of expression civil associations cannot make their objectives, interests and demands openly known, much less publicize their activities as well as their views and comments on the government's policies and programmes. The freedom of assembly which includes the freedom to participate in processions and demonstrations enables individuals and civil organizations to demonstrate openly their approval of certain harsh policies and measures of the government. On the other hand, civil society does not exist if it is distinct from the state. Hence the crucial importance of a state institution like the judiciary which is generally expected to play the role of an impartial umpire in disputes between the state and civil associations, or between individuals and civil associations, or between one CSO and another.

3.3.2.2. The Botswana Experience

Has Botswana Made Progress in Good Governance and Democracy?

At independence Botswana was one of the poorest nations in Africa, experiencing serious development challenges including prolonged periods of drought and lack of basic infrastructure such as roads, schools hospitals as well as telecommunication networks.

Over the years, through good governance and prudent macro-economic management, Botswana has gradually graduated from the list of least developed countries of the world to its current levels of economic development where it has been graduated to the Middle Income status nation. Rapid economic growth coupled with democratic governance and multiparty politics have been the hallmarks of Botswana's success story over the past thirty-eight years.

The politics of Botswana takes place in a framework of a presidential representative democratic republic, whereby the President of Botswana is both head of state and head of government, and of a pluriform multi-party system (a system in which three or more political parties have the capacity to gain control of government separately or in coalition). Unlike a single-party system (or a non-partisan democracy), it encourages the general constituency to form multiple distinct, officially recognized groups, generally called political parties. Each party competes for votes from the enfranchised constituents (those allowed to vote). A multi-party system is essential for

representative democracies, because it prevents the leadership of a single party from setting policy without challenge.

Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the Parliament of Botswana. Since independence the party system has been dominated by the Botswana Democratic Party. The Judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislature.

Botswana has been ranked the least corrupt African country in a list compiled by the World Economic Forum. Tunisia, Gambia and South Africa followed Botswana as the countries with the best standards of governance. Botswana, one of Africa's most stable countries, is the continent's longest continuous multi-party democracy. It is relatively free of corruption and has a good human rights record. It is also the world's largest producer of diamonds and the trade has transformed it into a middle-income nation.

The 1990s will go down in the history of Sub-Saharan Africa as representing a significant period indeed. "In the years 1987-1997, 22 African countries organized national elections with some kind of competition for the first time. Accordingly, a total of 38 – more than three quarters of the 48 Sub-Saharan nations have now held such elections at national level and may be regarded as in some sense, democratic" (SIDA, 1998:23).

Botswana is a unique case in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is perhaps one of the few countries that upheld a multi-party democratic system at a time when many countries in the region were either under military or one party regime.

The 1990s in Botswana have marked a significant period too. During this period, important political developments have occurred in Botswana. Political competition has intensified; the franchise has been extended to eighteen year-olds, an independent electoral commission has been set-up, etc. Actually the story of Botswana's democracy is largely a story of positive developments.

3.3.2.2.1. The Introduction of Parliamentary Democracy

Botswana has a parliamentary democratic system established in 1966 when the country attained independence. For many years following independence, the country was among the very few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa which maintained a West-minister type of constitution, with a

multi-party democratic framework entailing the holding of elections every five years. The system has also been characterized by a universal suffrage, a separation of powers between the three major organs of government, namely the legislature, the judiciary and the executive, and the rule of law. The Botswana constitution has an entrenched bill of rights guaranteeing among others, the right to association, free speech, equality before the law, freedom of political activity.

Over the years, Botswana has received international acclaim for a democratic system which was seen by many as effective. This acclaim, which often culminated in such labels as the “shining model” of democracy etc., came about because of the following:

1. The introduction of her democratic system of government, Botswana has maintained these institutions. When some countries either fell into military rule, or one-party systems, Botswana remained a multi-party democratic system. She has never suspended the constitution.
2. Botswana has had multi-party elections every five years as provided for in her constitution. These elections have largely been seen as free and fair.
3. The country has maintained a relatively clean human rights record. Botswana’s multi-party democracy has always been dominated by one political party, i.e. the ruling Botswana Democratic Party.

As it is noted in the earlier part of this section, Botswana has maintained a multi-party democratic system since independence. To date, there are 11 political parties and a variety of interest groups. The existence of a multi-party situation will not in itself be an adequate indicator that Botswana’s polity has been democratic. An additional issue concerns the extent to which elections have been free and fair. According to this checklist, a free election is one which entails the freedom as well as the opportunity to choose. In this context, fairness, on the one hand, “means impartiality, the opposite of fairness in unequal treatment of equals, whereby some people or groups are given unreasonable advantages”. Given that elections are some form of competition (for power); I find this definition to be adequate.

3.3.2.2.2. The Issues of “Good” Governance in Botswana

According to Leftwich (1996:15) good governance as a concept can be understood in two ways. The first is “the narrow administrative or managerial” view. He has also suggested that “a system

of good governance in this limited administrative sense, therefore, would consist of a set of rules and institutions (that is, a legal framework for development) and a system of public administration which is open, transparent, efficient and accountable” (Ibid:15). Such a system provides a favorable environment for the private sector to play a leading role in development. The second way in which the notion of good governance has been understood is that good governance means democratic governance. This meaning is much broader than the technical meaning. It combines the technical ‘efficiency’ and democratic politics. The essential ingredients of this democratic polity have been considered to be the following: “competitive party systems, regular free and fair elections, an independent judiciary, a free press and the protection of human rights” (Leftwitch, 1996:16).

3.3.2.2.3. Public Sector Management in Botswana: Good Governance

Botswana is widely regarded as a country that has been successful in its development efforts. At independence, Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world with a per capita income of about US\$60.00. More Botswana was working outside the country than inside the country, particularly in South Africa. The country was administered from South Africa and educational and health facilities were very limited. Actually, the colonial administration had largely left provision of education to the few church groups within the protectorate. A key feature of Botswana’s colonial history is that the country suffered acute neglect during its protectorate status.

Botswana’s achievements today are considerable. She is now classified by the World Bank as a middle income country, her per capita income stands at around US\$27000. She has never experienced an economic crisis. She has no external debt to worry about.

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

3.3.2.2.4. Institutional Development in Botswana

a) The Ombudsman Office

A recently created institution is the office of the ombudsman. Due to complaints from members of the public about the way the bureaucracy works and interacts with them, the office of the

Ombudsman has been set up to provide a forum for the people in lodging complaints about the public service. Since it is a new institution, it would be premature to make any judgment about its effectiveness.

b) The Directorate of Corruption and Economic Crime

For many years, it was assumed or generally believed that corruption was not a problem in Botswana, or that even if it existed, it was quite limited. In addition, various governments commissioned investigations into operations of such parastatal as the Botswana Housing Corporation showed that the problem could be much greater than initially thought. Consequently, the Directorate of Corruption and Economic Crime was set up in 1994. According to Goodwin-Gill (1994:114) though

“Corruption and mismanagement in Botswana is relatively pale and restricted. It is entirely an elite phenomenon . . . it is not systematic to the whole of the political economy as in Zaire. . . Nor is it as epidemic, afflicting the whole society such as in Nigeria, and there is decidedly no ‘culture of corruption’ as exists in Brazil. Its significance lies in contrast with the generally reputable and efficient government performance preceding the 1980s. . . Responsibility and accountability have been seriously reduced within the top most levels of the government but, to date; many state institutions and most citizens remain untarnished”.

c) Free and Independent Media

The media has a central role to play in a democracy. Not only does it inform, educate and provide a forum for public debate of issues, it also provided the necessary checks and balances on the activities of the government of the day. It is obvious that, the press can not effectively carry out these functions if it is not free to do so. Free of harassment, or even legislative restrictions.

The freedom of the press in Botswana is embraced under the freedom of expression . . . basically the freedom of expression relates to the right to hold questions, the right to be informed, the right to inform or to communicate interference. (Article 12(2) of the constitution also provides

limitations to these freedoms and these include “interests of defense, public safety, public order, public morality, or public health, etc.)⁷.

d) Civil Society and Democracy in Botswana

The concept of civil society has become one of the catchwords in discussions of democracy and governance in Africa. Though understood differently by different users, it refers to the realm of “voluntary self-generating and organized non-state organizations” (Molutsi, 1995:5). Liberal democratic theory essentially assumes a dichotomy between the political sphere, which is associated with a struggle for political power, and civil society which constitute the source of mandate for those in the political sphere to govern. In this situation, the state is seen as the mediator of the various struggles from different civil society groups. However, this situation is not straightforward as commonly projected. As already observed,⁷ a distinction between the political and civil is theoretical and methodological rather than real. The two concepts are dialectically interlinked (Ibid: 54).

Focus on civil society and state relations are a recent development in African politics. It can actually be traced to the 1980s when it was realized that the state failed to deliver what was expected of it, ‘development’. Activists and, to some extent, the donor community started to advocate for the shrinkage of the role of the state and focus on civil society which offered a possible alternative structure outside the over-burdened and ineffective state. The neglect of the role of civil society in political discourse has also been evident in Botswana. This is partly indicated by the very limited empirical studies on the role and structure of civil society in Botswana’s democracy.

e) Botswana’s Human Rights Situation

A number of writers on Botswana maintain that the country’s human rights record has been good. The country has enshrined in its constitution the fundamental rights and freedoms, and by large, these have been honored in practice. However, human rights activists in Botswana and some researchers have pointed to the following as dark spots in Botswana’s human rights records.

⁷<http://www.southernafricalitigationcentre.org>

The first has been the country's reluctance or refusal to ratify international conventions. Until 1995, "Botswana was a party to only two international human rights instruments; the convention one

Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination and the African charter on Human and People's Rights" (Otlhogile, 1996:320). Most of these were only recently ratified.

The failure to sign these conventions has resulted in occasional backslides and violations, such as, for example, lack of effective protection against gender discrimination; the sporadic infringement of arrest and detention procedures, and restriction of trade union rights. These violations have not, however, raised doubt about the government's overall attachment to the goal of upholding individual rights but have certainly affected the quality of individual rights" (Ibid:321).

3.3.2.3. Brief Context about Governance Foundation, Achievements and Challenges in Ethiopia

3.3.2.3.1. Political and Economic Setting

Good governance is participatory, consensus oriented (committed to democracy), accountable, transparent, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive, and follow the rule of law. It assured that corruption is minimized, that high standards of behavior is maintained by all who are in positions of responsibility, that the views of minorities are taken into account, and the voices of the vulnerable in society is heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the needs of society.

There exist, if any, countries and societies that have come close to achieving good governance in its totality. However, to ensure sustainable governance and participatory democracy, actions must be taken to work towards this ideal with the aim of making it reality. To this end, rules and regulations, processes, and structures must be designed in the context of democratic governance.

Ethiopia has recently embarked on an experiment in decentralized democracy. It has done so against a legacy of hierarchical and centralized governance inherited from ancient monarchy and socialist command system, military and one-party regimes after the down of fall of the Dergue regimes in May 28, 1991. With the help of the public, these popular forces ousted Dergue regimes and convened competitive elections that, in May 1995, voted Members of House of

Peoples' Representatives and Regional Council Members. Members of House of Peoples' Representatives are responsible to bring political and economic changes in the country.

The current government has accumulated some record over the few years. Perhaps its major political achievements are stated below. The government now seeks to institutionalize its political vision in a comprehensive democratization programs.

Over the last few years, the Ethiopian government has given due recognition to the issue of governance for the following reasons. First, from a broader perspective, good governance, which promotes accountability, transparency, rule of law and participation, is central to creating and sustaining an enabling environment for development. Second, sound development, including good governance, is inextricably related to the efficacy of the investment it helps to finance administration. This is why the Government is putting emphasis on strengthening good governance and democratization as a precondition for poverty reduction and sustainable development.

Since 1992, both during the transitional period and Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, a wide range of political and economic reforms has taken place. The reforms started with adoption of the transitional charter. Several achievements or steps have been taken to ensure and strength civil and political liberties. Some of them are stated in the following sections.

a) Major Political Changes

In the area of politics, our country Ethiopia is experiencing constitutional democracy since 1991. The principles of democracy, freedom, equality and unity of the Ethiopian nation's nationalities and peoples characterize the new patterns of political practices. Politics of Ethiopia takes place in a framework of a federal parliamentary republic, whereby the Prime Minister is the head of government. Executive power is exercised by the government. Federal legislative power is vested in both the government and the two chambers of parliament. The Judiciary is more or less independent of the executive and the legislature.

According to Kinfu (1994), the followings are some of the major political changes in Ethiopia since the early 1990s.

- Starting and conducting a constitutional process;
- Recognition of the identities of the Ethiopian societies;
- Legislative framework conditions for administrative bodies;

- Realization of self determination;
- Decentralization of administrative and political institutions;
- Multi- party system;
- Human and democratic rights provisions;
- Federalism i.e., adopting a federal structure; and
- Setting up grass-root leadership structures and local governments through elections to empower local communities.

b) Major economic changes: Economic Reform

A development-oriented government promotes economic development. This requires building good governance and democracy in a country even if it is a large enough challenge on its own. But Ethiopia is simultaneously embarked on a first transition from a command economy to a more market-oriented system. A change of economic regime has been underway in Ethiopia since 1992, but is less complete than the political regime change.

If there is any end point to a transition to a market economy, it is probably the privatization of the public enterprises, whether small-scale landholdings or the large public corporation. In intent and in practice, economic reforms in Ethiopia fall well short of such a thoroughgoing liberalization of markets. Indeed, Ethiopia's economic reform program anticipates a significant enabling role for a streamlined public sector. I, therefore, assess public orientations towards economic governance in the midst of a drawn-out phase of transition to a mixed economy in which the private sector has yet to be fully born.

As it is mentioned above, the new development in the sector of economy in Ethiopia is characterized by the shift from the principles of command economy to that of market economy. In order to transform the economy from that of command to market economy, the Ethiopian Government has implemented a series of reform programs since 1992 and the implementation of the New Market Oriented Economic Policy. This was done so as to speed up the incorporation of the economy into the world economy and encourage the wider participation of the private sector in the development of the national economy.

According to the IMF (1998) assessment, the positive trend of the first phase of the reform (1992/93–1994/95) had resulted in the following heartening pointers. Such reforms during this period included:

- Deregulation of domestic prices;
- Stabilization of the national economy;
- Liberalization of foreign trade and exchange regime;
- Devaluation of the exchange rate followed by the introduction of inter-bank foreign currency market and the determination of exchange rates based on market forces;
- Enhancing private sector development and private-public partnership;
- Liberalization of economic activities, via among other things, privatization of public enterprises;
- Promulgation of a liberalized investment law for the promotion and encouragement of private investments, both foreign and local;
- Issuance of a new labor law;
- Strengthening and enhancing institutional support for the export sector through strengthening/revitalizing existing institutions and establishing new institutions.

The second phase of economic policy reform was implemented during the period 1994/95–1996/97. The objectives of this phase of the program were to continue to revitalise the economy and to create a conducive environment for labour-intensive development, to limit the role of the government to selected economic services, to promote greater private sector activity and investment. These objectives were to be achieved by implementing the long-term development strategy of Agricultural Development-Led Industrialisation (ADLI), mobilising external resource to rehabilitate and reconstruct economic and social infrastructures, and pursuing more liberal external trade and foreign exchange policies to improve the competitiveness of the industrial and agricultural sectors (Ibid).

3.3.2.3.2. Governance Gaps and Measures Addressing Good Governance:

A Country Empirical Perspective and Implications for the Addis Ababa City Administration

The state is the most important actor in the distribution of resources and provision of basic services for its citizens. A major prerequisite for this is the joint endeavour of various participants from the public sector, business, municipalities and the civil society in the establishment and distribution of public goods and services.

The country governance gap: without exception, governance is weaker than that would be predicted by standard explanatory variables or principles. The country's governance gap covers a

wide set of indicators including bureaucratic performance, rule of law, political participation, accountability, weak partnership, etc. The following questions must be answered to see the governance gap of the country. These are:

What is the source of the governance gap?

What can be done to address it in the future?

This section provides some answers for the first question based on the following issues those have to be considered in explaining the governance gap:

- What are the determinants of institutional capacity, good governance and democracy in the country? Is there any implication on Addis Ababa City Administration?
- Is the governance gap in institutional capacity related to the governance gap in democracy?
- Is the governance gap a recent phenomena or a long-term feature of the country administration?
- What are the roles of policymakers in dealing with sources of the governance gap?

But the second issue is addressed in Chapter four in the context of Addis Ababa City Administration.

What are the sources and main existing gaps to good governance in Ethiopia?

Despite an increasing convergence towards governance principles, Ethiopia still faces inconsistencies between governance concepts and implementation of good governance strategies. A daunting task is that of having the public sector institutions working inclusively in a holistic manner with the private sector institutions, the civil society, the citizens, the donor agencies and the others development partners to address priority issues following the same guiding principles. All actors need to improve the convergence of their actions which need to complement each other and align with agreed priorities and aim at achieving development goals focused on the public interest and the common good of all citizens.

Gap varies for different governance components. Perception surveys, analyses and desk studies recently conducted in Ethiopia by Tegegne, et al (2004). They have investigated the progress towards good governance in Ethiopia and they found that there were limitations and inconsistency in the ways in which country is governed, and a remarkable lack of clarity about how they should be governed and to whom they are accountable. They pointed out several areas of gaps and challenges to good governance in Ethiopia. These are:

- **Nurturing Democracy and Electoral system (Addressing Political Polarizations among the Parties):** Excessively politically polarized positions in governance system can have obstructive effect on achieving sustainable development goals and undermine the integrity of decisions taken. Several reforms have been adopted by government in the direction of abolishing one-party rule and allowing multi-party competition as well as conducting legislative elections. Shortfalls, however, still remain with regards increasing the independence of electoral commissions and the liberalization of registration procedures. Several constraints still exist in terms of giving full freedom to opposition parties to compete on the same grounds as the established parties. The culture of political party needs also to be nurtured, establishing internal democracy values alongside the need for accountability to constituencies. There is growing recognition that although democracy is a difficult process requiring vigilance and reinforcement, it is absolutely essential to good governance. Government of Ethiopia has made democracy a key part of its collective agenda over the past few years. Having accepted the necessity of a democratic process, the challenge for government is to move forward. That is, achieving success in the transition to multi-party democracy is one of the greatest challenges facing Ethiopia.
- **Weak Civil society empowerment:** According to Deselagn (2002), non-state actors in Ethiopia experience enormous capacity gaps in terms of human and financial resources, organizational and intellectual capital, and democratic culture. There is a tendency to believe that governance will be better when the state is strengthened. The reality is that without a strong and vibrant civil society to demand accountability from public sector leadership, governance will always remain slippery. Therefore, it is crucial to strengthen mechanisms allowing a greater freedom and involvement of civil society in development by increasing its participation in the sociopolitical life and strengthening its role of voicing grass-roots needs. An increased participation requires, however, an increased level of credibility, accountability and efficiency of civil society organizations. The civil society organizations are an essential component of the democratization of society. Not all sectors of the public view them favorably. Some of them see civil society organizations as political competitors that need to be reined rather than fostered.
- **Communication, press and media gaps:** the role of media is crucial in terms of allowing citizens to be exposed to opinions reflecting different political views and to act

as a watchdog of public sector leaders. In Ethiopia, the law guarantees freedom of the press. In addition, censorship of the press is also prohibited. Proclamation No. 34/1992 provides the following, regarding press freedom and censorship: (1) Freedom of the press is recognized and respected in Ethiopia; (2) censorship of the press and any restriction of a similar nature are hereby prohibited. Despite the formal pronouncement, however, great challenges remain in fostering media freedom of expression combined with professionalism, credibility, capacity and accountability in Ethiopia. There is also the difficult issue of independence of media from public control and funding. In general private media ownership remains limited.

- **Leadership Capacity Gaps:** it is clear that principles and actions geared to good governance cannot be generated under poor leadership. According to MoFED (2002), the Ethiopian government has been developed a national Capacity Building Strategy and embarked on capacity building program in order to address the problems of human resources, institutions and working system since 1998. The Ministry of Capacity Building is established for the purpose of coordinating various building efforts in the country.

In the views of Ministry of Capacity Building (2002), the capacity building strategy upholds the principles of decentralization, regional autonomy and efficiency. The basic tenets of the strategy are:

- i) lessening the role of the state in the economy in favor of the private sector;
- ii) enhancing popular participation in economic management, across sectors and regions at the grass-roots level;
- iii) promoting good governance, accountability and transparency and consolidating democracy

Great challenges are faced in terms of building adequate capacities for policy development, visionary leadership, financial and information resource management, improved public service delivery and managing complexities in rapidly changing environments. These capacities are required for leaders to be able to build consensus on strategies aimed at achieving sustainable and the millennium development goals.

In order to implement above strategy and to over come these great gaps/challenges, recently government of Ethiopia carried out the following capacity building programs/reforms to develop and promote good governance aspects in both public and private sectors (Ministry of Capacity Building, 2002).

Some of the programs /reforms in the public sector are outlined as follows:

Civil Service Reform: aims at improving public service delivery by increasing efficiency and developing a working system that ensures accountability and transparency. The components of the civil service program are expenditure control and management, human resources management, service delivery, ethics and top management.

Justice system reform: focusing on improvements in the country's legal and justice system. Increasing the centrality of constitutional rules as ground norms and ensuring their respect by leaders and citizens alike is the central pillar of the rule of law. The lack of this respect often poses a great challenge to stability. The independence, integrity and performance of the judiciary, needs also improvements which can also reduce structural constraints including inadequate funding and remuneration, modernizing facilities, increasing professional personnel and training, etc. The impact of laws and enforcement mechanisms needs also to be strengthened. Another key element is improving the protection of people's rights including those of vulnerable and minority groups. The components of the justice reform program are enhancing institutional capacity for legislative affiliated organ structure, system and process of law making and related tasks; enhancing the institutional capacity structure, systems and process of: the judiciary, the law enforcement, the legal education and research.

District level decentralization: intends to enhance the rural institutions in planning, budgeting and implementation of plans and budgets. The components of district level decentralization are capacity building for woreda institutional structure; capacity building for woreda working systems for planning and implementation and service delivery; capacity building for manpower development.

Urban management and development: aiming at undertaking reform of municipal administration. The components of urban management program are policy and strategy formulation, local government restructuring and empowerment, human resources development, including institutional capacity building for urban management training, urban service delivery, investment in urban infrastructure and rehabilitation.

The capacity building program also includes the following programs:

- **Tax system reform** to modernize the system of tax administration
- **Information and communication technology** to utilize modern information and communication technologies in the development process.

- **Civil society and NGOs capacity building programs** to empower them and to strengthen mechanisms allowing a greater freedom and involvement of civil society in development by increasing their participation in the sociopolitical life and strengthening their role of voicing grass-roots needs.
- **Higher education, technical and vocational education and training** to raise output and productivity of the all the development programs in all sectors.

The overall aim of these reforms is to consolidate the core competencies of the government, to create market-oriented incentive mechanisms, and generally to improve the framework conditions for the private sector. Combined, these measures are intended to lead to higher growth rates of the economy and to the creation of democratic governance environment to all partners. As an outcome of these efforts and achievements, the years 1990s mark an important milestone for Ethiopia. Having been classified as a conflict status country, from the early 70s until 1991, Ethiopia has made the transition from emergency to sustainable development processes. Such achievements notwithstanding, there are a number of governance gaps and challenges in the country.

All these governance gaps and measures have direct or indirect implications in Addis Ababa City Administration system. Even if each office and executive organ in its field of activity has the powers and functions to carry out its roles and responsibilities, each office is expected to initiate polices and laws of the government that has to be consistent with the laws and policies of the Federal Government; administer its budget and properties and collect taxes and service charges in accordance with the financial laws of the country. Moreover, City Administration Organs implement civil service reform programs and perform capacity building activities, prepare their plans and programs, issue directives, ensure the enforcement/implementation of policies, laws and standards of the city government and administer employees in accordance with the laws and policies of the Federal Government and work in collaboration and partnership with appropriate organs and residents of the city. City government is also responsible to submit periodic reports to the Federal Government Organ it is accountable.

3.4. Data Discussion: Survey Results Briefly

3.4.1. Background Information about the Addis Ababa

The city of Addis Ababa is over a hundred years old. It was established in the late 19th century

by Emperor Menelik II as the permanent capital of the then emerging modern Ethiopian state. Over the years, the city has grown into an important urban center following the process of modernization and economic development which Emperor Haile Selassie I zealously pursued in the aftermath of World War II (Meheret, 1999:3).

Based on figures from the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA) published in 2005, Addis Ababa has an estimated total population of 2,973,004, consisting of 1,428,001 men and 1,545,003 women. Addis Ababa contains 27% of all urban dwellers in Ethiopia. With an estimated area of 530.14 square kilometers, this chartered city has an estimated density of 5,607.96 people per square kilometer. These estimates were based on the 1994 census, in which the population of Addis Ababa was reported to be 2.3 million of which 28,149 lived in the rural parts of the city. 51.6% were females, while 48.4% were male.

Addis Ababa is an official diplomatic capital of Africa with more than 90 embassies and consular representatives, which makes it the fourth diplomatic center in the world. Addis was chosen as the Headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in 1988. Addis also houses the Headquarters of the then Organization of African Union (OAU) and now Africa Union (AU) since 1963).

In relation to economic activities, the day to day life activities of the city's population is predominantly based on different sorts of occupation. These include 119,197 in trade and commerce; 113,977 in manufacturing and industry; 80,391 home makers of different variety; 71,186 in civil administration; 50,538 in transport and communication; 42,514 in education, health and social services; 32,685 in hotel and catering services; and 16,602 in agriculture. Besides the residents of rural parts of Addis Ababa, the city dwellers also participate in animal husbandry and cultivation of gardens (Finance and Economic Development Bureau Report, 2004).

The coming to power of the Derg in 1974, significantly, affected Addis Ababa in a number of ways. It lost a great measure of municipal autonomy and its administration was very much influenced by the politics of the day. The appointment of the mayor and other officials was based on a significant political membership of the ruling Workers Party of Ethiopia and it became an essential condition for employment in the municipality. Most of the people who worked in the city's 25 higher and lower kebeles were either party members or trusted individuals of the state. As a result, upward accountability dominated the method of operating or functioning of

municipal government, and the city was run by amateurish politicians rather than a competent cadre of professional managers. This legacy had persisted to this day and was one of the main factors accounting for the deteriorating quality of urban governance in Addis Ababa.

After the downfall of Dergue regime, regional and local governments in Ethiopia were established by the constitution. Article 46 of the FDRE Constitution (1995) states that the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall comprise of regional states which may be established on the basis of settlement, language, identity and consent of concerned people.

The Addis Ababa City Government Charter Proclamation No. 3711997 provides for an elected council to administer the city for a term of five years. In 1998, the council had 96 members. The main function of the council was to make municipal laws and approve the annual budget. There was an executive committee of 15 members drawn from the full council. This body was responsible for the day-to-day management of the city. The head of the city government was the chairman of the general council and its executive committee. The executive committee was further sub-divided into three standing subcommittees, namely economic, social affairs and administration. These sub-committees had five members each and all of them report to the executive committee (Proclamation No. 87/1997). It was stipulated in the law that the governor of the city and the council were accountable to the residents and the Prime Minister of the Federal Government. Addis Ababa was a self-governing chartered city with its own city council.

Table3.1: Number of Sub-Cities, Kebeles, and Population in Addis Ababa City Administration.

No	Sub-City	No. of Kebeles	Population
1	Arada	10	303,810
2	Addis Ketema	9	320,389
3	Lideta	9	296,073
4	Kirkos	11	318,508
5	Yeka	11	304,550
6	Bole	11	298,000
7	Akaki-Kaliti	8	182,502
8	Nifas Silk-Lafto	10	304,550
9	Kolfе-Keranio	10	261,235
10	Gullele	10	333,998
Total		99	2,623,615

Source: City Government's Office Documents

The council, which is elected every five years, was accountable both to the city electoral and the Federal Government. Similar organizational set-up existed at the lower level of the city administration. To date, the whole city was divided into 10 sub-cities and 99 Kebeles (the lowest level of city administration). Sector Bureaus, Offices, Agencies and Authorities were established at the city administration level and they were responsible for implementing infrastructural development, promote investment, provide economic and social services and perform other regulatory functions(Bureau of Information and Culture, 2005).

3.4.2. Classification of the Sample and the Response Rate

The survey questionnaire is comprised of twenty three indicators. The items are divided into seven sections covering one to six governance questions per arena. Respondents were asked to rate various issues concerning governance using the same five-point response scale: as strongly disagree, disagree, no opinion, agree or strongly agree and some other similar scales.

The survey of respondents was undertaken using a multistage cluster sampling strategy: City Administration, Sub-City and Kebeles. In total 350 of respondents were carried out 318 of which were responded. The governance survey questionnaires were distributed to almost 350 respondents of different groups and 318 useable responses were received – an overall response rate of 90.86%.

Table 3.2: Classification of the Sample and the Response Rate

Category	Sample Released	Completed Sample Size *	Response rate (%)*
1. Public officials and government employees	50	47	94
2. Civic society organizations	70	65	92.86
3. City residents	230	206	89.57
Total	350	318	90.86

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

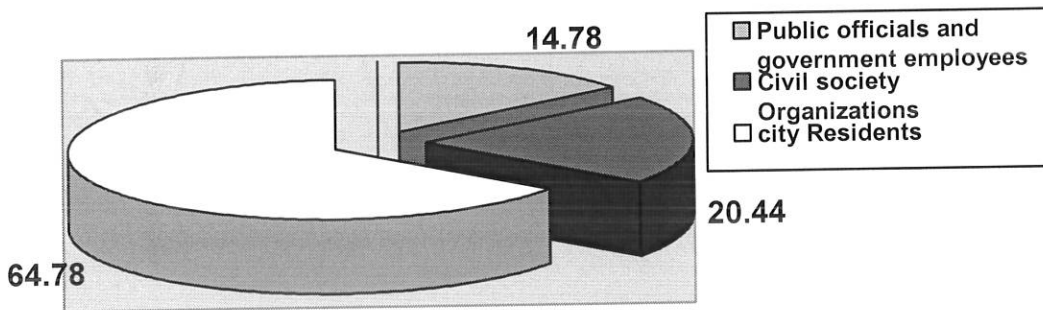
Legend: * All figures in the tables or figures (in all chapters) are percentages, rounded to two decimal digital numbers. Due to rounding, columns may not add up to exactly 100%. Also note that a figure of “0”or

dash (“-“) reported indicates that there were no responses in this category.

The percentages reported in the tables(in all chapters) only reflect valid responses to the question, i.e., unless otherwise noted, they include responses such as “no opinion,” but missing data, refused answers, and cases where a question was not applicable are excluded from the calculations.

The completed sample distributions of respondent’s category are as follows (see figure 3.1 below): In total, this provided an overall sample of 47 public officials and government employees, which is 14.78 %(47/318) of the total completed sample size base, of 65 CSOs, which is 20.44%(65/318) of the completed sample size base and of 206 city residents, which is 64.78%(206/318) of the total completed sample size.

Figure3.1: Completed sample distribution of surveyed respondents



Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.3. The Social Background of the Respondents

Table 3.1 presents background information of sample population such as sex, age, education level, occupation, and income level of residents and both released and completed sample size, mean, standard deviation, and response rates for each category of respondents.

The survey sample was divided roughly between male and female: 70.12% were male and 29.88% were female.

The median age of survey respondents was 40 years in a range from 18 years to 70 years (one person). In the analysis that follows we sometimes refer to “younger people” (meaning individuals age 18-30, who comprised 37.4% of the sample) or “older people” (defined as age 40 or more, constituting 17.93%). Those in the middle (individuals age 30-40) made up the largest age group of people (44.34%).

Table 3.3: Demographics of the Sample

Category	Completed Sample Size *	Mean*	SD*	Percentage (%)*
1. Sex:				
Male	223	159	5.08	70.12
Female	95			29.88
2. Age:				
18-30 years	120			37.4
30-40 years	141	79.5	8.33	44.34
40-50 years	51			16.04
50 and above	6			1.89
3. Education:				
Less than 12 Certificate	63			19.81
Diploma	28		6.39	8.81
Degree	162	63.6		50.94
Masters and above	38			11.95
	27			8.50
4. Occupation:				
Housewife	26			12.39
Business persons	56	53	6.94	16.67
Office work	162			50.94
Students	23			6.29
Unemployed	36			10.38
Others	15			3.77
5. Income:				
Less than 1000 Birr	106	79.5	-	33.33
1000 - 2000 Birr	141			44.34
2000 - 3000 Birr	53			16.67
Over 3000 Birr	18			5.66

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

Legend: *Results only reflect valid responses to the question.

On average, 19.81% of respondents had received less than 12 grade formal education. About 8.81% of the respondents had received certificate. Almost one half of the sample described themselves as diploma holders (50.94%). The next most common response with educational

level is that 11.95% and 8.50% of sample population reporting that they had received first degree and masers and above, respectively.

Among those with work, other frequently cited occupations were office work (50.94%), Housewife (3.77%), business persons (16.67%) and students 6.29% and others (12.89%). Almost one in ten persons (10.38%) said they were “unemployed”, either dependent on others (like students supported by their families) or effectively outside the cash economy (like self provisioning workers).

To obtain a rough estimate of household income, the survey asked how much money the respondent earned in a month. The responses ranged from Birr zero to over three thousand birr. Those who said they had earnings less than birr 1000 birr per month (33.33%). A median income for all respondents somewhere fell between 1,000 and 2,000 birr per month (44.34%). But 6.67% of the responses fell within the range of 2,000 to 3,000 birr per month whereas fewer than 5.66% of the people with high level of education had earnings over 3000 birr per month.

3.4.4. The Governance Survey Results in Brief

3.4.4. 1. Extent of Public Participation

Table 3-4 presents responses to a statement about agreement of public participation for promoting good governance and participatory democracy in Addis Ababa City Administration. It asks respondents whether city residents involve in development program and project designing and implementation.

In this regard, up to 51.07% of the public officials from sampled population reported as either “strongly disagree” (12.77%) or “disagree” (38.30%) while only 25.54% of public officials stated as either “strongly agree” (4.26%) or “agree” (21.28%). Here, the combined negative impression for civil society organizations was nearly (41.54%) either “strongly disagree” (23.08%) or “disagree” (18.46%) whereas the positive impression was about 30.77% that is either “strongly agree” (7.69%) or “agree” (23.08%). About 23.40% of the public officials, 27.69% civil society organizations and 20.39% of the city residents are indifferent. The sum of the survey results of “strongly disagree” and “disagree” was 47.57% for city residents and that of the combined percentage of positive impressions was (32.04 %).

Table 3.4: Attitudes towards public participation in program and project designing and implementation

City government involves service users in program and project designing and implementation.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	6	15	43	12.77	23.08	20.87
Disagree	18	12	55	38.30	18.46	26.70
No Opinion	11	18	42	23.40	27.69	20.39
Agree	10	15	38	21.28	23.08	18.45
Strongly Agree	2	5	28	4.26	7.69	13.59
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.2. Level of Empowerment of Local Governments and Community

Table 3.5: Attitudes towards empowerment of local governments and community

City administration has empowered both local governments such as sub-city administration and kebeles and the communities at the grass root level	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	4	14	55	8.51	21.54	26.70
Disagree	25	12	83	53.19	18.46	40.29
No Opinion	6	14	22	12.76	21.54	10.68
Agree	11	20	33	23.40	30.77	16.02
Strongly Agree	1	5	13	2.13	7.69	6.31
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

The Table 3.5 above captures the performance approval ratings in this regard. Nearly 66.99% of city residents were either “strongly disagree” (26.70%) or “disagree” (40.29%) with the statement whereas about (22.33%) of this respondent group reported either “strongly agree” (6.31%) or “agree” (16.02%) while 40.00% of civil society organizations expressed as either “strongly disagree” (21.54%) or “disagree” (18.46%) with the statement. But 38.46% of the respondents saw the statement positively while 21.54% was indifferent – no opinion on the issue.

Similarly, a significant majority (61.70%) of the sample of this respondent group expressed as either “strongly disagree” (8.51%) or “disagree” (53.19%). Only 25.53% of the respondents had positive impression on the matter- either “strongly agree” (2.13%) or “agree” (23.40%).

3.4.4.3. Adoption of Citizen-Driven Initiatives across the Governance Jurisdictions

As another means of judging the level of good governance and participatory democracy, respondents were asked whether city administration might be better off if governed by adoption of citizen-driven initiatives across the governance jurisdictions.

Table3.6: Attitudes towards Citizen-Driven Initiatives across the Governance Jurisdictions

City government takes a people centered approach in its planning and service delivery functions.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	4	14	58	8.51	21.54	28.16
Disagree	22	17	78	46.81	26.15	37.87
No Opinion	8	19	30	17.02	29.23	14.57
Agree	11	14	30	23.40	21.54	14.57
Strongly Agree	2	1	10	4.26	1.54	4.85
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

136 out of 206(66.03%) respondents of the city residents said that they were “strongly disagree” (28.16%) or “disagree” (37.87%) with the statement and 26 out of 47(55.32%) public officials said they were “strongly disagreed” (8.51%) or “disagreed” (46.81%) with the statement. When we observe the opinions of CSOs in this statement, the majority (29.23%) were indifferent whereas more than 47.69% of the respondents declared their negative impression either “disagree” (26.15%) or “strongly disagree” (21.54%) with the statement. Only 23.08% respondents from this group saw positively and said they “strongly agree” (1.54%) and “disagree” (21.54%). Table3.6 provides public view on this issue.

3.4.4.4. Views on Civil Society Engagements in Governance Process

What are the public’s perceptions about civil society engagements in governance process? Respondents were asked to state their opinion about the issue.

Nearly (45.15%) of city residents expressed as either “strongly disagree” (8.74%) or “disagree” (36.41%) with the statement that “city government administration mobilizes civil society organizations in governance programs”. Only 29.78% gave it positive impression ratings. Moreover, public officials and government employees and civil society organizations expressed greater disagreement with the statement, the combined “disagree” and ‘strongly disagree’ ratings are 57.44% and 38.46%, respectively while 29.78% and 33.84% of public officials and government employees and civil society organizations, respectively, reported as government mobilizes the civil society organizations. Table 3.7 below addresses this curiosity.

Table 3.7: Opinion on mobilization practices of the civil society organizations by city government

City government administration mobilizes Civil Society Organizations in development programs	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	3	8	18	6.38	12.31	8.74
Disagree	24	18	75	51.06	27.69	36.41
No Opinion	6	17	43	12.77	26.15	20.87
Agree	9	17	45	19.15	26.15	21.84
Strongly Agree	5	5	25	10.63	7.69	12.14
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.5. Opinion on Relationship between City Government and Business People

Respondents were asked about the nature of relationship between city government and private sector in the survey. Close to 62.14% of city residents said they were “strongly disagreed” (16.02%) or “disagreed” (46.12%) with the statement that “there are joint working or cooperation arrangements between city government and the private sector in the governance programmes.” Only 20.87% of respondents from this sample group had positive impression for the statement as either “strongly agree” (4.85%) or agree “(16.02%). A clear majority (44.69%) of public officials and government employees ascertained that they were disagreed with the statement. About one third (31.92%) of public officials and government employees gave it a positive view.

Up to 61.54% of civil society organizations answered the statement negatively- either “strongly disagree” (30.77%) or “disagree” (30.77%) while combined 33.84% of civil society

organizations stated as either “strongly agree” (6.15%) or “agree” (27.69%). Table 3.8 below addresses this issue.

Table 3.8: Views on relationship between city government and private sector

There are joint working arrangements between city government and the private sector in the programmes of governance processes.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	1	20	33	2.13	30.77	16.02
Disagree	21	20	95	44.69	30.77	46.12
No Opinion	10	3	35	21.28	4.62	16.99
Agree	12	18	33	25.53	27.69	16.02
Strongly Agree	3	4	10	6.39	6.15	4.85
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4. 6. Popular Views about Culture of Accountability

Another way to look the governance practices in city administration understood popular views about culture of accountability.

Across the respondents, a combined strong majority (62.13 %) of city residents expressed as either “strongly disagree” (31.55%) or “disagree” (30.58%) with the statement that “the city government has established a mechanism where by public officials are accountable to the public.” Similarly, a combined clear majority (63.83%) of public officials reported as either “strongly disagree”(19.15%) or “disagree” (44.68%) while 61.53%of the CSOs had viewed as either “strongly disagree”(35.38%) or “disagree”(26.15%) with the statement which can be compared to only 19.42 % of city residents, 13.85% of CSOs and 23.41% of public officials who were agreed with the statement.

Table 3.9: Attitudes towards mechanisms of accountability

The city government has established a mechanism where by public officials are accountable to the public.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	9	23	65	19.15	35.38	31.55
Disagree	21	17	63	44.68	26.15	30.58
No Opinion	6	16	38	12.77	24.62	18.45
Agree	9	8	40	19.15	12.31	19.42
Strongly Agree	2	1	-	4.26	1.54	0
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.7. Views on City Government Responsiveness

Respondents were also asked to express whether certain city government services were easy or difficult to obtain. Depending on the service in question, this study results great variation in perceived city government responsiveness. At one extreme service like birth and marriage certificates were relatively accessible: overall, 78% found it relatively easy (including “easy” and “very easy”) to obtain these identity documents whereas a minority of respondents (22%) reported difficulty in fulfilling these services.

Apart from birth and marriage certificates, other like getting land, housing, water, electricity, telephones, drivers’ licenses,) wee much harder to come by. On the question of accessibility of such basic services, the picture was rather depressing. Just 65.96%, 67.69% and 72.82% of public officials, civil society organizations and city residents, respectively, reported that they found it relatively difficult (including “difficult” and “very difficult”).

At the bottom extreme, very few people (just 17.02%, 15.39% and 10.19% of public officials, CSOs and city residents, respectively,) had regarded these services as easy or very easy to obtain; but a clear majority of respondents perceived them as difficult(see table 3.10 below).

Table 3.10: Accessibility of services

City government services such as housing, piped water, electricity, telephones, drivers' licenses, land, police, etc were easy and accessible to obtain.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Very difficult	10	27	60	21.28	41.54	29.13
Difficult	21	17	90	44.68	26.15	43.69
No Opinion	8	11	35	17.02	16.92	16.99
Easy	8	9	15	17.02	13.85	7.28
Very easy	-	1	6	0	1.54	2.91
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.8. Opinion on Listening Citizens Demands and Voice

In order to gain further insight into city government's governance responsiveness overall views, the study hypothesizes the following statement to manifest the reality in the ground. Up to 56.31% of the city residents reported as either "strongly disagree" (19.90%) or "disagree" (36.41%) with the statement while about 29.13% of city residents were "strongly agree" (2.43%) or "agree" (26.70%).

A clear majority (46.81%) of the Public officials and employees expressed as either "strongly disagree" (8.51%) or "disagree" (38.30%) with the proposition while a combined 36.17% of the public officials agreed with the statement. Similarly, most (55.38%) of the civil society organizations reported as "strongly disagree" (27.69%) or "disagree" (27.69%) with the statement. This can be realized by using survey results of the respondents in the table 3.11 below.

Table 3.11: Public opinion on listening habits of demands and voice citizens and civil society

Public officials are listening to those demands and voice of the citizens and civil society.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	4	18	41	8.51	27.69	19.90
Disagree	18	18	75	38.30	27.69	36.41
No Opinion	8	8	30	17.02	12.31	14.56
Agree	14	20	55	29.79	30.77	26.70
Strongly Agree	3	1	5	6.38	1.54	2.43
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.9. Attitudes on Access to Citizen's Complains

With regard to complaint management system of the city administration, majority of respondents from all three groups disagree in this regard (see table 3.12 below). A clear majority (43.69 %) of the city residents was disagreed with the proposition that “Public officials in the city administration are responsive to the complaints and suggestions of citizens and service users in a sustainable manner.” Also an absolute majority (44.68 %) of the public officials and government employees was disagreed with the proposition. Moreover, most (41.54 %) of the civil society organizations declared as they were “strongly disagreed” with the statement.

Table 3.12: Accessibility to complain

Service users can easily find out access how to complain and who to contact with suggestions for changes.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	3	26	45	6.38	40.00	21.84
Disagree	21	20	88	44.68	30.77	42.72
No Opinion	9	10	33	19.15	15.38	16.02
Agree	11	8	38	23.40	12.31	18.45
Strongly Agree	3	1	2	6.38	1.54	0.97
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.10. Opinion on Communication Practices

Respondents were asked to evaluate communication practices of city administration.

Table 3.13: Public opinion on openness of the communication system

The city government fare by creating an open communication with service users and the development partners in city administration about resourcing practices and decisions?	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	8	15	43	17.02	23.08	20.87
Disagree	21	24	80	44.68	36.92	38.84
No Opinion	7	18	40	14.89	27.69	19.42
Agree	11	5	35	23.40	7.69	16.99
Strongly Agree	-	3	8	0	4.62	3.88
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

Up to 44.68% of public officials who had felt it giving it a “disagree” rating. The extremes – “strongly agree” (0 % of public officials, 4.62% of CSOs and 3.88% of city residents) and “strongly disagree” (17.02% of public officials, 23.08% of CSOs and 20.87% of city residents) with the statement were noted by somewhat more (see table3.13 above).

3.4.4.11. Attitude on Access to Information

The survey results for accessibility of information system of city government were revealed as follows:

Up to 57.28% of the sampled population of city residents replied as either “strongly disagree”(23.30%) or “disagree”(33.98%) whereas only a combined 23.30% agreeing that “information is freely available and directly accessible to the public.” About 19.42% are indifferent.

Up to 57.44% of public officials said that they were “strongly disagreed” (14.89%) or “disagreed” (42.55%) such city government’s system with respect to access and availability to information to the public. Similarly, a strong majority (66.15%) of CSOs reported as either “strongly disagree” (26.15%) or “disagree (40.00%) (see table 3.14 below).

Table 3.14: Information availability to the public

Information is freely available and directly accessible to the public.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	7	17	48	14.89	26.15	23.30
Disagree	20	26	70	42.55	40.00	33.98
No Opinion	8	15	40	17.02	23.08	19.42
Agree	10	6	43	21.28	9.23	20.87
Strongly Agree	2	1	5	4.26	1.54	2.43
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.12. Opinions on Decision Making Approach in Financial Matters

In this regard, respondents were asked to state their opinions about the public officials' transparency on financial matters. How city government makes expenditure decisions (transparency in financial arrangements)?

Table 3.15: Transparency in financial arrangements

How city government makes expenditure decisions?(transparency in financial arrangements)	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Very Badly	10	24	65	21.28	36.92	31.55
Badly	24	18	78	51.07	27.69	37.86
No Opinion	5	17	35	10.64	26.15	16.99
Well	8	5	23	17.02	7.69	11.17
Very Well	-	1	5	0	1.54	2.43
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

A combined strong majority (72.35%) of public officials and government employees said that expenditure decisions in the city administration were made very badly (21.28%) or badly (51.07%) while only 17.02% of this group said well. Similarly, absolute majority (64.61%) and (69.41%) of civil society organizations and city residents, respectively, replied that expenditure decisions were made "very badly" or "badly". A combined clear majority (69.41%) of city residents expressed their disagreement - either very badly (31.55%) or badly (37.86%) to the

statement whereas only 13.60% of this respondent group reported their agreement - either very well (2.43%) or well (11.17%).

3.4.4.13. Views on Governance Fairness

Respondents were asked whether the city administration system is fair or not. Minorities (32.04%) of city residents said that they were agreed with their current citizen treatment practices of city administration.

Table 3.16: Views on treatment of citizens

Decisions are made objectively, practices reflect the just treatment of citizens, and other social groups (Fairness)	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	6	17	40	12.77	26.15	19.42
Disagree	13	8	33	34.04	12.31	31.55
No Opinion	16	17	35	27.66	26.15	16.99
Agree	7	20	65	14.89	30.77	16.02
Strongly Agree	5	3	33	10.64	4.62	16.02
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

A strong majority (46.81%) of public officials answered as either “strongly disagree” (12.77%) or “disagree” (34.04%) with the statement that “decisions are made objectively, practices reflect the just treatment of citizens, and other social groups.” The absolute majority (56.92%) of civil society organizations expressed as either “strongly disagree” (26.15%) or “disagree” (30.77%). Up to 50.93% of city residents replied as either strongly disagree (19.42%) or disagree (31.55%) whereas 32.04% of this respondent group stated as either strongly agree (16.02%) or agree (16.02%).

3.4.4.14. Public Opinion on City Governments' Laws and Programs

The public's level of satisfaction with government performance was also assessed by asking about the city government's laws and programs whether they assist community with attracting new businesses and investments” in their city administration. The proportion of city residents expressing agreement (strongly agree or agree) with the statement was 27.67% whereas the

proportions that expressing disagreement with the statement was 46.61%. About 42.55% of the public officials and government employees expressed also disagreement with the statement that “city administration laws and programs assist community with attracting new businesses and investments.” while a majority (52.30%) of civil society organization reported as “strongly disagree”(16.92%) or “disagree”(35.38%) with the statement

Table 3.17: Attractiveness of laws and programs

City administration laws and programs assist community with attracting new businesses and investments.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	4	11	38	8.51	16.92	18.45
Disagree	16	12	58	34.04	35.38	28.16
No Opinion	7	23	53	14.89	18.46	25.73
Agree	16	18	50	34.04	27.69	24.27
Strongly Agree	4	1	7	8.51	1.54	3.40
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.15. Public Opinion on Enforcement of Laws and Policies

A plurality (38.29%) of public officials and government employees felt that they did not agree with the statement, compared to 31.92% who felt that they were agreed, while 29.79% who didn't have any opinion about the issue.

Table 3.18: Enforcement of decisions

Decisions are made and enforced in a manner that follows rules and regulations.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	3	8	33	6.38	12.31	16.02
Disagree	15	17	48	31.91	26.15	23.302
No Opinion	14	29	55	29.79	44.62	26.70
Agree	13	9	60	27.66	13.85	29.13
Strongly Agree	2	2	10	4.26	3.08	4.85
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

The majority (39.32%) of city residents felt as “strongly disagree” (16.02%) or “disagree” (23.302%) with the statement, compared to 33.98% who felt that they were “strongly agree” (4.85%) or “agree” (29.13%) with the statement. About (38.46 %) of the civil society respondents expressed as either “strongly disagree” (12.31%) or “disagree” (26.15%) with the statement (see table 3.18).

3.4.4.16. Views on Municipal Service Management

In this regard, 110 out of 206 (53.36%) of city residents reported as either “disagree” (38.8%) or “strongly disagree” (14.56%) with the statement that “public officials are delivering quality services in a manner that makes citizens feel they are receiving a reasonable return on their tax money (taxpayers receive value for money) whereas 25.72% of this respondent group ascertained statement positively.”

About 48.94% of public officials and 67.70% of CSOs viewed the present city government as “less” effective in its performance while 10.64% of public officials and 10.77% of CSOs reported as they receive more effective service.

Table 3.19: Effectiveness of municipal functions

Municipal functions and services are delivered at a level that communities believe to be appropriate	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	4	15	30	8.51	23.08	14.56
Disagree	19	29	80	40.43	44.62	38.8
No Opinion	19	14	43	40.43	21.54	20.87
Agree	4	6	43	8.51	9.23	20.87
Strongly Agree	1	1	10	2.13	1.54	4.85
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.17. Attitudes on Resourcing Approaches

For the statement “resourcing approaches in city administration ensure good value for money and are simple, timely, and effective in their delivery” presented in Table 3.20, respondents replied with contrasting views, and asked to indicate which one was closest to their own opinion.

Table 3.20: Views on resourcing approach

Resourcing approaches in city administration ensure good value for money and are simple, timely, and effective in their delivery	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	1	17	43	2.13	26.15	20.87
Disagree	21	27	88	44.68	41.54	42.72
No Opinion	10	14	23	21.28	21.54	11.17
Agree	14	6	38	29.79	9.23	18.45
Strongly Agree	1	1	14	2.13	1.54	6.80
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

An overwhelming 67.69% of CSOs expressed as either “disagree” (41.54%) or “strong disagree” (26.15%) and 63.59% city residents felt as either “disagree” (42.72%) or “strong disagree” (20.87%). About (44.68%) of public officials answered disagreement opinion. Only a minute segment of the sample respondents believe with the statement.

3.4.4.18. Views on Adopting a Customer-Centered Strategy for Budgeting

Nearly 53.89% of the city residents said that they were “strongly disagree” (18.45 %) with the statement “public officials plan and adopt budgets that accurately reflect the critical needs and priorities of its service users” or “disagree” (35.44%) with it. About 22.82% of the respondents reported as either agree (16.02%) or strong agree (6.80%) with the statement, with another 23.30% neither agreeing nor disagreeing.

Table 3.21: Opinion on planning and adoption of city government budgets

Public officials plan and adopt budgets that accurately reflect the critical needs and priorities of its service users.	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Strongly Disagree	3	12	38	6.38	18.46	18.45
Disagree	19	27	73	40.43	41.54	35.44
No Opinion	12	20	48	25.53	30.77	23.30
Agree	12	5	33	25.53	7.69	16.02
Strongly Agree	1	1	14	2.13	1.54	6.80
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

A clear majority of CSOs (41.54%) and public officials (40.43%) expressed as either “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the statement. The results are presented in table 3.21 below. 46.81% of public officials reported as either “disagree” (40.43%) or “strongly disagree” (6.38%) while 27.66% of this group felt as either “agree” (25.53%) or “strongly agree” (2.13%) with the statement.

3.4.4.19. Opinions on Level of Satisfaction with Democracy

From the data presented below, again, the strong majority of city residents are at the very minimum, not very satisfied with how democracy is working in Addis Ababa (31.55% reporting that they were not satisfied). Only 2.43% city residents were very satisfied about the ‘democratic’ process in the city administration. It must also be noted that the 23.30% of respondents were not very satisfied. A significant majority (48.94%) of public officials not satisfied with the democracy in city administration while one third (30.77%) of the civil society organizations were not very satisfied with the democratic practices of city administration. From these two respondent groups, only 2.13% of the public officials and 1.54% of civil society organizations were very satisfied with the democracy in city administration. In fact, more than 50 % of respondents, on average, rate the city administration as no democracy.

Table 3.22: Satisfaction level of democracy

Views on satisfaction with Democracy in city administration	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Not very satisfied	6	20	48	12.77	30.77	23.30
Not satisfied	23	11	65	48.94	16.927	31.55
No Opinion	12	16	55	25.53	24.62	26.70
Fairly satisfied	5	17	33	10.64	26.15	16.02
Very satisfied	1	1	5	2.13	1.54	2.43
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.20. Public Opinions on Inclusiveness of the Political System

On the question of inclusiveness of political system of city administration, more than 70.39% city residents saw their political culture was either "Not very inclusive" (36.41%) or "Not inclusive" (33.98 %) whereas 8.73% of the city residents replied positively, i.e., either "Very inclusive" (4.85%) or "Fairly inclusive" (3.88%).

Up to 61.53% of civil society organizations viewed as either "the political culture of the city administration was not inclusive" (35.38 %) or "the political culture of the city administration was not very inclusive" (26.15%). But only combined (6.16%) of this group respondent ascertained positive progress on the issue. Nearly one third (29.79%) of the respondents felt that their political culture was not inclusive. The overall or combined negative impression of this group was 57.45% whereas 21.28% of the respondents were combined positive impression which may perceive the situation as much better.

Table 3.23: Inclusiveness of political system

How inclusive is the political culture of the city administration?	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Not very inclusive	13	17	75	27.66	26.15	36.41
Not inclusive	14	23	70	29.79	35.38	33.98
No Opinion	10	21	43	21.28	32.31	20.87
Fairly inclusive	6	1	8	12.77	1.54	3.88
very inclusive	4	3	10	8.51	4.62	4.85
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

3.4.4.21. Views on Political Culture of City Government

Table 3 .24: Opinion on political culture.

How democratic is the working culture of the city administration /city government?	Frequency (Number of respondents by type of group or category)			Percentage (%) of respondents by type of group or category		
	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents	Public Officials & Employees	Civil Society Organizations	City Residents
Not a democracy	7	15	73	14.89	23.08	35.44
Democratic with major exceptions	21	15	80	44.68	23.08	38.84
No Opinion	8	21	15	17.02	32.31	7.284
Democratic with minor exceptions	8	11	30	17.02	16.92	14.56
Completely democratic	3	3	8	6.38	4.62	3.88
Total	47	65	206	100	100	100

Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

More than 74.28% of the respondents of city resident declared that city administration system was either “not a democratic” (35.44%) or “democratic with major exceptions” (38.84%). This was also confirmed by public officials and government employees. More than 59.57% of the respondents of public officials and government employees reported as either “not a democratic” (14.89%) or “democratic with major exceptions” (44.68%). When we see overall impression of the civil society organizations on this matter (see the table 3.24 above), the combined negative impression (46.16%) of the respondents were either “not a democratic” (23.08%) or “democratic with major exceptions” (23.08%) which outweighs the combined positive impression (21.54%) of the respondents that was either “completely democratic” (4.62%) or “democratic with minor exceptions” (16.92%).

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the significant gains have been made in democratic governance in Thailand, Ghana and Botswana. It addressed their democratic governance experiences that have been allowing their citizens to enjoy a much wider range of rights and liberties and giving vibrant, privately owned media scope to emerge through the emergence of a free press. It also saw modest improvements in governmental transparency, consensus building among the political elites, introduction of parliamentary democracy through institutionalizing representative and competitive multiparty systems to promote parliamentary debates , presence of strong state-civil

society relations and the increasing operations of constitutionally created bodies like election commission, parliamentary ombudsman, the media commission, the commission on human rights and administrative justice and constitutional courts, national counter corruption commission and public finance audit commission.

Moreover, this section has identified and addressed brief context about governance foundation, achievements and the challenges in Ethiopia as well as governance gaps and measures addressing those challenges. It also narrated survey results briefly those to be discussed and analyzed in the next chapter.

A number of lessons can be identified and concluded. First, acknowledging the legitimacy of democratic institutions and respecting rules of democratic procedure discourage political leaders in new democracies from trampling on the rights of opposition groups. A lack of such commitment, on the other hand, could be compatible with a progressive abridgement of democracy and good governance that might ultimately culminate in its transformation into a limited democracy or an authoritarian regime. In short, because political leaders share the consensus supporting a democratic regime, respect for its norms and institutions serve as a check on abuses of executive power.

Second, promoting democratic consolidation contributes to stability by reducing the intensity of the expression of polarization and by restricting differences to peaceful institutionalized governance systems. Acknowledgement of a common set of democratic norms of behavior reduces uncertainty about what constitutes proper or improper political behavior and contributes to the mutually respectful expression of political conflict. Insofar as these norms avoid violence and intimidation, their widespread acceptance reduces mutual fears and suspicions.

In this connection the promotion of democratic governance in the system has a number of useful lessons. First, it has further demonstrated the importance of consensus in the functioning of democratic consolidation. The behind-the-scene negotiations among the political parties have contributed in no small way to ensuring peace and stability in a country.

Finally, good governance and participatory democracy cannot be promoted if the government denies consensus building to its opponents and other social or interested groups, while using all the resources and ideas at its disposal to put the opposition at a disadvantage. The countries

experiences at democracy and good governance have reinforced the point that the fairness of a governance system depends on conditions, namely, the creation of a level playing field for the lawful activities of all governance institutions and other interested groups and a thorough delinking of government affairs, personnel and resources, from those of the ruling party.

CHAPTER IV

Discussion and Analysis on Challenges of Governance in AACCA

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapters provide the conceptual framework, the country experiences, lessons and data discussion to this study. In this chapter, the study focuses on the survey analysis and evaluation which provides some of the empirical evidences on the state of governance challenges in AACCA.

Like any other developing city, Addis Ababa faces multiple challenges that have to be addressed to provide decent life for the city residents. There was considerable public dissatisfaction over the city government's failure to address the political, social and economic needs of the city's population. Some of the causes for the poor governance environment in the city administration were lack of adequate capacity in conducting political and strategic studies, lack of cooperative work with people and their organizations in achieving people-centered development approach based on popular participation and democratic consensus with different social groups, weakness in fostering popular participation in city development programs and transformation process and debate over development policies and implementation, inadequate collaboration and partnerships with development partners in the city administration, lack of a clear and predictable regulatory frameworks, i.e., absence of regular flow of information in the governance system and of better democratic political culture, lack of responsiveness and weakness in taking account of majority interests in promoting efficiency and better services and the public service in a city administration lacks client orientation in service delivery process and poor performance of the city administration in terms of catering to the interests, needs and priorities of the public. In addition, the city faces institutional capacity problems that have prevented it from providing efficient governance and improving the level and quality of services.

All these fundamental governance challenges in city administration have been evaluated, discussed and analyzed in the next sections in order to suggest possible solutions to improve the governance and management system of the city government.

4.2. The Challenges of Governance and Democracy Facing the City Administration

How is AACCA Engaged in Promoting Good Governance and Participatory Democracy?

4.2.1 The Challenges to Institutionalize Citizen Participation in City Governance Process

According to Patten (2001: 226), clear and transparent decision making processes at the administrative level are an important element in the realization of the participation principle and are essential for a functioning democracy. Participation can involve consultation in the development of policies and decision-making, elections and other democratic processes. Participation gives government's access to important information about the needs and priorities of individuals, communities and private businesses.

Increased participation of the broader society will help ensure better accountability on the part of the political leadership and the public institutions. Emphasizing greater participation contributes to democratic governance not just from the perspective of legitimacy, but also in terms of the effectiveness of public policies and the efficient use of resources. From a public opinion perspective, good governance, broadly conceived, can be measured in terms of the popular participation in the public functions. Moreover, wider community engagement in governance is frequently argued, across the political parties, to be vital to improving public services and tackling the 'democratic deficit'.

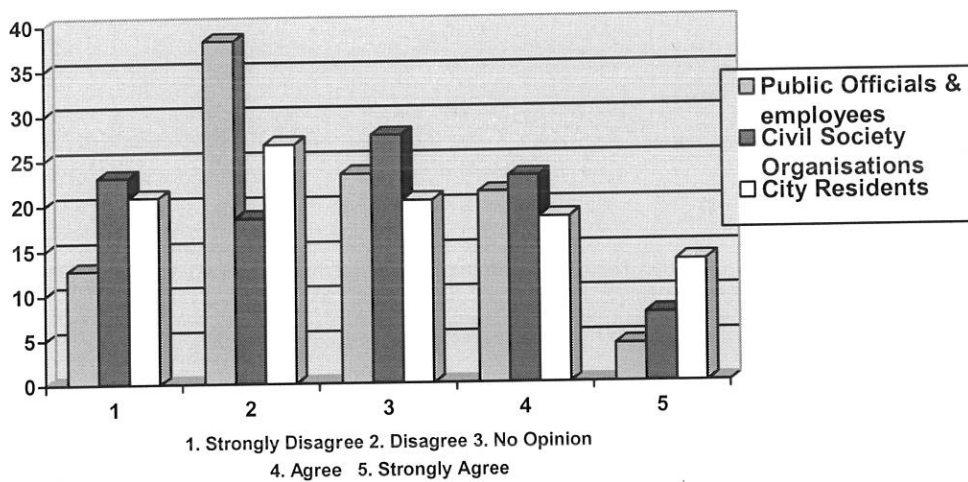
Article 43.2 of the FDRE Constitution states that; "Nationals have the right to participate in national development, and in particular, to be consulted with respect to policies and projects affecting their community."

However, there were challenges associated with participatory processes in city administration. The governance approaches in the city administration negates this participation principle. Figure 4-1 presents the extent of the citizen participation in the policy formulation process and oversight

of public institutions in city administration. It asks respondents whether city residents participate in development program designing and implementation.

For example, the combined percentage of negative impressions, the sum of the survey results of “strongly disagree” or “disagree” was 47.57% of city residents which is greater than that of the combined percentage of positive impressions (32.04 %). Up to 51.07% of the public officials from sampled population affirmed that as they were “strongly disagreed” (12.77%) or “disagreed” (38.30%) while only 25.54% of public officials were either “strongly agreed” (4.26%) or “agreed” (21.28%). This was also ascertained by combined impression of civil society organizations. Here, the combined negative impression for this group was nearly (41.54%) either “strongly disagree” (23.08%) or “disagree” (18.46%) which outweighs the combined positive impression about 30.77% that was either “strongly agreed” (7.69%) or “agreed” (23.08%).

Figure4.1: Citizen Participation in Program and Project Designing and Implementation



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

If the strongly disagree and disagree responses are combined and the strongly agree and agree are too, the “negative” comments outweigh the “positive” ones by large amount of margin. The gap is much wider between the impressions. The aggregating dimension received the highest negative impression. Respondents from both public officials and civil society organizations groups also share similar opinion regarding the low performance of the city government in terms

of citizen participation in development programs and projects. The overall average outcome obtained for this analysis is negative, which means that the general assessment of the quality of governance in relation to public involvement in designing and implementation of public programs and projects is weak - the means by which active community involvement may not be translated into genuine forms of local devolution. This also implies that mechanisms were also not strong enough to allow citizen participation in planning and implementation of governance plans, programs and projects. Moreover, absence of integrated community consultation, development and participation strategies and mechanisms for review and evaluation in city administration were also some of the critical problems.

According to respondents, even consultative council meetings and public hearings in the city administration are not capable enough to play their duties and responsibilities due to capacity constraints. These findings of analysis show more of a shared negative opinion even there is the contradictory mix of negative and positive opinions. It is strange that the participatory dimension of the public that describes the relationship between the city government and the public had obtained the most negative general opinion. If one considers the level of respondents' opinions showed by the study applied in city administration as well as the emphasis on public involvement, the negative indicators mainly fall in the range between 1 and 2 (strongly disagree and disagree).

As a general comment to the analysis, it is important to mention that in this dimension, the majority of the respondents highlighted a huge difference between the current regulations (principles) in City Administration of Addis Ababa (de jure) and what really and practically happens (de facto). i.e., residents felt there was a gap between the rhetoric that demands community participation in local governance programmes and the realities of work on the ground. This contradiction can be noticed in survey question (proposition) in which assessment, according to the pre-established principles of good governance and participatory democracy guidelines, falls between strongly disagree and disagree and the findings are negative and critical. This shows that the absence of effectively devolved governance systems in city administration. None representing the interests of citizens and not articulating citizen interests in decision making characterized city administration for the last few years. As a result, citizens couldn't influence policy decisions through represented interests.

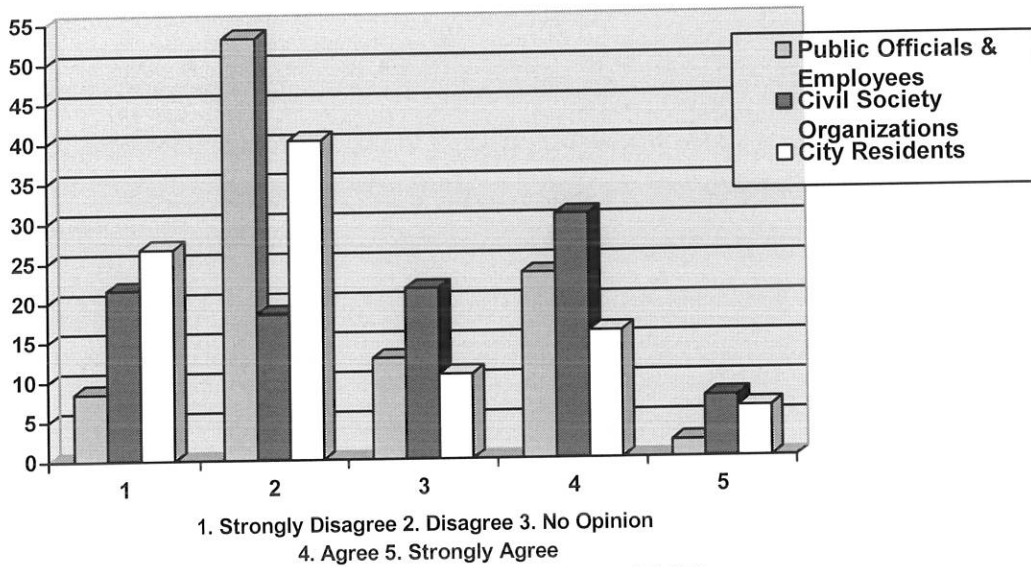
4.2.2. The Challenges to Institutionalize Empowered Citizens and Pluralism of Opinions in City Governance Process

According to Bailey (1992:71-82) empowerment is a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power (that is, the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important.

An empowered participatory society and pluralism of opinions is important for pressuring the democratic governance and accountable functioning of government. Effective local governance nowadays requires informed, engaged citizens who vote in elections, participate in decision making and contribute to the quality of services. This means public bodies need to go beyond providing opportunities for participation, to embark on a process of learning, both for the public and for the organizations that need their input.

This section discusses the empowerment aspect of the citizens. This aspect demands democratic institutions and leaders to build citizen and civil society capacity and to promote and maintain good governance and participatory democracy within city administration. Certainly, there is a public pervasive dissatisfaction with the city government's major political institutions and political leadership. Attention was not given to capacity building to develop people's confidence and understanding supports their empowerment and participation. The Figure below captures the performance approval ratings in this regard. Rating was highly scored between "strongly disagree" and "disagree" for all respondent groups that was highly dominated by negative impression. For instance, nearly 66.99% of city residents reported that they were either "strongly disagreed" (26.70%) or "disagreed" (40.29%) with the statement which outweighs the combined positive impression (22.33%) of the city residents who felt as either "strongly agree" (6.31%) or "agree" (16.02%). This implies that the respondents' opinions pointed out that there was lack of citizen empowerment mechanisms in the administration system.

Figure 4.2: Empowerment of Local Governments and Community



Source: Primary data(Questionnaire, 2007)

The above finding is also supported by the rest of the respondent groups. For instance, 40.00% of civil society organizations replied that as they were either “strongly disagreed” (21.54%) or “disagreed” (18.46%) with the statement. But 38.46% of the respondents answered the statement positively. Similarly, the survey results of the public officials affirmed similar results. A significant majority (61.70%) of the sample of this respondent group expressed as either “strongly disagree” (8.51%) or “disagree” (53.19%). Only 25.53% of the respondents had positive impression on the matter- as either “strongly agree” (2.13%) or “agree” (23.40%). These findings raised the general average of the negative impression which outweighs a positive value in the quality of governance in city administration.

In this survey we can conclude that government’s facilitation of citizen empowerment received the lowest score in the entire survey. As I have tried to observe the nature of citizen empowerment in city administration, it was generally considered that negotiations and debates take place mainly with large business groups. So, there were no mechanisms of consultation and citizen participation to empower the large mass of communities and citizens to shape the course and condition of their lives through effective engagement in social and political processes.

As it was stated by Bailey earlier, empowerment, by definition, is a social process, since it occurs in relationship to others. Empowerment is a process that is similar to a path or journey, one that

develops as we work through it. Other aspects of empowerment may vary according to the specific context and people involved, but these remain constant. In addition, one important implication of this definition of empowerment is that the individual and community are fundamentally connected. Moreover, the citizen empowerment aspect of the governance includes the dialogue which focuses on building the relationships necessary for citizens, communities, and city government to effectively cooperate within a democracy. Debate should focus upon the most effective forms of dialogue between different structures of governance and different community interests, rather than simply polarizing distinctions between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches.

In this regard, although there were no major restrictions, some practical difficulties were encountered in the city administration: lack of public spaces for debate and limitations in the use of the ones that already exist, lack of institutional incentives and resources for the citizen's empowerment, some resistance to creation of this kind of governance environment. In a fundamental sense, the city government and community (city residents) were not interconnected in the governance process.

In concluding the empowerment dimension of good governance and participatory democracy, one comment is worth mentioning: the "sense of citizenship" has not been valued; individual still do not have a sense of rights and duties. The existing participatory processes are too weak. There was a lack of citizen control over the actions of the political officials. There was a gap between political officials and city residents. There was a lack of powerful associations to act as mediators between the government officials and citizens in city administration.

4.2.3. The Problem with People-Centered Approach: Lack of Adoption of Citizen-Driven Initiatives across the Governance System

Adoption of citizen-driven initiatives implies that the needs, priorities and aspirations of local communities are identified and a set of actions agreed with the key organizations responsible for meeting local needs. Local authorities experienced in community-based programmes should review the effectiveness of mechanisms for determining needs and priorities.

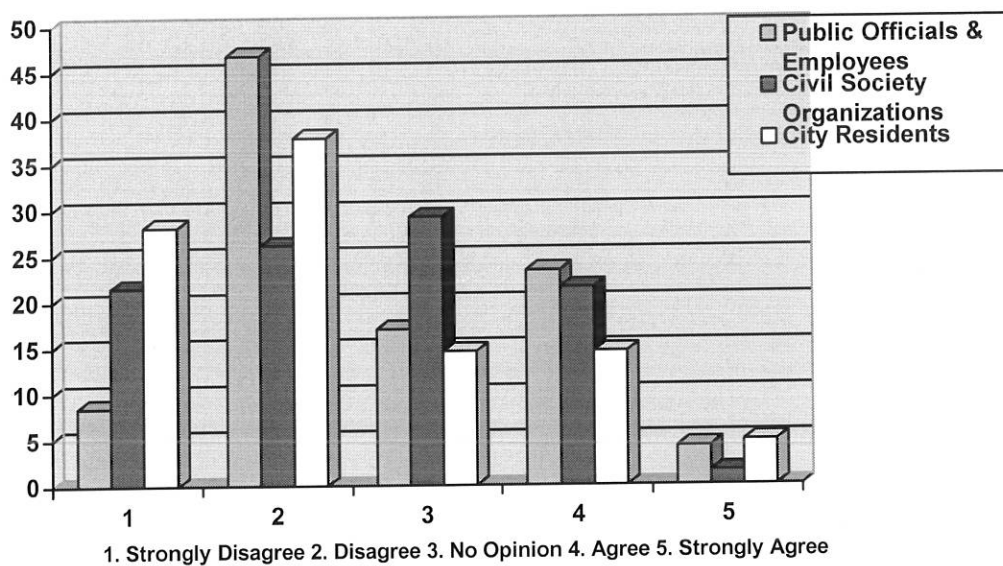
But such centrally determined initiatives may prove difficult to reconcile with area boundaries and local definitions of neighbourhood. The approach can also led to duplication in relation to

policy issues and the targeting of clients and/or areas and create confusion about the roles and responsibilities of key players.

Whereas, the client-based approach stresses up on peoples' empowerment and promotion of psychological strength so as to enable the people relate themselves with the officials on a partnership basis. It is based on developing community action through people.

An explicitly non-people centered development approach form is a perennial and troublesome occurrence in Addis Ababa City Administration. City residents were firmly disagreeing with statement "city government takes a people centered approach in its planning and service delivery functions." 136 out of 206(66.03%) respondents of the city residents said that they were "strongly disagreed" (28.16%) or "disagreed" (37.87%) with the statement. Figure 4.3 suggests that city governance programs were not based on developing community based approach. It seems more likely to be top down approach rather than gaining an emphasis on reaching large mass at the grass - root level

Figure 4.3: Governance Approach



Source: Primary Data (Questionnaire, 2007)

The above finding is also confirmed by other groups of the respondents such as public officials and civil society organizations. For example, 26 out of 47(55.32%) public officials said that they

were “strongly disagreed” (8.51%) or “disagreed” (46.81%) with the statement. When we observe the opinions of CSOs in this statement, the majority (29.23%) were indifferent. Even the majority from these respondent groups were indifferent, more than 47.69% of the respondents declared their negative impression as either “disagree” (26.15%) or “strongly disagree” (21.54%) with the statement. Only 23.08% respondents from this group saw positively and said that they were “strongly agreed” (1.54%) or “disagreed” (21.54%).

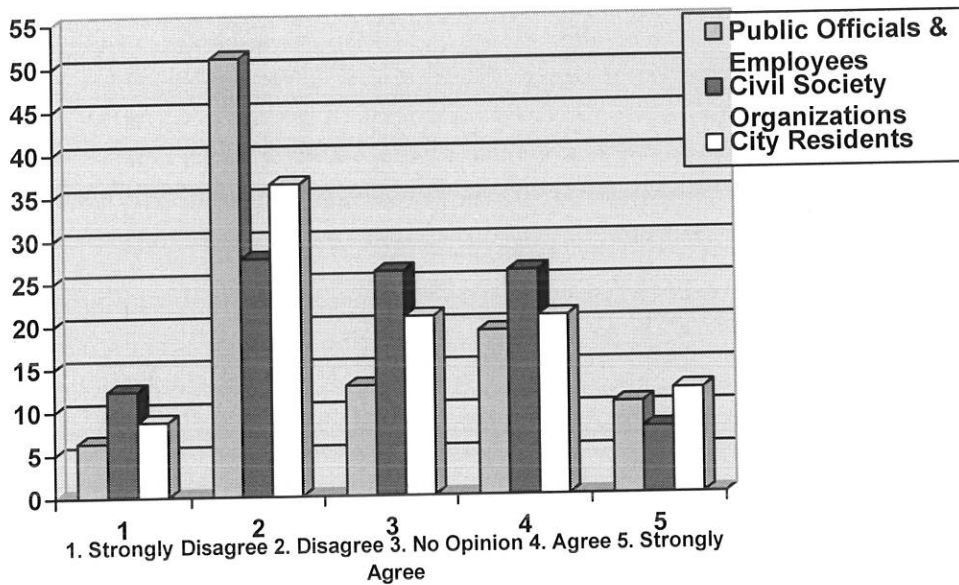
In view of the widespread opinions of the survey respondents for governance approach in city administration, it can be concluded that clear majority of the total respondents expressed a negative opinion with regard to this statement. This was happened due to absence of common understanding/knowledge base between city government and city residents and lack of work with people and their organizations in achieving people centered development based on democratic consensus with different social groups (i.e., lack of co-coordinated planning processes and capacity to focus on overarching priorities). Equally, a big majority of the city government’s population rejected a proposition to a city governmental approach to development. This implies that mainstream policies and resource allocation decisions need to take account of the lessons of locally based programmes and policies.

4.2.4. Lack of Civil Society Engagements in Governance Process: The Challenges Institutionalize Contributions of Civil Society Organizations in City Governance Process

In developing countries, non-governmental actors continue to play a critical role in pushing for political reform. Nonetheless, many governments see increasing capacity of the nongovernmental sector as a threat, and continue to support restrictions on the media and civil society.

With regard to this issue, one of the acute problems that the city of Addis Ababa is facing is its inability to work with civil society and effectively mobilize them. Over the past few years, the city administration has failed in collaboration with civil society organizations. This has proved to be a major challenge to undertake badly needed socio-economic development in the city.

Figure 4.4: Civil Society Engagements in Governance Process



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

From this perspective, a clear majority of respondents disagree with the statement. Nearly (45.15%) of city residents replied as they were either “strongly disagreed” (8.74%) or “disagreed” (36.41%) with the statement, “city government administration mobilizes civil society organizations in governance programs”. Only 29.78% gave it positive impression ratings. Moreover, public officials and government employees and civil society organizations expressed greater disagreement with the statement, the combined “disagree” and ‘strongly disagree” ratings were 57.44% and 38.46%, respectively while 29.78% and 33.84% of public officials and government employees and civil society organizations, respectively, reported as government mobilizes the civil society organizations. Figure 4.4 above addresses this curiosity.

Survey results in all respondents showed that most respondents disagree with the statement. A significant majority (more than 46%) of survey respondents reported as either “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the statement that “the city government mobilizes the civil society organizations in city governance programs.” The dominant impression is negative response. This implies that the extent of cooperative efforts between city local governments and civil society organizations was too weak and the existences of mechanisms that allow consultation between the city government and its constituents on various local concerns were very limited. This may be happened due to lack of the commitment of local governments in establishing

strong, viable, assertive, independent and politically active civil society in city governance system and having non integrated action plans across partners and parallel approaches between city government and civil society organizations to build community capacity.

One might argue that mobilized participation would block the emergence of an autonomous civil society. But, a pro-active participation of civil society in addressing development program is an important feature of good governance and it is a means to realize development goals more effectively and efficiently. This may be happened due to absence of social inclusion and net approach and lack of local governments' transparency and accountability.

4.2.5. Weak Relationship between City Government and Business People: The Problem of Institutionalizing Contributions of Public-Private Partnership in City Governance Process

Could city government, in a progressive manner, encourage private sector and others to increase their share in the development of urban governance at an increasing rate?

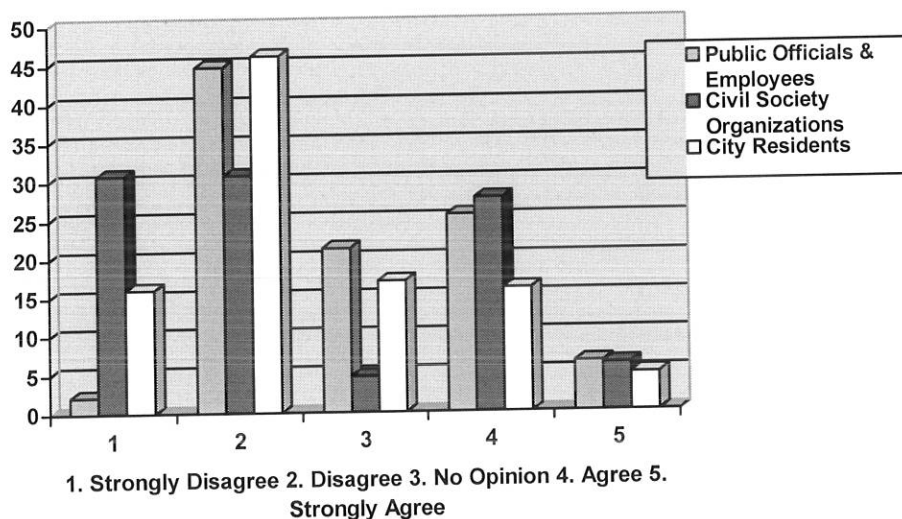
The private sector is an essential source of opportunities for productive employment and economic growth; its strength helps create a vibrant society and gives people the opportunity to use their energy and expertise in creative and productive ways. Public-private partnership suggests an active joint working arrangement between local government and the private sector in the programmes of democratic governance.

One of the problems confronting the administration of the city of Addis Ababa is the problem of a weak local strategic partnership with the private sector in terms of implementing policy incentives and schemes to encourage private sector to participate in development, of promoting business sector initiatives to improve efficiency of local government bureaucracy (e.g. technology improvement, training, etc), and of enhancing joint involvement of public and private sector in planning, funding and implementation of programs/projects.

In the survey, close to 62.14% of city residents said that they were “strongly disagreed” (16.02%) or “disagreed” (46.12%) with the statement that “there are joint working arrangements between city government and the private sector in the governance programmes.” Only 20.87% of respondents from this sample group had positive impression for the statement as either “strongly

agree” (4.85%) or agree “(16.02%). As figure 4.5 below shows, the same survey statement was given to public officials and government employees and civil society organizations. A clear majority (44.69%) of public officials and government employees said that they disagree with statement. About one third (31.92%) of public officials and government employees gave it a positive view.

Figure 4.5: Public- Private Sector Partnership



Source: Primary Data, Questionnaire(2007)

Up to 61.54% of civil society organizations considered the statement negatively- as either “strongly disagree” (30.77%) or “disagree” (30.77%) while combined 33.84% of civil society organizations reported as either “strongly agree” (6.15%) or “agree” (27.69%). Figure 4.5 above addresses this issue.

The conclusion one draws from these “partnership” analysis is that there was the lack of trust amongst partners and the figures on the governance climate in terms of public-private partnership in city administration compare unfavorably with the proposition that “there are joint working arrangements between city government and the private sector in the governance partnership” asked elsewhere. The opinion of an average respondents was negative and this is yet another indication of dissatisfaction with the way things were done in city administration and which coincides with other indicators of dissatisfaction those were stated above. Moving from action planning to delivery was challenging; it required a clear delineation of roles and responsibilities plus new arrangements, procedures and protocols for joint working. To do this,

dedicated public servants are essential for sustaining partnership momentum and networking across sectoral, organizational and professional boundaries of city government.

This constitutes a serious gap in the city's governance because it has handicapped the city government's capacity to match the demand for urban services with the growth of the urban population. This is the result of the lack of a functioning working relationship that deprived the city government capacity to undertake the work of the public sector activities. This implies that there was inadequate collaboration and partnerships with development partners in the city administration.

The absence of an effective working relationship has meant that the residents may not have say either on the quality of services or charges for these services. This situation has left city residents at the mercy of the city government, which are often accused of not being sufficiently responsive to the needs of the public.

4.2.6. The Problem of Promoting the Culture of Accountability

Promoting accountability is an important part of good governance and it advances the public interest. This may include faithful compliance/adherence to legal requirements and administrative policies, existence of sanction, performance standards and disclosure laws and codes of conduct for professional associations.

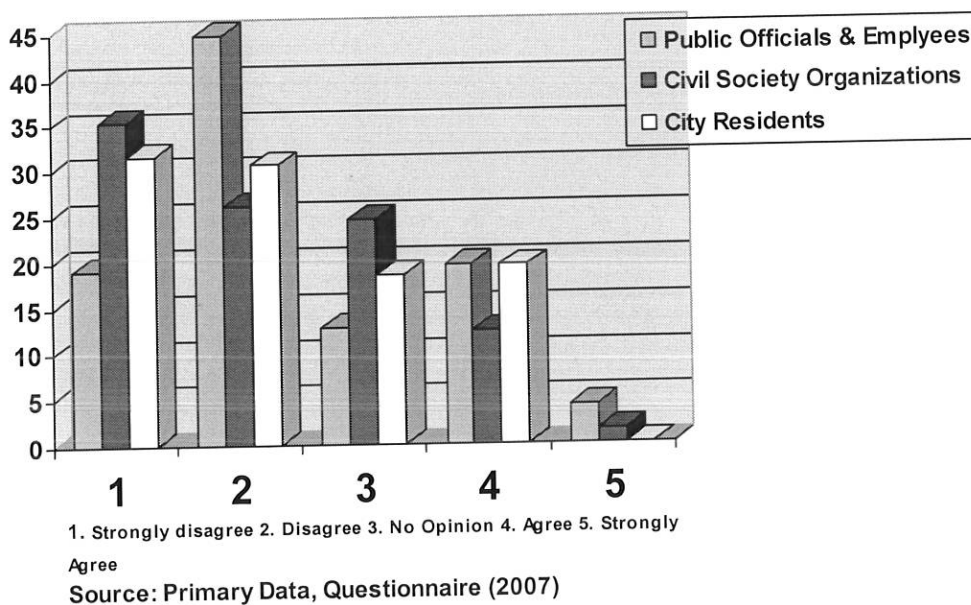
According to Thomas (1998:351), accountability is “answerability for performance or the process of holding someone answerable for performance”. It calls on the actors (a government, ministry, project manager or other stakeholders) to bear responsibility for their actions. It is the opposite of arbitrariness and demands openness and the assumption of responsibility towards the population. Rules, standards, and practices are far more effective when the people they affect understand them, know why they are important, and embrace them. One of the important challenges in the city administration is creating ways to engage the public in shaping the communities of the future.

This section of the analysis discusses the attitudes of respondents towards accountability of public officials and mechanisms established in making it work in the city administration of Addis Ababa in line with above principles. The discussion starts from proposition: “the city government has established a mechanism where by public officials are accountable to the

public”. Yet people seem to lack political accountability of the public officials. The decline in participation and trust revolve, in part, around the accountability of decision makers and individuals for outcomes and actions. It will no longer be sufficient for public officials and local governments to demonstrate efficiency (doing more with less) and sound business principles (high performance). They must go further to demonstrate their accountability for the appropriate, proper and intended use of resources.

Across the respondents, a combined strong majority (62.13 %) of city residents reported as either “strongly disagree” (31.55%) or “disagree” (30.58%) with the statement that “the city government has established a mechanism where by public officials are accountable to the public.” Interestingly, similar findings hold true in other respondent groups (public officials and government employees as well as CSOs), where a combined clear majority(63.83%) of public officials expressed as either “strongly disagree”(19.15%) or “disagree”(44.68%) while 61.53%of the CSOs declared as “strongly disagree”(35.38%) or “disagree”(26.15%) with the statement which can be compared to only 19.42 % of city residents, 13.85% of CSOs and 23.41% of public officials who agreed with the statement. Therefore, the respondents’ opinions on the current systems of city government accountability mechanisms suggested similar survey results.

Figure 4:6: Extent of accountability culture



These results should therefore be evaluated in conjunction with the above principle or concepts and other data regarding accountability mechanisms and satisfaction with democracy to grasp the full picture about good governance practices in city administration (see figure 4.6).

These findings had been confirmed by the large proportions of public officials who often had been entering into political decisions with others. The research has shown clearly that, in terms of accountability, these locally-based city government organs were operating relatively with ill-defined, contradictory and opaque principles of accountability.

There is a case for political officials of the city government to think from very beginning about remaking the structures of accountability: combining democratic legitimation, with consistent approaches to regulation, with clear obligations on the provision of information.

Some respondents of public officials, for example, said that they needed to 'be more accountable to regulatory authority than to the community we serve'. Many felt that the relationship with the city residents was often dictatorial. Similarly, many working system in the city administration feel the strong hand of the corruption at sub-cities and kebele levels.

The public more and more is demanding accountability from city governments' institutions, politicians and professionals. Decision-makers in city government, the private sector and civil society organizations are expected to be accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders.

4.2.7. The Challenges of Governance Responsiveness

4.2.7.1. Weaknesses in Service Delivery

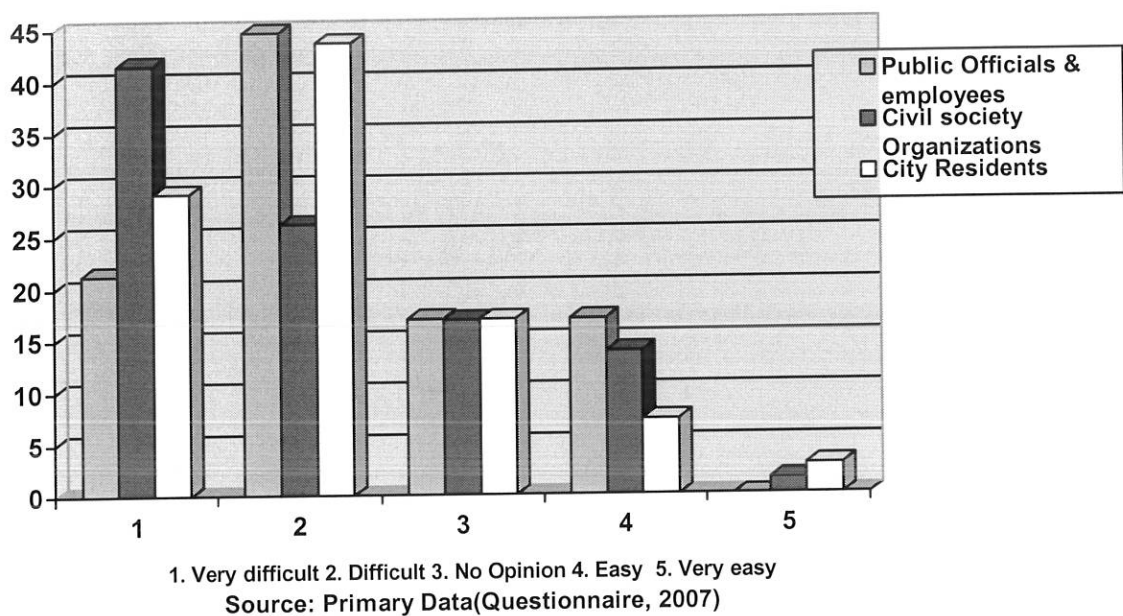
A democratic government is a responsive government. At minimum, Public officials in a democracy are required to acknowledge people's needs for basic services and to provide them with opportunities for citizenship (like registering to vote). Ideally, when popular demands are met, citizens come to see the government as their own. Thomas, (1998:355) defines responsiveness as "responding readily and sympathetically to some request or signal from an outside source. Being responsive is recognizing stakeholders' needs and addressing them by providing appropriate services and programs.

One of the advantages of local government over that of the federal government is its geographical proximity to the governed people, access to information on local needs. These advantages enable local governments to be responsive to needs of citizens and hence to deliver quality services to them. However, it can be arguable that the governance approach of the city administration has not been responsive to the needs and problems of the residents.

In this regard, respondents were asked to insure whether certain city government services were easy or difficult to obtain. Depending on the survey questions and above conceptual framework, this study found great variation in perceived city government responsiveness. At one extreme service like birth and marriage certificates are relatively accessible: overall, 78% found it relatively easy (including “easy” and “very easy”) to obtain these identity documents. Only in all respondent groups, a minority of respondents (22%) reported as difficulty in fulfilling these services.

Apart from birth and marriage certificates, other like getting land, housing, water, electricity, telephones, drivers’ licenses,) were much harder to obtain. On the question of accessibility of such basic services, the picture was rather depressing.

Figure 4.7: Extent of Responsiveness



Just 65.96%, 67.69% and 72.82% of public officials, civil society organizations and city residents, respectively, reported that they found it relatively difficult (including “difficult ” and “very difficult”) to obtain these items from the relevant city government institutions.

Getting services from the police was also more challenging task. Nor do people find the police responsive in providing desired levels of law and order. More people think it was difficult than easy to get “help from the police when they need it”. Standards of city government responsiveness was not that much good for household services like water, electricity, and telephones. At the bottom extreme, very few people (just 17.02%, 15.39% and 10.19% of public officials, CSOs and city residents, respectively,) had regarded these services as easy or very easy to obtain; but a clear majority of respondents perceived them as difficult(see figure 4.7 above).

The inability of the city government to respond to popular demands for these items is largely attributable to lack of commitments, resource constraints, but it also reflects a casual disregard for customer service in city government public utility corporations. It, therefore, comes as little surprise that very few city residents think that, “public officials in city administration...look after the interests of people” or “listen to what people have to say”. But the reverse is true for the majority. Almost, three groups of respondents acknowledged that the public institutions of the city government are unresponsive to popular needs. So, while the governance system may have democratized, the city government has yet to do so.

The most frequently-cited problem is the lack of capacity at sub-city and kebele levels of city government to exercise responsibility for public services. Using an open-ended question that recorded verbatim responses, respondents were asked to identify some of the problems facing their city administration. The following problems were cited by the respondents in one way or another:

- lack of integrated service delivery makes it difficult to pursue cross-cutting objectives;
- interaction with some city government institutions are not easy for citizens;
- no systematic approach to setting priorities and achieving outcome goals; and
- the system is weak at developing and managing capability of local governments and community

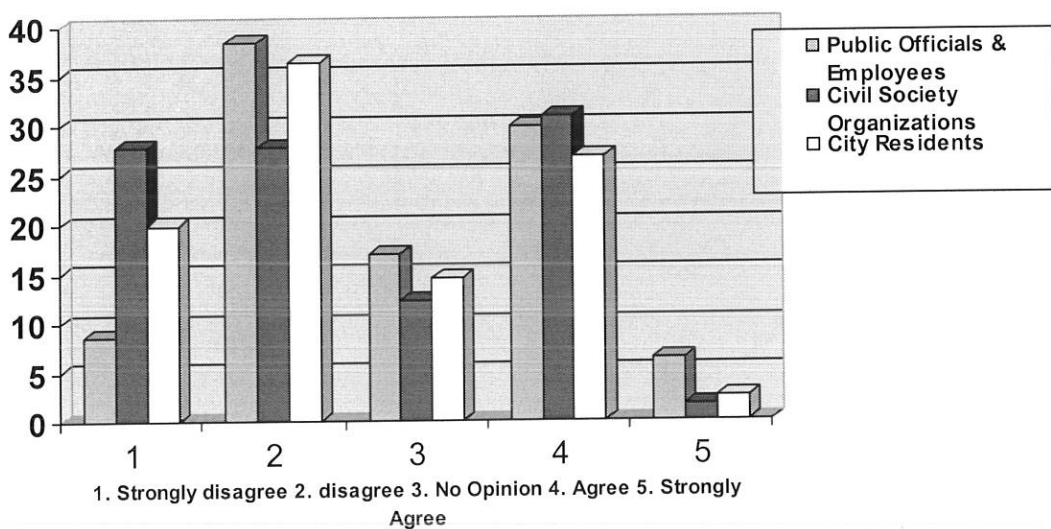
4.2.7.2. The Problems with Listening Citizens Demands and Voice

It is clear that citizens demand their voices be heard as active citizenry are increasingly prepared to take to the streets in protest. Government agencies must maintain a dialogue with citizens in order to improve their quality and efficiency. This dialogue gives agencies the tools they need to develop their services so as to create the greatest possible benefit.

To develop public service and its quality and efficiency, government agencies, local councils and other public institutions must put the needs of citizens first. Success demands a structured way of communicating with the citizens who use the agency's services.

In order to gain further insight into city government's governance responsiveness overall views, the study hypothesizes the following statement to manifest the reality in the ground. "Public officials of city administration are listening to those demands and voice of the citizens and civil society." Among the respondents, the most common popular interpretation of governance responsiveness inline with this statement is unfavorable; strong majority of participants reported quite high levels of dissatisfaction in terms of listing the voice and demands of urban citizens. For example, up to 56.31% of the city residents ascertained that as they were either "strongly disagreed" (19.90%) or "disagreed" (36.41%) with the statement while about 29.13% of city residents replied as "strongly agree" (2.43%) or "agree" (26.70%).

Figure 4:8: Listening practices of citizens' demands and voice by the city government



Source: Primary Data (questionnaire, 2007)

When we observe the opinions of the public officials and government employees and civil society organizations, their survey results confirm similar findings. i.e., a clear majority (46.81%) of the Public officials and employees expressed as either “strongly disagree” (8.51%) or “disagree” (38.30%) with the proposition while a combined 36.17% of the public officials agreed with statement. Similarly, most (55.38%) of the civil society organizations viewed as “strongly disagree” (27.69%) or “disagree” (27.69%) with the statement. The overall negative impression outweighs in all respondent categories. This survey results show that there was a widespread feeling gap that government institutions in city administration were mainly unresponsive. This can be verified by using survey results of the respondents in the figure 4.8 above.

In short, the city government officials, who were both head of bureau and other public servants, were seen by a large majority of their citizens as uncaring about and indifferent to those over whom they serve. Lack of openness and weakness in taking account of majority interests in promoting services delivery management made the public service in a city administration lacks a citizen orientation in its delivery process.

Moreover, many local governments of city administration did not have the experience and capacity to carry out new programs and respond to citizen demands. Sometimes, lack of authority over resources makes them reluctant to raise citizen expectations by creating mechanisms for citizen participation.

The conclusion one draws from these analysis is that the image of an average city government public officials as feathering their own nest, largely unconcerned neither with constituency city residents nor with their welfare and input. This is yet another indication of dissatisfaction with the way things were in city administration and coincides with other indicators of dissatisfaction. From this analysis we can realize that public officials of city government were viewed as less responsive, less effective, less trustworthy and even more corrupt. I. e., they didn't appreciate service users' needs and demands due to the absence of mechanisms in place to determine people's needs and wants (e.g. surveys, public forum) and unavailability of information to the public to give feedback on how the local government's responds to demands articulated by the constituents.

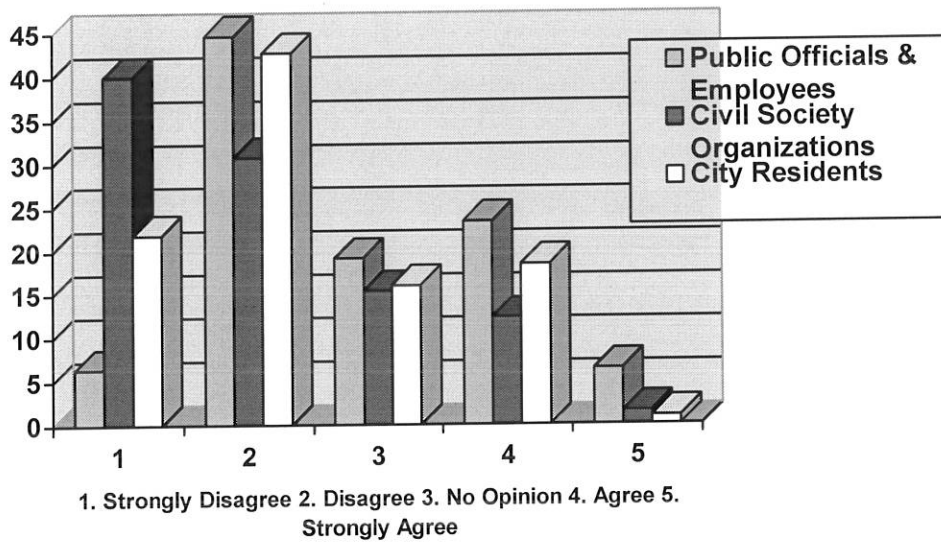
4.2.7.3. Weak Complaint Management System: Absence of Complaints Handling Policies and Procedure

Operating in an effective and accessible complaints system help organization to empower citizens and to give priority to putting things right quickly and effectively. Therefore, public officials actively seek complaints, comments, suggestions and opinions as a means for the public to help them to improve their services.

Things don't always go smoothly and citizens complain, sometimes for good reason, and sometimes for no reason. Here, a complaint is any level of citizen dissatisfaction which includes unsatisfactory public service, equipment problems, and incorrect fines. Each local government units has responsibility for complaints handling within their own area but they may choose to allocate an investigation to a particular officer. Learn how to handle complaints professionally and smoothly to increase citizen loyalty and retention. This section discusses the issues related to access to a citizen complaint and how handles citizen complaints in city administration. A citizen complaint is an allegation from any source, of any action or inaction by public servants the individual considers being contrary to law, proper procedure, good order or in some manner prejudicial to the individual, or to the community.

However, this study revealed that public officials of city administration didn't listen to and take account of their views and that they are provided with information about the actions taken in the decision making process. This can be verified by the following findings. With regard to complaint management system of the city administration, significant majority of respondents from all three groups disagree in this regard (see Figure 4.9 below). For instance, a clear majority (43.69 %) of the city residents were disagreed with the proposition that "public officials in the city administration are responsive to the complaints and suggestions of citizens and service users in a sustainable manner." This was also verified by the significant majority (44.68 %) of the public officials and government employees.

Figure 4.9: Access to citizens complains



Source: Primary Data, Questionnaire (2007)

Moreover, most (41.54 %) of the civil society organizations reported as they were “strongly disagreed” with the proposition which verify the same result with strong emphasis. The implication of these survey results is that non-existence of conflict mediation system in city administration, particularly at local levels and absence of simple procedures to ensure fair and swift action on complaints, suggestions and grievances by the public in a sustainable manner. This is because complaints were not seen as an opportunity for improving services and the steps of the complaints procedure were not straightforward and easy for citizens to follow. At the same time support and advice were not available to help citizen complains. Moreover, all complaints were not dealt with equally. This means all parties involved were not treated with fairness. Another cited problem in terms of complaint management was absence of an approximate time frame for action given in organizations.

4.2.8. The Challenges and Problems of Governance Transparency, Fairness, and Equity

4.2.8.1. The Challenges to Promote Open Communication System: Enhancing Free Flow of Information

One of the cardinal pre-requisites for promoting good governance is having an effective feedback loop that maintains governance dynamism. Those who control and manage state power on behalf of citizens need information about citizen needs and values; conversely, the governed need information from those who govern them about governmental outputs and citizen obligations. Gregory (2001) defines transparency as greater openness and specificity of governmental activity, transactions, and information.

Communication is a necessary condition for effective outcomes if the system is to work as a healthy system instead of one engaged in a series of battles among its component parts. The health of the relationships among the actors within a policy subsystem can be shaped by effective government communication policy.

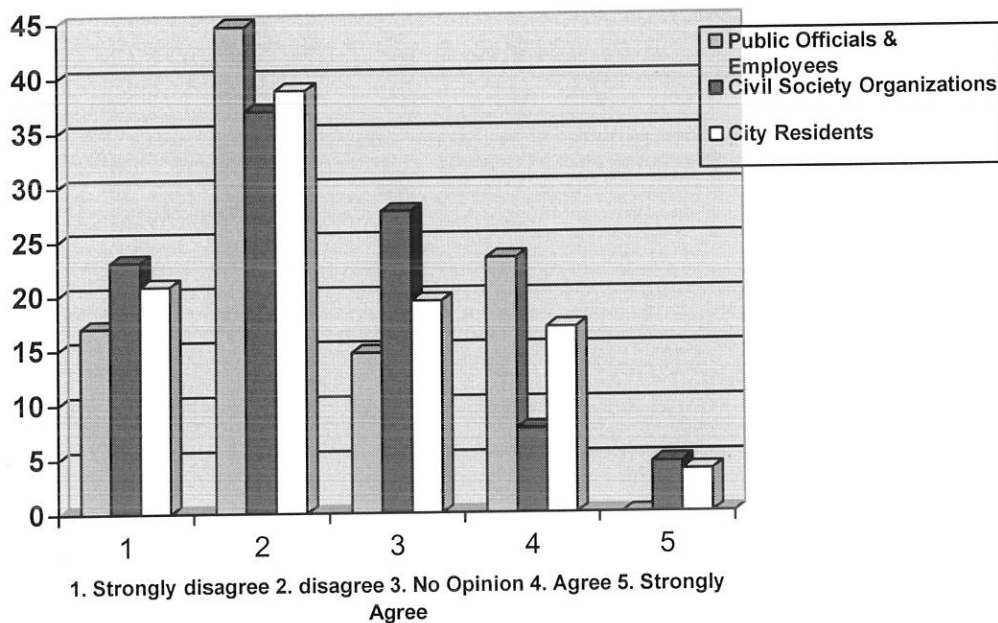
In this regard, respondents were asked about the openness of the communication system of city government with its service users and development partners. Here, the study gives the emphasis on nature and practices of communication among the government, service users and development partners and the community as a whole in city administration of Addis Ababa. What do city residents think about their government communication system? The results are presented in figure 4.10 below.

With regard to this, figure 4.10 shows, three respondents groups were asked what they view on communication practices of city administration. Clear majority of respondents from each group were disagreed with proposition that “there is an open communication system among the public, city government institutions and other development partners”. Among the 47 respondents of public officials 21 respondents which represents 44.69% disagreed with proposition. Similarly, 36.92 % of CSOs and 38.84% of city residents replied similar feelings.

When respondents were asked to evaluate communication practices of city administration, “disagree” was the dominant response on a scale of “strongly agree”, “agree”, “no opinion”,

“disagree” or “strongly disagree”, with 44.68% of public officials who had felt it giving it a “disagree” rating. The extremes – “strongly agree” (0 % of public officials, 4.62% of CSOs and 3.88% of city residents) and “strongly disagree” (17.02% of public officials, 23.08% of CSOs and 20.87% of city residents) with the statement and “no opinion” (14.89% of public officials, 27.69% of CSOs and 19.42 % of city residents) were noted by somewhat more. In short, the trend of communication was not good and there was no regular, accurate and user-friendly information on city government plans, proposals and policies and was not available and accessible to the public.

Figure 4.10: Communication Practices



Source: Primary Data (questionnaire, 2007)

If the “strongly disagree” and “disagree” responses are combined and the “agree” and “strongly agree” are too, the “negative” responses outweigh the “positive” ones by large amount of margin. Feedback did not flow freely to allow for incremental improvements to the governance system of city government. Instead, problems fester. Ensuring that communication happens within a system requires a broadly inclusive process that incorporates all stakeholders, demonstrates a commitment to honesty and transparency in the city administration.

A quick summary of these findings indicate first that respondents want more factual information-who, when, and what. This requires a believe that timely, free-flowing information in accessible

language, form and format is essential for ensuring accountability to stakeholders, learning, trust and good performance.

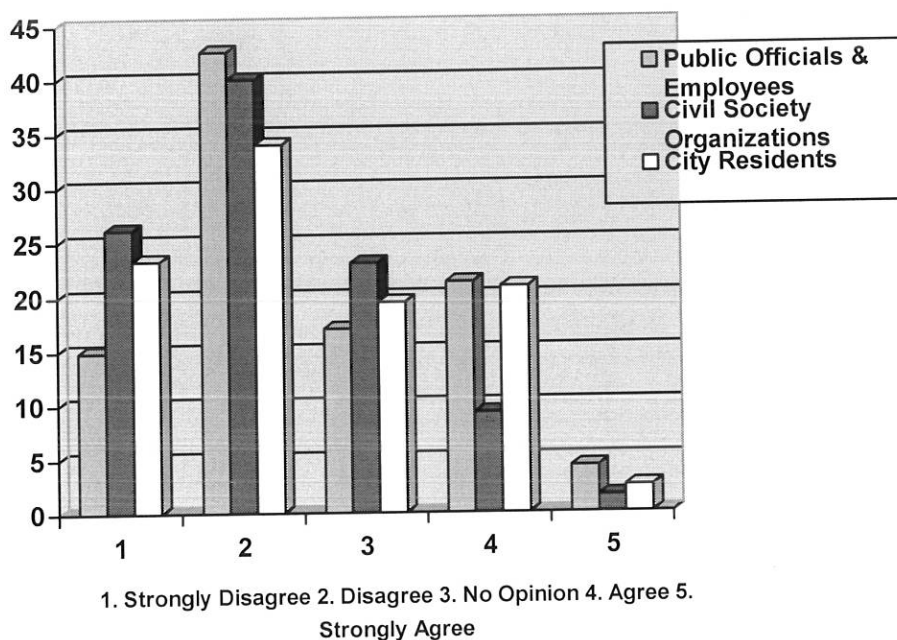
To conclude this issue, among all responses to the statement, there was lowest and more negative impression for communication practices in city administration by all groups of respondents.

4.2.8.2. What is the Problem with Access to Information?

There may be times when action will need to be taken too quickly for wider public interest reasons to enable this to happen. In such cases, we will inform stakeholders as quickly as is practical about the reasons for our action, keep them fully informed of progress, seek feedback and consult and involve them in the longer term as practical.

Information is not undoubtedly freely available and directly accessible to the public. There is no a well established system of city government to a vast majority. In the study from the respondents, it is argued that the problem city administration facing with regard to access to information was the administration of the access itself. I.e., the problem they described in a word was shortcomings in the administration of the access to information.

Figure4:11: Accessibility of information to the public



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

A strong majority (57.28%) of the sampled population of city residents affirmed this conclusion. About 23.30% of this group reported that “information is freely available and directly accessible to the public.” This survey result for accessibility of information system of city government was confirmed by responses of other groups.

Up to 57.44% of public officials said that they were either “strongly disagreed” (14.89%) or “disagreed” (42.55%) such city government’s system with respect to access and availability to information to the public. Similarly, strong majority (66.15%) of CSOs supported these findings. In all three cases, support for such government moves never reached one third (30%). This corresponds with my earlier finding about the weak accessibility for public information (see figure 4.11 above).

In view of the widespread views for information availability and accessibility in city administration, it comes as a surprise that most of the total sample of respondents express a disagreement for the statement with regard to information accessibility. A common response was that insufficient and inadequate access to information from city government agencies was seriously inhibiting the promotion of democratic governance processes. In short, city government had no a well established information system for democratic governance. As a result, the state of democracy in the city administration was very much imperfect. This implies that good governance was not really working on the ground. But access to information on how government makes decisions allows the public to hold the government more accountable, to assess performance on a wider set of criteria than would otherwise be available and to increase the understanding of the multiplicity of factors considered in government decision-making.

4.2.8.3. The Problems with Decision Making Approach: Challenges in Advancing toward Shared Decision Making

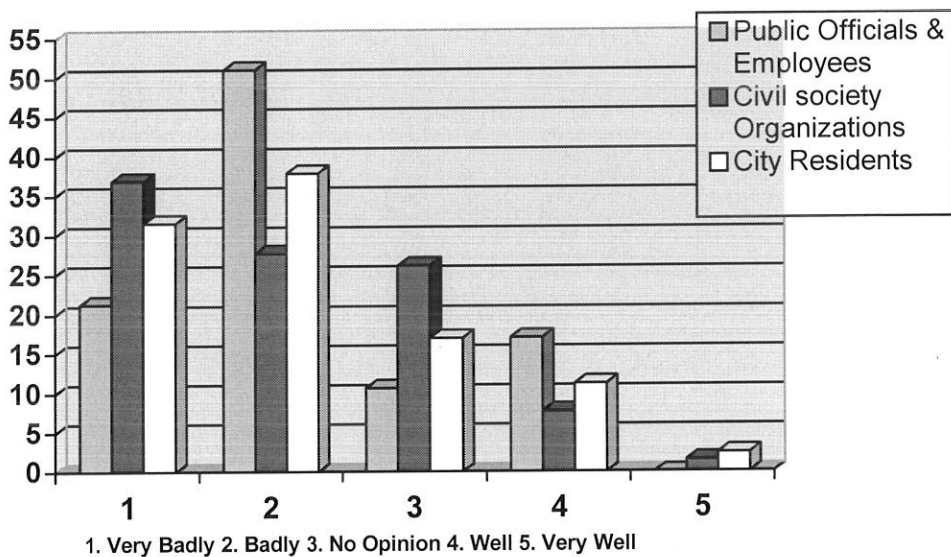
Participatory democracy is a process emphasizing the broad participation (decision making) of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems. It strives to create opportunities for all members of a political group to make meaningful contributions to decision-making, and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities. Because so much information must be gathered for the overall decision-making process to succeed, technology may provide important forces leading to the type of empowerment needed for participatory models, especially those technological tools that enable community narratives and correspond to

the accretion of knowledge. Good decision making sets objectives and targets, direction, and results in action aligned to achieve desired progress.

In this regard, respondents were asked to state their opinions about the public officials' transparency on advancing toward shared decision making in financial matters. How city government makes expenditure decisions (transparency in financial arrangements)?

A strong majority (72.35%) of public officials and government employees said that expenditure decisions in the city administration were made very badly (21.28%) or badly (51.07%) while only 17.02% of this group said that it was well. Similarly, absolute majority (64.61%) and (69.41%) of civil society organizations and city residents, respectively, confirmed that expenditure decisions were made “very badly” or “badly”.

Figure 4.12: Public officials' transparency in financial matters



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

From both respondent groups, non-significant respondents said that city administration was transparent and well decided in financial expenditures (see figure 4.12). As it is indicated in the above figure, the majority of all respondent groups expressed that there were lack of participatory approach and practices in city administration in term of financial arrangements. This may led to the lack of trust and confidence in their political leaders.

4.2.8.4. The Problem of Governance Fairness and Equity

The existence of good laws and constitutions does not mean they are fairly, efficiently and effectively enforced. Indeed, legislation and regulations are meaningless without an efficient and effective judicial system to enforce them. Even the city government has progressed in conducting reforms, most citizens feel isolated by their government, lacking meaningful access to justice systems or to governmental decision-making processes.

To identify most important problems in relation to fairness and equity, respondents were asked the following question: “in your view, what are the most important problems facing (a) you personally and (b) the city government, which the government should address?” The question was open-ended, allowing multiple responses. The results can be thought of as a “people’s agenda” for personal and city governance development.

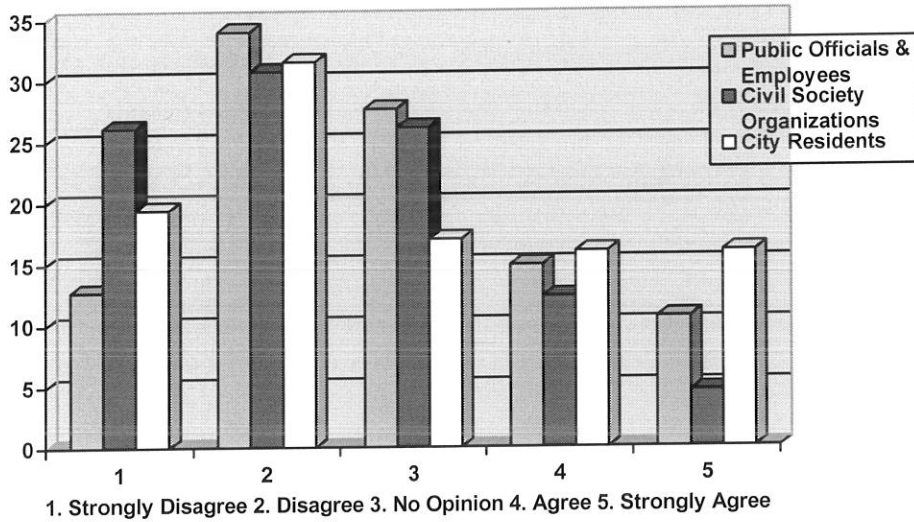
Survey respondents cited some of the problems as the most frequent problems in relation to fairness and equity aspects of the city governance system. According to respondent’s opinion in the open – ended survey question, the most prominent problems were defined as “discrimination of individuals in housing provision, employment opportunities and political assignments and appointments at the local government levels (sub-cities and kebeles).

Moreover, city residents were discontented with the objectivity of decisions and treatment conditions of the citizens which prevailing in their administration. Only minorities (32.04%) of city residents said that they were agreed with their current treatment practices. But the majority disagreement reflected widespread popular residents’ dissatisfactions across the sub-cities of city administration. In surveys conducted, a majority of the respondents expressed disagreement with the statement of the fair treatment of citizens (see figure 4. 13).

For example, a strong majority (46.81%) of public officials reported as either “strongly disagree” (12.77%) or “disagree” (34.04%) with the statement that “decisions are made objectively,

practices reflect the just treatment of citizens, and other social groups.” Again, this was supported by absolute majority (56.92%) of civil society organizations declared as “strongly disagree” (26.15%) or “disagree” (30.77%). Among those sample groups of respondents, a minority of respondents declared themselves as "agreed" with the statement, while considerable percentage from each respondent group "don't know" how they feel about it.

Figure 4.13: Governance fairness



Source: PrimaryData(Questionnaire ,2007)

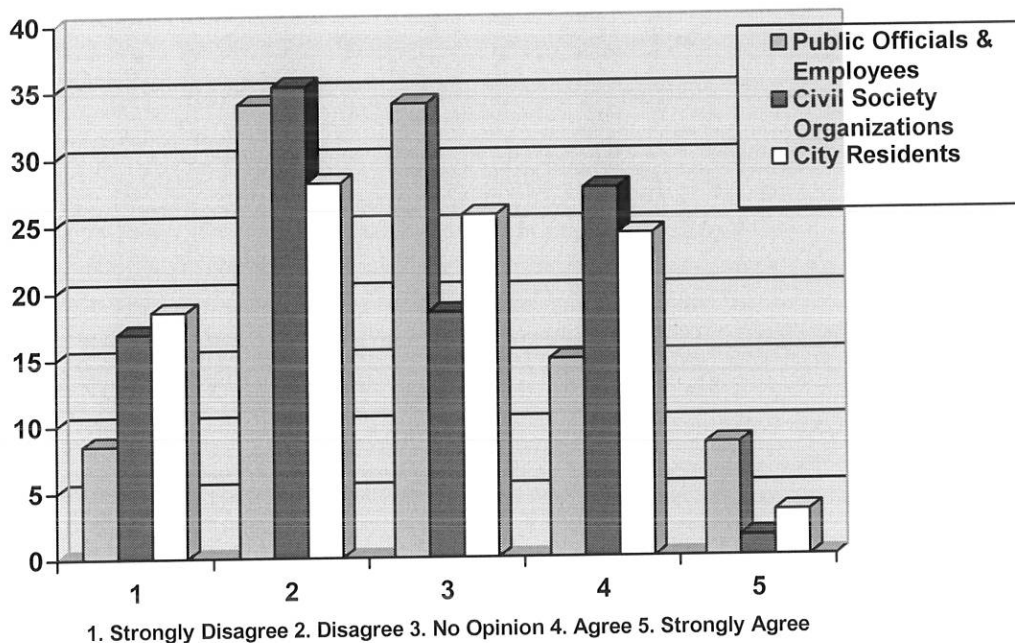
The implication of these findings is that city government work practices did not reflect the faire treatment of city residents. This led to the lack of trust and confidence between urban citizens and politicians and it has been taken as a persistent problem in the city administration in the past.

According to the representatives of business people, one of the major problems that complicated the governance of the city administration was over taxation which discouraged the business people rather than attracting new businesses and investments. This is because tax laws and policies, sometimes, formulated and then applied without consultation of this section of the community.

Asked whether city residents are agreed with the statement “city administration laws and programs assist community with attracting new businesses and investments” in their city administration, survey respondents were lukewarm. The proportion of city residents expressing

agreement (strongly agree or agree) with the statement (27.67%) lags behind the proportions that expressing disagreement with the statement (46.61%).

Figure 4.14: Attractiveness of city governments' laws and programs



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

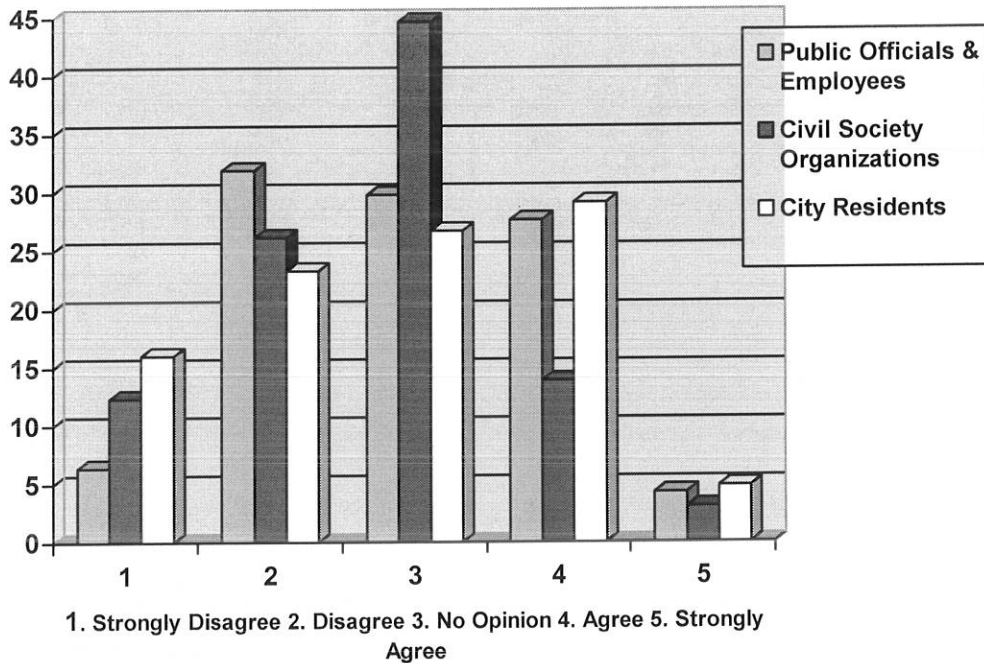
The opinion of the public officials and government employees and civil society organizations also affirmed similar survey results (see figure 4.14 above). About 42.55% of the public officials and government employees expressed disagreement with the statement that “city administration laws and programs assist community with attracting new businesses and investments.” while a majority (52.30%) of civil society organization expressed as either “strongly disagree”(16.92%) or “disagree”(35.38%) with the statement.

The overall opinions of the respondents whether the laws and programs that assist community with attracting new business and investments in city administration were far from the desired amount.

The study also began with the public opinion assessment for the governance climate of city administration by stating following statement: “The decisions are made and enforced in a manner that follows rules and regulations.” Do citizens of city administration think that the city

government's laws, policies and rules are stable enough to allow people to plan for the future? Or do policy goals and bureaucratic rules change so often as to create uncertainty? Respondents were somewhat more showing mixed good and bad opinions about the statement (ambivalent).

Figure 4.15: Enforcement of Laws and Policies



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

A plurality (38.29%) of public officials and government employees felt that they did not agree with the statement, compared to 31.92% who felt that they agreed, while 29.79% who didn't have opinion about the issue. Again, city residents' respondent groups were the most likely to seem public officials and government employees opinions. The majority (39.32%) of city residents viewed as either "strongly disagree" (16.02%) or "disagree" (23.302%) with the statement, compared to 33.98% who felt that they "strongly agree" (4.85%) or "agree" (29.13%) with the statement. About (38.46 %) of the civil society respondents expressed disagreement as either "strongly disagree" (12.31%) or "disagree" (26.15%) with the statement (see figure 4.15 above). This implies that there were no fair and consistent application of laws and government policies in city administration

But public officials and government employees (29.79%), civil society organization (44.62%) and city resident (26.70%) respondents were unable to answer this statement, which suggests that

some respondents are dimly aware of the legal and policy environment of city government or else frustration in dealing with a government. This may happen due to lack of confidence in their abilities to understand and influence politics. This is a notable exception, however.

4.2.9. The Problem with Efficiency and Effectiveness

Governance issues pertain to the ability of government to develop an efficient and effective public management process. Because citizens lose confidence in a government that is unable to deliver public services, the degree to which a government is able to carry out its functions at any level is often a key determinant of a country's ability to sustain democratic reform. Government effectiveness includes quality of policymaking, bureaucracy, and public service delivery.

Efficiency and effectiveness includes outcome/output budgeting, a simplified system of program and running costs, devolution of financial and personnel responsibility to line agencies, cost-recovery and 'user pays' principles. My assessment of the efficiency and effectiveness of city government focused on the internal operations of the city and the provision of goods and services with an understanding of the importance of service users.

The public's level of satisfaction with city government performance was also assessed by asking about the government's handling of a number of specific social and economic issues, including management of municipal functions and services, resourcing approaches, customer-centered strategy for budgeting, and fighting corruption.

In this regard, the efficiency and effectiveness of the city government was incomplete and the following challenges were identified in the study:

- 1) *Poor management of municipal functions and services;*
- 2) *The problem of resourcing approaches; and*
- 3) *Adopt a customer-centered strategy for budgeting.*

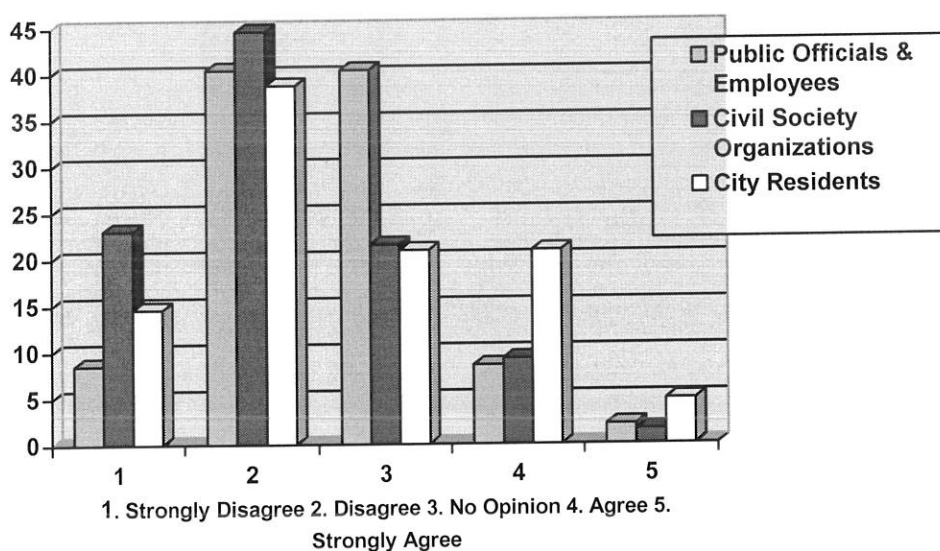
4.2.9.1. Poor Management of Municipal Functions and Services

A broader appreciation and understanding of local knowledge and local economic resources on the part of municipal institutions is necessary in order to make these norms something real and

dynamic in people's everyday lives. Such understanding permits not only governance norms to influence and be transmitted through the practices that make cultural sense to specific urban contexts. It also allows municipal institutions to discover local ways in which such norms are already being used and identify critical areas of municipal intervention.

The city government organizations in this study all had positive intentions and practical plans for increasing efficiency and effectiveness of municipal functions in city administration. However, progress did not always go according to plan. Implementing change was more difficult or slower than anticipated and in some cases plans were not carried through. In this regard, the figures on the efficiency and effectiveness of municipal functions in city administration compare unfavorably to the survey questions asked in all three categories. For example, absolute majority (44.68 %), (41.54 %), (42.72%) of public officials, of CSOs and of city residents, respectively, disagreed with the proposition that “public officials are delivering quality services in a manner that makes citizens feel they are receiving a reasonable return on their tax money (taxpayers receive value for money)”.

Figure4:16: Municipal service management



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

Without exception, a majority of citizens evaluated the current city government in negative terms. Though it is assessed slightly better in the area of some services (e.g., acts and documentation registration services, investment facilities), its performance in the economic

sector was harshly judged. 110 out of 206 (53.36%) reported as either “disagree” (38.8%) or “strongly disagree” (14.56%). i.e., city residents were far from agreement with the government record in management of the municipal functions and services. The government was felt to be ineffective in handling people’s welfare and other services. As figure 4.16 above shows, 40.43% of public officials and 44.62% of CSOs thought the current city government had actually been “less” effective in its performance. This has contributed to the lack of “pragmatic trust” in government. This perceived low capability of the government may well threaten its very existence.

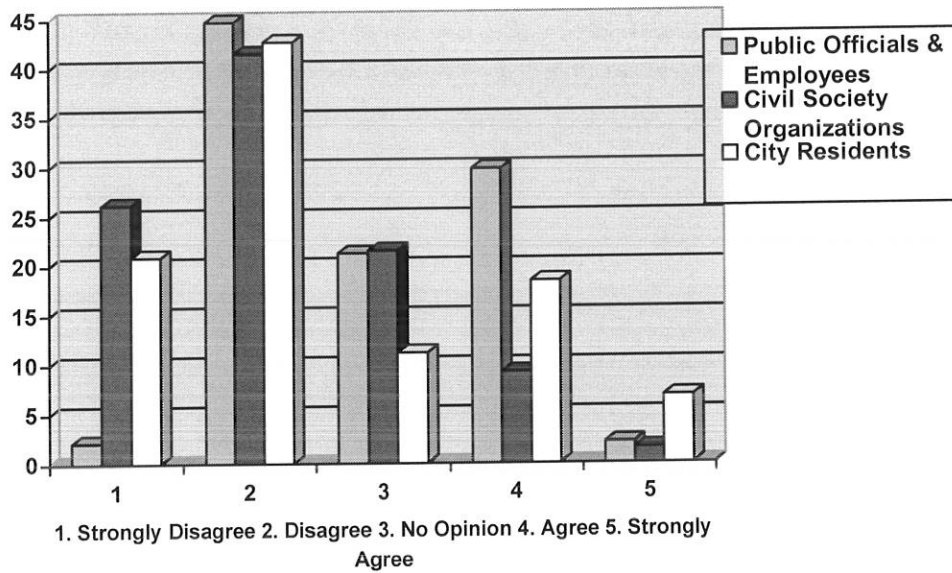
Only (4.85%) of city residents felt as strongly agree with the proposition that “municipal functions and services are delivered at a level that communities believe to be appropriate.” This finding is also confirmed by both public officials and CSOs. But public evaluations of government performance also vary quite substantially across the respondent groups. This becomes especially clear if we compare the average positive and negative ratings within each respondent group across issue. The combined negative score (i.e., those responding “strongly disagree” or “disagree”) in city administration, the residents most dissatisfied with its government’s budgetary performance was 53.36%, compared to only 25.72% who declared as either “agree” (20.87%) or “strongly agree” (4.85%) with the statement. City residents were especially disappointed in city government’s handling of public budget, all of which scored above 50% negative score.

4.2.9.2. The Problem of Resourcing Approaches (Management of taxpayers how they receive value for money)

Value for money should be a key governance issue for partnerships. Increasingly, public bodies and regulators are focusing on value for money because of the efficiency. The established definition of value for money is the relationship between economy, efficiency and effectiveness.

In this regard, respondents were asked to indicate the degree of their agreement or disagreement with economic conditions whether public bodies and regulators are focusing on value for money to ensure the efficiency in the city administration. Figure 4.17 gives the picture about the issue. It is starkly evident that there was groundswell of disagreement among city residents with the statement “resourcing approaches in city administration ensure good value for money and are simple, timely, and effective in their delivery”.

Figure 4.17: Resourcing approaches



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

An overwhelming 67.69% of CSOs expressed as either “disagree” (41.54%) or “strong disagree” (26.15%) and 63.59% city residents declared as either “disagree” (42.72%) or “strong disagree” (20.87%). Public officials also replied similar opinion (44.68%) of disagreement. Only a minute segment of the sample respondents was happy with the city government’s economic state of affairs. Furthermore, a very large majority of respondents felt the economic conditions in the city had currently worsened in comparison to those of two years back. All most all of the respondent groups shared this finding. In short, they were saying that the city government was doing very badly. It was regressing, rather than progressing.

City residents are currently stimulating themselves for some changes to come in the public sector performance of city administration, with 61.95 % of the sampled population predicting that the economic situations in the city administration have been deteriorated unless measures will not be taken in advance.

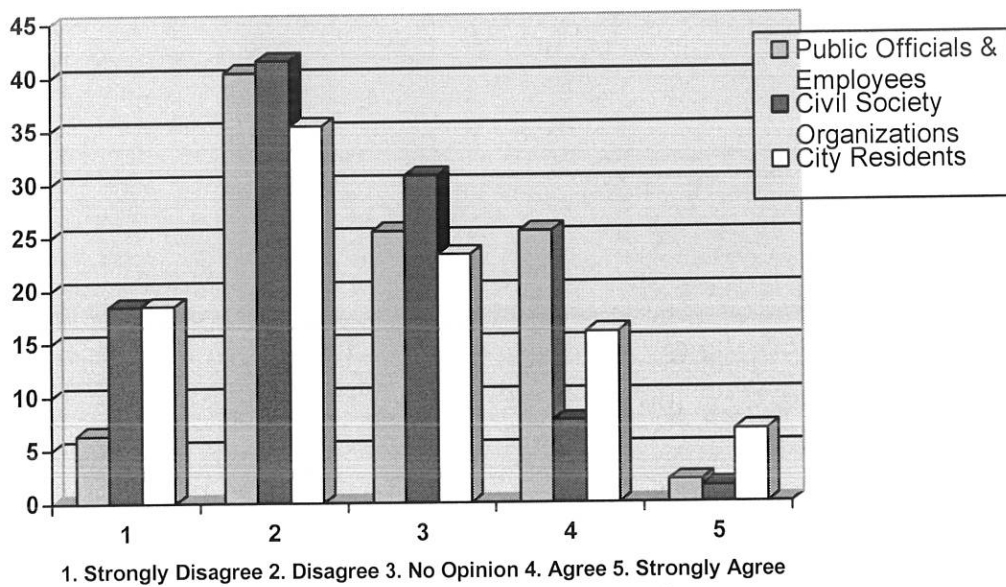
4.2.9.3. The Challenges in Adopting a Customer-Centered Strategy for Budgeting

With regard to the approach about the budget administration system in city administration, this study also gives the attention to this matter.

Nearly 53.89% of the city residents said that they were “strongly disagreed” (18.45 %) with the statement “public officials plan and adopt budgets that accurately reflect the critical needs and priorities of its service users” or “disagreed” (35.44%) with it. This was in contrast to about 22.82% who reported as either agree (16.02%) or strong agree (6.80%) with the statement, with another 23.30% neither agreeing nor disagreeing. This was supplemented by another finding which is that a clear majority CSOs (41.54%) and public officials (40.43%) affirmed these findings. The results presented in figure 4.18 below.

The survey results demonstrate that the citizens of city administration are rather low on the participation scale in terms of budgetary process.

Figure 4.18: Customer Centered Strategy for Budgeting



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

If the degree of participation in budget planning and adoption is an index of good governance and participatory democracy, then democracy in city government can be said to be still in a fledgling state. The survey evidence suggested that apart from other issues, budgetary system of the city government did not reflect the basic needs and priorities of its service users and citizens were not very active in budget planning and adoption processes.

What are the public’s perceptions of the most important problems their city administration face that government should be trying to tackle? Using an open-ended question that recorded verbatim responses, respondents were asked to identify the top four problems facing their city administration. Responses were then coded into the categories listed in Table 4-3, which summarizes data (as percentages of total responses given) from the first responses given by each individual.

Table 4.1: Perceptions of socio-economic problems (as % of total problems cited)

What are the most important socio-economic problems facing the city residents that the city government should address?		
Economic Problems	Percentage (%)	Remark
Housing	32.38	
High cost of living (due to weak household income)	23.16	
Unemployment	20.12	
Infrastructure(road and bridges) and sanitation	18.18	
Over taxation due to high rates of taxes	4.03	Mainly reported by business people
Other problems	2.13	

Source: Survey responses (Questionnaire, 2007)

Economic concerns predominated when I interviewed, “in your view, what are the most important problems facing (a) you personally? and (b) the city government?” The question was open-ended, allowing respondents to offer multiple responses and to say whatever they wished.

The results can be thought of as a “people’s agenda” for personal and city administration development.

As indicated in Table 4.1 above, respondents mentioned four economic issues among their top four personal concerns. The outstanding economic problem, which was also the most commonly cited problem in the survey as a whole, was housing, which was identified as the number one problem in city administration, and places among the top in all respondent groups. Heading the list were shortfalls in housing, identified 32.38% of the time. Together, the economic items (the cost of living and unemployment) amounted to 43.28% of all problems mentioned. Next came problems that had both economic (like infrastructure) and social dimensions (like sanitation), which together accounted for 18.18% of all responses.

The infrastructure for development, like roads and bridges, also figures prominently on the popular city development agenda. For road and bridges, the problem is seen primarily as one of availability of basic facilities. People mention both the need for new construction as well as the necessity to maintain the city’s existing networks. No one of respondents claimed to have no personal problems.

This seems to suggest that city government reforms have not yet successfully implemented by local governance in various areas of city government administrations such as administrative procedures, resource mobilization, political reforms, economic sustainability, environmental preservation, community participation, and so on. This might be the result of the weak strong leadership at the local governments due to capacity limitation and decreased synergy in accessing and deploying resources.

4.2.10. The Challenges to Democratic Consolidation

The FDRE Constitution (1995) provides for public participation in Ethiopian’s legislatures. In the first instance, both parliament and the regional legislatures have the duty not to exclude the public – including the media – from any of its meetings, unless it is reasonable and justifiable not to do so in a democratic and open society. This includes the meetings of parliamentary committees. Citizens are thus able to be aware and informed of what is happening in the legislatures.

In this section, the following issues were identified for assessment in the context of AACCA:

- 1. Low level of satisfaction with democracy (how democratic is the city government?)*
- 2. The challenges to promote inclusiveness of the political system*
- 3. The challenges to strengthen democratic political culture*

4.2.10.1. Low Level of Satisfaction with Democracy

How democratic is the city government? To answer this question, respondents were asked to indicate their opinion on how Addis Ababa is governed. The results are reflected in Figure 4.19 below:

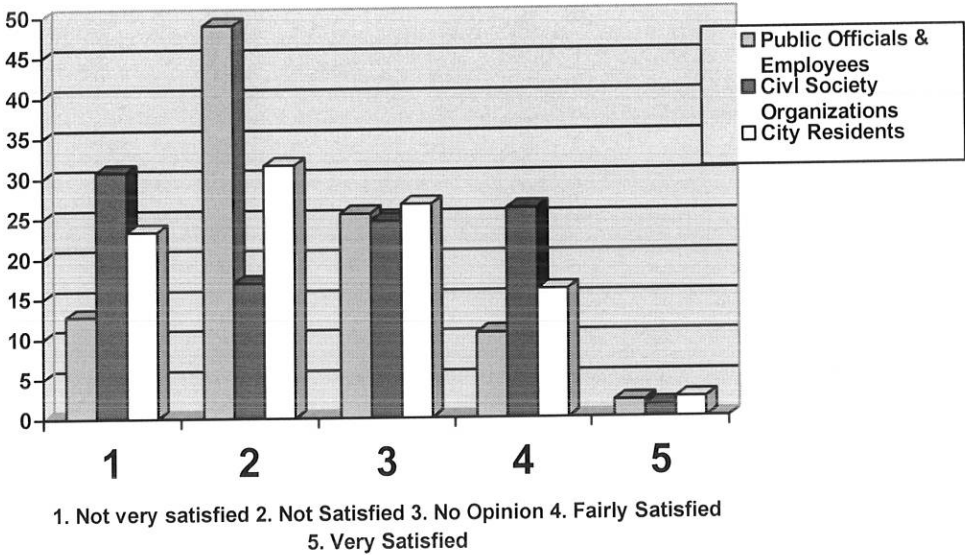
From the data presented below, again, the strong majority of city residents were at the very minimum, not very satisfied with how democracy is working in Addis Ababa. About 31.55% of the city residents reported that they were not satisfied). Only 2.43% city residents were very satisfied about the 'democratic' process in the city administration. It also be noted that 23.30% of respondents were not very satisfied. They said city administration was "not a democracy" actually volunteered this response without being prompted. This finding is also affirmed by both public officials and civil society organizations. For example, a significant majority (48.94%) of public officials and more than one third (30.77%) of the civil society organizations were not satisfied with the democracy in city administration. From these two respondent groups, only 2.13% of the public officials and 1.54% of civil society organizations were very satisfied with the democracy in city administration (see figure 4:19).

According to the majority of the respondents, the top public officials of the city administration didn't contact local officials, community and other civic organizations for input (information, feedback, advice, and support) before passing legislation.

This is a damning indictment especially in view of the frequent claims by the ruling political leadership that city government is a fully fledged democratic regime. Those who are governed reject such assertions, and do so by an overwhelming majority. This leads to unaccountable legislature and inefficient policymaking process that didn't reflect the public interests or

preferences. Certainly something needs to be done about the state of democracy in city administration. This implies that there was a high level of demand for democracy among the city residents, but a low level of perceived supply.

Figure 4.19: Level of satisfaction with democracy



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

4.2.10.2. The Challenges to Promote Inclusiveness of the Political System

According to Jae A. and Judy L. (1993), inclusiveness is the inclusion of everyone regardless of religion, social status, sexual difference, gender, age, physical or mental ability, or any other factor that separates people. To them, what does inclusiveness look like? The weakest and those generally most excluded in a society are included in decision making and it keeps faith with dream of a nation where all are welcome. Differences in values, cultures, concepts, learning styles and perceptions that individuals possess are used constructively and openness and an enriched, safe, equitable, hospitable, and appreciative environment exists to support everyone in the system

In the previous section the study considered how satisfied city residents are with the democracy in city administration. Now this section turn to the question of how inclusive is the political system of the city government and citizens’ place within it? The survey question is relatively

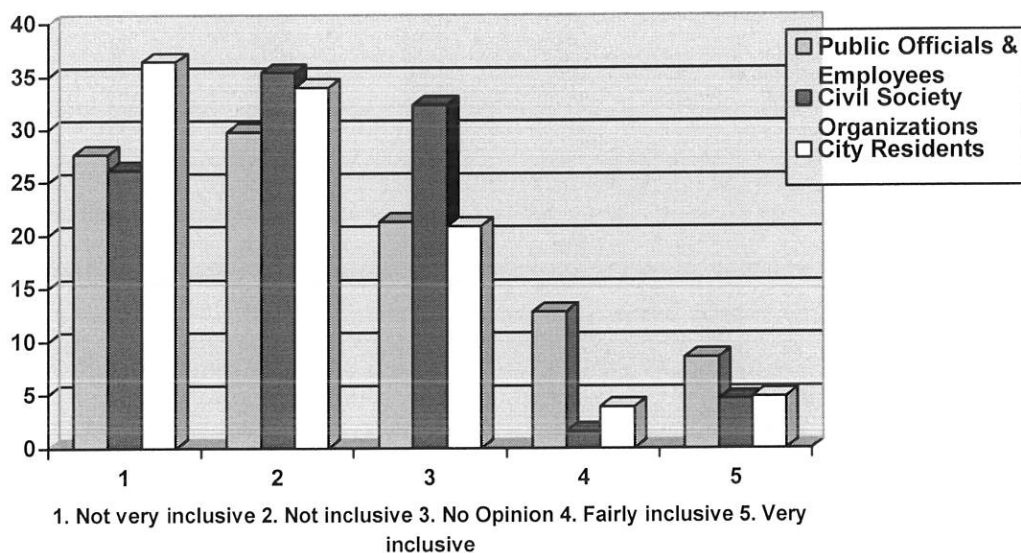
straightforward. Respondents were asked first, how inclusive they are with the condition of the political system in their government.

It is immediately clear from the results recorded in Figure 4-20 that respondents were not generally inclusive with the political system of the city government. Without a doubt, citizens in the city administration consider the existing political regime in their administration system was not characterized by its inclusiveness. This was because the state of democracy they live under is very much imperfect.

On the question of inclusiveness of political system of city administration, again the picture is rather depressing. More than 70.39% city residents answered their political culture as either “not very inclusive” (36.41%) or “not inclusive” (33.98 %). Only (8.73%) of the city residents replied positively, i.e., as either “very inclusive” (4.85%) or “fairly inclusive” (3.88%).

But democratic governance rests upon and requires the involvement and then exercise of a well-informed and sensible opinion by the great bulk of the citizens and political mechanisms to support multifaceted relationships among diverse urban actors. Based on this principle, the study gathered the opinion of civil society organizations and public officials on this issue.

Figure 4.20: Inclusiveness of political system



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

More than 61.53% of civil society organizations said that the political culture of the city administration was “not inclusive” (35.38 %) or “not very inclusive” (26.15%). But, only combined 6.16% of this group respondent saw positive progress on the issue. This finding is also supported by public officials. Nearly one third (29.79%) of the respondents reported that their political culture was not inclusive. The combined negative impression of this group was 57.45% but 21.28% (combined positive impression) of the respondent perceived that the situation as much better.

One can draw a conclusion that large majority of the respondents thought that political system of city administration was not inclusive in various public institutions.

Evidences from the analysis indicate that local political culture has been problematic and the current political culture of city administration is an “argument culture” and public discourse has focused on winning arguments rather than building “social competency and collaborative thinking”. There were limited spaces in the debates for reasoned arguments during elections and the media looks for the “knock-out punch” in order to ascertain the “winner”.

In the open-ended question, participants shared local experiences and raised a number of issues about local political culture practices at both city administration level and at sub-city and kebele levels. In view of the widespread preference for inclusiveness of political system of the city administration, it comes as a surprise that majority of the respondents expressed an opinion for non-inclusiveness of the political system. Moreover, majority of respondents concluded the following finding in the survey. The local political system was dominated by the few individuals rather than local councilors and larger community.

Interviewees suggested that involving different social groups in democratic governance process is a rewarding and positive experience for both city government and other social groups. Public involvement can be empowering, especially for traditionally excluded people, and can promote feelings of inclusiveness in political system.

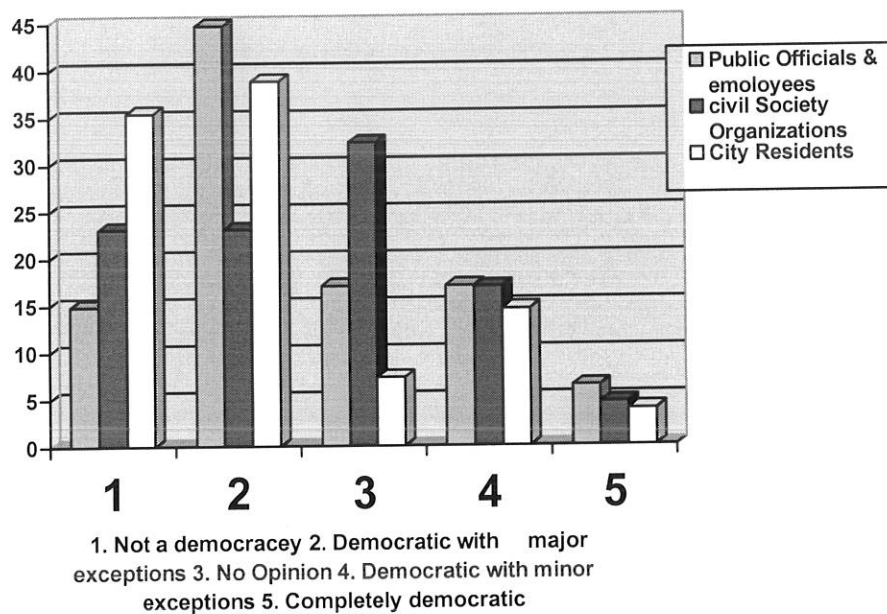
If the measures are not taken and the situations continue as they were, it leads to degradation of relationships, values and good will at individual, collective and societal levels, and loss of the people's trust and confidence in their political parties.

4.2.10.3. Challenges to Strengthen Democratic Political Culture and Promote Local Democratic Leadership

This section of the paper assesses the opinion of city residents, civil society organizations and public officials towards democratic culture and their participation in making it work. According to Keane (1998), without the habits of association, without the cultivated taste for sharing, without the concrete experience of helping others and being helped in turn, without the very idea that others face the same situation, a democratic culture cannot grow. The discussion starts with the assumption that democracy cannot be consolidated unless a government possesses citizens and that these citizens must be committed to democratic principles as well as, if necessary, citizens should be willing to stand up and defend the regime.

How democratic is the political culture of the city administration? To answer this question, respondents were asked to indicate their opinion on how Addis Ababa is governed. The results are reflected in figure 4.21 below.

Figure 4.21: Political culture of city government



Source: Primary Data(Questionnaire, 2007)

More than 74.28% of the respondents of city resident declared that city administration system was “not a democratic” (35.44%) or “democratic with major exceptions” (38.84%). This is also

confirmed by public officials and government employees. For instance, more than 59.57% of the respondents of public officials and government employees reported that the governance system was “not a democratic” (14.89%) or “democratic with major exceptions” (44.68%). When we see overall impression of the civil society organizations on this issue, the combined (46.16%) of the respondents who expressed negative impression either “not a democratic” (23.08%) or “democratic with major exceptions” (23.08%) which outweighs the combined (21.54%) of the respondents who declared positive impression either “completely democratic” (4.62%) or “democratic with minor exceptions” (16.92%).

Expanding democratic participation and building a democratic culture is a long-term process. Despite many encouraging trends, most citizens in the city administration still consider their political systems to be distant and unresponsive to their daily needs of the citizens.

It is fair to conclude that while people want to discuss and perhaps act on political matters, they do not feel the political environment is conducive; the environment is perceived to be asphyxiating. This negates the principles of democracy and to this extent, limits the scope and space for democratic discourse. In a large sense, it is a negation of a key democratic principle i.e., the freedom of expression

There is no space in these debates for reasoned argument. Creating an environment where there is safety to express diverse viewpoints and in which there is limited ability for individuals to exert power and influence to coerce is essential to support effective discourse in any arena. As, broadly speaking, public discourse has been constructed around this “argument culture” paradigm, a new social technology is required that is different in both form and function.

The level of dissatisfaction is confirmed in a follow-up question: “Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Addis Ababa?” Absence of enabling city legislative environment may loss the credibility of laws and rules in the city administration. This is because city administration is currently governed by non public representatives.

As economic concerns, political issues also predominated when I interviewed, “in your view, what are the most important problems facing (a) you personally? and (b) the city government?” The question was open-ended, allowing respondents to offer multiple responses and to say

whatever they wished. The results can be thought of as a “people’s agenda” for personal and city administration development (see Table 4.2 below).

Pervasiveness of Corruption and Political Polarization

About strong majority of survey respondents thought that corruption among public officials was common (45.58%). Corruption has a corrosive effect on people's confidence in both public and private institutions.

It can erode the legitimacy of government and undermine democratic values including trust, tolerance, accountability, and participation. Corruption can also increase uncertainty in the commercial environment, thus depressing private investment. Reduced competition; lower compliance with construction, environmental, or other regulations; increased budgetary pressures on government; and organized crime networks are among other results of corruption.

Table 4.2: Perceptions of political problems (as % of total problems cited)

What are the most important political problems facing the city residents that the city government should address?		
Political issue	Percentage (%)	Remark
Corruption	45.58	Mainly at local government level (sub-cities and kebel)
Political polarization	27.12	Lack of political consensus building
Lack of leadership capacity	20.98	Mainly at local government levels
Discrimination/inequality	6.32	Political appointment

Source: Survey responses (Questionnaire, 2007)

One of the most important pre-requisites for consolidated democracy is consensus building. Consensus building is an ongoing process that requires discourse among people with diverse points of view, including those that challenge prevailing norms in order for “best judgments” to be determined. Mezirow (2000:12) states, “agreement based on the unchallenged norms of a culture will obviously be less informed and dependable than those based on a wider range of experience”. Consensus requires people to transform their points of view or frames of reference, which is a process of learning. Effective discourse requires that individuals be willing and

prepared to seek understanding and to come to some reasonable agreement and an environment that is free from coercion and power imbalances, that encourages respect for self and others and that welcomes diversity

Indeed, it has been argued that a disposition toward compromise, flexibility, tolerance, conciliation, moderation, and restraints among top political elites is the most important prerequisites for consolidated democracy. For a democratic system to persist and flourish, political leaders must engage in “politics as bargaining” rather than “politics-as-war”.

Table 4.2 indicates political polarization was cited by more (27.12%) people and it was usually the second city administration problem that respondents raised. Excessively politically polarized positions in governance system can have obstructive effect on achieving sustainable development goals and undermine the integrity of decisions taken. Before anything else, residents want the city government to provide democratic political working climate. In order of next importance, city residents’ desire equality in all aspects of governance.

This analysis suggests that far more attention needs to be given to issues of political leadership and cultural change, capacity building and political devolution to decentralized service delivery.

4.3. Conclusions

Until now, this chapter has discussed the implications of citizen participation and local community empowerment, engagement of civil society in governance, accountability and transparency and democratic consolidation as well as some other related challenging issues for promoting good governance and participatory democracy in the context of AACCA.

In this discussion, and having come this far in the analysis of the data, respondents were asked in one way or another: What are the prospects for promoting good governance and democratic consolidation in city administration? Is city administration progressing along the path of good governance and democratic transition or is it regressing?

The most telling empirical finding was that the citizens of city government were a deeply not satisfied community. They are unhappy with virtually many things surrounding their lives.

Though many city residents perceive an improvement in the enjoyment of fundamental political rights in comparison with Monarchical and Dergue regims, they were dissatisfied with the state of democracy in their city governance system, in both its substantive and procedural sense.

The study has noted that city government seems to have an underdeveloped culture of active citizen and civic participation in governance system. According to the respondents view, the city government and its local governments such as sub-cities and kebeles were less accountable, weak in responsiveness, limited in transparency, ineffective in service delivery management, corrupt, and weak in democratic consolidation. For most citizens, the current regime of the city government was not driven by the public interest since they were currently governed by unelected public officials. Thus, this kind of leadership practice does not promote the good governance and participatory democracy in city administration. This has generated distrust in the political leadership of the ruling party. The sense of distrust extends to most city government institutions.

The obvious implication of all this is that the legitimacy of the current city government and its regime has been eroded or seriously compromised for the last two years. It has also been widely observed that the institutional framework for democracy is relatively defective. Moreover, there is less attention to develop a critical mass of active citizens in the city administration.

CHAPTER V

Summary of the Key Findings, Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

5.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of the key findings, concluding remarks and recommendations for improving governance practices in the city administration those are suggested based on the findings of the study.

5.2. Summary of the Key Findings

City administration faced considerable problems and challenges of good governance in its governance system. It is important to note that percentages for negative impression answer where calculated from the total number who answered the questions as opposed to the total number of surveys distributed was higher than that of positive impressions. Based on these, the study revealed the following key findings across the key categories covered by the survey by which the city government has not placed particular emphasis. The summary of the key findings thereof are presented as follows:

- Existing experience identifies that there were barriers to people participation at three levels of governance dimensions: political, institutional and economic. As a result, governance participation is low due to weakness in institutionalizing of public participation and empowerment of citizens and pluralism of opinions in city governance process.
- Sometimes, local issues cannot be effectively addressed because of limited leadership capacity and lack of clarity of vision under local governments' level to focus on overarching priorities.
- The lack of people - centered planning approach in city government is a problem. The problem is that, for the most part, poor adoption of citizen-driven initiatives across the governance jurisdictions. It is widely acknowledged that decision-making has become centralized and that programmes delivered on traditional departmental lines often fail to respond to the needs and expectations of local communities

- The lack of the commitment of local governments in establishing strong, viable, assertive, independent and politically active civil society in city governance system and having non integrated action plans across partners and parallel approaches between city government and civil society organizations to build community capacity. Weak leadership capabilities of city administration to mobilize development partners such as civil society organizations in the administration to bring about substantial organizational and cultural change (transformational change).
- ✓ • Poor visibility in terms of strengthening culture of accountability of public servants and local governments' transparency.
- ✓ • Weak relationship between city government and business people: absence of active joint working arrangements between local governments of city administration and the private sector in the programmes of democratic governance.
- • The study ensured that there was a large extent non-equitable treatment of city residents, and it didn't protect to a considerable extent the rights of its service users. More policies need to be in place in terms of fairness and equity.
- ✓ • The lack of responsiveness and weakness in taking account of majority interests in promoting efficiency and better services (inefficiency) and the public service in a city administration is lacks client orientation in service delivery process.
- ✓ • Maintaining democratic consolidation in city administration is one of the biggest challenges and problems that city residents currently faced because of the weakness in maintaining a 'critical mass' of political support, weak in inclusiveness of the political system of the city government and political polarization among the political elites as well as pervasiveness of corruption at local government levels (sub-cities and kebeles). Despite the government's emphasis on leadership tasks, the challenge of maintaining a critical mass of political support in city administration remained a high priority for political leaders which implies that there was low level of satisfaction with democracy in city administration

City administration, in general, faced considerable problems and challenges of good governance in its administration system.

5.3. Concluding Remarks

These findings suggest that far more attention needs to be given to issues of good governance and participatory democracy in Addis Ababa City Administration in terms of the following issues, Institutionalizing public participation and empowering citizens and pluralism of opinions in city governance process, adoption of citizen-driven initiatives for development and governance programs across its jurisdiction, civic engagements and public-private partnership in city governance process, promoting the culture of accountability, developing responsiveness to improve service delivery process, governance transparency, fairness, and equity, management efficiency and effectiveness in city administration and finally, democratic consolidation in Addis Ababa City Administration are some of them. All these demand institutional capacity building to provide technical or material assistance designed to strengthen one or more elements of good governance effectiveness. This governance effectiveness include (1)governance itself - the provision of political leadership and direction to an organization, management practices, the mechanisms and procedures intended to coordinate activities and facilitate processes within city administration system, (2)human resource development - management, staff, communities, donors and other stakeholders who have the skills, motivation and opportunity to contribute to the implementation of governance programmes, (3)financial resources - the resources to purchase goods and services needed to conduct city governance affairs, track financial transactions and report on financial status, (4)service delivery - the programmes and services carried out by public, private and civil society organisations that are appropriate, cost-effective and of high quality, (5)external relations - interaction between city government and other development partners and finally, (6)sustainability - the long-term continuation of city government's programme or project.

The rationale is that governments in many developing countries are increasingly turning to civil society organizations (CSOs) as partners in meeting their countries' development needs. This expanded role for the civil society organization which has been accompanied by heightened expectations of accountability and requirements for demonstrable evidence that CSOs can significantly contribute to development.

What are the implications of the study for the city government's efforts to promote good governance and local political leadership? As democratic governance process is a contested

process, dependent on local context, it is particularly difficult for its process to be standardized. Those who benefit from existing arrangements or who see new rules as hostile to their interests may resist or 'hijack' new institutions in local governance. At the same time, democratic governance will be shaped by interactions with existing, 'embedded' institutional frameworks within the local government itself, the wider locality and in the external political environment.

This suggests that changing existing governance system can be important, but it is not in itself sufficient to secure meaningful or consistent changes in governance process. Successful governance programme design also depends on diversity. It needs to allow for development (through 'learning by doing') to suit different circumstances and which is adaptable over time. New governance designs should be sufficiently flexible to exploit the creative efforts of those charged with implementing them, rather than frustrating them. In addition, this study has shown that leadership capabilities are particularly significant in the success or otherwise of transforming the existing administration system.

Even the most participants in the study consider that community involvement in governance is a valuable and useful process; the city government has not placed particular emphasis. The single most valuable outcome was identified as the creation of formal and informal social connections between service providers and the city residents they serve, widening 'policy networks'. These can both provide increased influence to city residents and improved information to service providers.

The creation of effective relationships between city residents and service providers enabled the identification of gaps in provision and the creation of solutions based on thinking through 'how can we?' rather than 'why don't you?' and 'it's not our fault'. The experience community members have of services as a whole provided a perspective that explicitly 'joined up' thinking across services.

5.4. Recommendations

The following main recommendations for improving democratic governance practices in the city administration are suggested based on the findings of the study:

1. Ensuring effective participation and partnerships

- ▪ Participation should focus on empowering people and creating efficient and effective governance at the local (sub-cities and kebeles) levels. More effort needs to be geared

towards designing and implementing governance programs on participatory approach and developing governance empowerment practise for local governments and communities.

- Regular communication between mayors, councillors and staff is essential for effective partnership working.
- For partnerships to be effective there must have an open dialogue, mutual respect and trust, self-analysis and self-reflection, and effective sanctions to enforce laws and regulations. i. e., key stakeholders should be brought into a reporting forum to share critical information.
- ↳ ▪ Local governments must work in partnership with other stakeholders to achieve its core goal of good governance. This can also be achieved through the implementation of a strategic plan, which should recognize each partner's resources and expectations and agree on common objectives.
- Partnerships must lead to benefits for all partners. In a true partnership everybody wins. This can increase the efficiency of handling issues and contributes to the capacity building of others. City Government can obtain additional resources, build its own capacity and achieve coherence of delivery and social cohesion. It can benefit from the community taking more responsibility, its independence is endorsed, and provision of a good service will increase satisfaction, and also the chance of re-election.
- ↳ ▪ There should have regular communication between citizens, mayors, councillors, staff and other stakeholders are essential for effective partnership working.
- ↳ ▪ City government must recognize the rights and functions of non-state actors within the multi- stakeholder environment

2. Promoting participatory planning approach

Planning approach should meet community needs: people-centered development

- ↳ ▪ Local government planning should be integrated for the whole community in the city administration and lead to sustainable development. It should be backed up by vision (long-term), a corporate plan and appropriate research and data collection.
- Identifying local priorities should be the outcome of a participatory consultative process with local urban citizens.

- Municipal objectives should be paramount in addressing methods of service delivery and equitable delivery of services to all citizens should be ensured.
 - City government must adopt participatory budgeting to inform the administration of the evolving priorities of the city residents.
- ➔▪ Developing awareness and giving clear encouragement to organizations and institutions to adopt strategic thinking and planning in their daily operations.

3. Strengthening accountability culture and a corruption free governance system

- City government should develop means to implement meaningful downward accountability to complement the existing upward accountability. Such accountability should give special regard to the effectiveness of services delivered and public officials reporting back to their city residents on a regular basis through introducing more effective budgetary procedures and sensitizing people to the costs of corruption and creating a culture that is hostile to and exposes corruption instituting tight and transparent materials and equipment procurement procedures in city administration.

4. Nurturing and Choosing Foresighted Leaders

- ➔▪ Appointing or electing visionary/charismatic/foresighted leaders through respecting opposition views to avoid "brain drain" of foresighted dissenters and closing gaps in divergent perspectives.

5. Addressing political polarization in governance system

Excessively politically polarized positions in administration can have an obstructive effect on achieving municipal goals, undermine the integrity of decisions taken, the esteem in which the administration is held by the citizenry and ultimately the legitimacy of city government itself.

- Political polarization must be avoided by: development and adoption of a strategic plan, using a participatory/consultative approach, which is widely and publicly disseminated (through different media) for implementation by the local governments.
- ➔▪ Promoting inclusive local decision-making: Inclusion in the political decision making process should be addressed in a number of ways, these could include: citizen participation on local decisions targeted at the disadvantaged groups.

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Section II: Survey Questions (SQ)

Following items meant for assessing the practices of good governance and participatory democracy in the city administration. Please respond by putting a thick mark (√) for response that **best** represent your degree of agreement to the items.

Rate aspects range from 1 to 5 scale. "1 represents the lowest and most negative impression on the scale, 3 represent no opinion impression, and 5 represent the highest and most positive impression. Your feedback is sincerely appreciated. Please respond to all items.

1=Strongly disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=No opinion, 4=Agree, 5=Strongly agree

SQ-1: Issues related to <u>participation and governance partnership</u> among development partners such as government institutions, community, civil society organizations, and business people						
No.	Survey Questions	1	2	3	4	5
1	City government involves service users in program and project designing and implementation.					
2.	City administration has empowered both local governments such as sub-city administration and kebeles and the communities at the grass root level by letting them take ownership of the projects and to make decisions.					
3	City government takes a people centered approach in its planning and service delivery functions..					
4	City government administration mobilizes Civil Society Organizations in development programs					
5	There are joint working arrangements between city government and the private sector in the programmes of governance processes.					
6	The city government fare by creating an open communication with service users and the development partners in city administration about resourcing practices and decisions?					
SQ-2: Issues related to <u>accountability</u>						
	Survey Questions	1	2	3	4	5
7	The city government has established a mechanism where by public officials are accountable to the public.					
SQ-3: Questions related to <u>responsiveness</u>						
	Survey Questions	1	2	3	4	5
	1. Very difficult 2. Difficult 3.No Opinion 4.Easy 5. Very easy (for only question number 8)					
8	City government services such as housing, piped water, electricity, telephones, drivers' licenses, land, police, etc were easy and accessible to obtain					

9	Public officials are listening to those demands and voice of the citizens and civil society.					
10	Service users can easily find out access how to complain and who to contact with suggestions for changes					
SQ-4: Issues related to <u>transparency</u>						
Survey Questions		1	2	3	4	5
11	Information is freely available and directly accessible to the public.					
12	City administration's decision-making processes are open to public.					
1. Very Badly 2. Badly 3.No Opinion 4.Well 5.Very Well (for only question number 13)						
13	How city government makes expenditure decisions?(transparency in financial arrangements					
SQ-5: Issues related to <u>fairness, equity and rule of law</u>						
Survey Questions		1	2	3	4	5
14/ 15	City government is fair in its dealings with everyone in terms of service provision. for instance, housing, employment, credit service provision(decisions are made objectively; practices reflect the just treatment of citizens, and other social groups)					
16	City administration laws and programs assist community with attracting new businesses and investments.					
17	Decisions are made and enforced in a manner that follows rules and regulations.					
SQ-6: Issues related to <u>management efficiency and effectiveness</u>						
Survey Questions		1	2	3	4	5
18	Municipal functions and services are delivered at a level that communities believe to be appropriate..		1			
19	Resourcing approaches in city administration ensure good value for money and are simple, timely, and effective in their delivery					
20	Public officials plan and adopt budgets that accurately reflect the critical needs and priorities of its service users (adopting a customer-centered strategy for budgeting).			2		
SQ-7: Survey Questions on <u>democratic consolidation and its working culture in Addis Ababa City Administration</u>						
Survey Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1.Very satisfied 2.Not satisfied 3.No Opinion 4.Fairly satisfied 5. Not very satisfied (for only question number 21)						
21	Views on satisfaction with democracy in city administration (how democratic is the city government?)					

	1. Not very inclusive 2.very inclusive 3.No Opinion 4. Fairly inclusive 5.Not inclusive (for only question number 22)						
22	How inclusive is the political system/culture of the city administration?.						
	1. Not a democracy 2. Completely democratic 3.No Opinion 4. Democratic with minor exceptions 5. Democratic with major exceptions (for only question number 23)						
23	How democratic is the political culture of the city government?						

A) What are the greatest challenges or obstacles to fulfilling good governance goals and democratic working culture in a city administration? (Rank your top four challenges in order of their importance, with “1” representing the most serious challenge).

A.1.Socio-Economic problems:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

A.2.Political problems:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

B) Any further suggestion:

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Study
Faculty of Business and Economics
Department of Public Administration and Development Management
Masters in Public Administration (MPA)

Interviewees (interview candidate) may be public officials and employees, civil society organisations and city residents. In summary, anybody who has something to tell me about good governance practices in Addis Ababa City Administration is a potential interview candidate for me.

A) Questions for public officials public officials and employees

- ⇒ In which areas of governance least progress has been made in the last five years?
- ⇒ What about the recent progress in terms of accountability, participation and empowerment and rights and equality of city residents?
- ⇒ In your view, what efforts are made to build governance capacity in city administration?
- ⇒ In your view, what are the most important problems facing (a) you personally and (b) the city government, which the government should address?"
- ⇒ Do citizens of city administration think that the city government's laws, policies and rules are stable enough to allow people to plan for the future?
- ⇒ Are there forums for bringing the political parties and other pressure groups together?
- ⇒ To what extent is the city administration of Addis Ababa a REAL public body?
 - R= Responsive and Representative;
 - E= Effective and Efficient;
 - A=Accountable to the citizens;
 - L=Legitimate

B) Questions for civil society organisations such as business people, the media, academia, and representatives of CSOs or NGOs about the partnership working culture to promote good governance and participatory democracy practices in city administration.

- ⇒ How does the partnership work in practice in the city administration?
- ⇒ Are there trust and goodwill between partner organisations and government institutions and closer working relationships to generate better understanding of openness in sharing knowledge and information and more trust among them?
- ⇒ What are the political, cultural and organisational obstacles to deeper partnership working practices in city administration?

C) Questions for community groups about participatory governance and development processes in the city administration.

- ⇒ What mechanisms are under use in the city administration to empower local people, to have a greater voice and influence over local decision making and the delivery of services?
- ⇒ What major weaknesses of governance have been exposed by the city administration and how could government responds to these weaknesses?
- ⇒ Do you think that public officials of city administration represent democratic values towards the development of more efficient and effective work performance?
- ⇒ What has been the experience with citizen consultation in city administration?
- ⇒ Is there a consensus orientation among all those at the table?
- ⇒ Does each party to the partnership see how their organization can contribute to the vision of promoting good governance?
- ⇒ Are roles and responsibilities of each party clearly defined in terms of enhancing good governance in city administration?
- ⇒ Is there an open, transparent and accountable relationship between the parties?

Declaration by the candidate

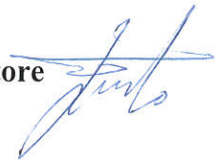
The thesis on << The Good Governance and Participatory Democracy: The Challenges and Opportunities. The Case Study of Addis Ababa City Administration (AACCA)>> is my original work. It has not been presented for a degree in any university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Addis Ababa

August, 2007

Dilamo Otores

Student



Mulugeta Abebe (Dr)

Advisor

