



*ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF CSOs IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN ETHIOPIA*

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA
UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS OF ART IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

BY
SHIBABAW BELEW FENTA

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

ADDIS ABABA
JUNE 2010

*ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF CSOs IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE IN ETHIOPIA*

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA
UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS OF ART IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

BY

SHIBABAW BELEW FENTA

ADVISOR

PROFESSOR CONSTANTINOS BERHE (PhD)

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

FACULTY OF BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

ADDIS ABABA

JUNE 2010

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT
MANAGEMENT

Assessment of the Role of CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political
Culture in Ethiopia

BY

SHIBABAW BELEW FENTA

Approved by Board of Examiners

B. Costantinos

Advisor

P. Bule

Signature

Date

Ameta Simess

Examiner

Ameta Simess, June 28, 2010

Signature

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank many people for their assistance during my thesis work. Primarily, I sincerely thank my thesis advisor Dr. BT Costantinos for his guidance and valuable comments on this thesis work. His devotion to guide and support this thesis work, and his friendly approach is truly appreciable.

I also extend my profound gratitude to the executives of CSOs, government organizations and donor agencies contacted for giving valuable information to carry out the research. I also extend my thanks to those people at the organizations who take part for this study.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my wife Mastewal Woleli and my sister Alemitu Belew who were supporting me in different ways. My boss Haregewion Tassew I thank you for your wholehearted material and professional support. In addition, my heart-felt thank goes to Engdawork Zelelew, Tesfaye Arega, Nebiyu Desta, Alegnsew Kassa, Tewabe Adane, Eshibel Mendistu, Tewodros, Tadious and other friends who were encouraging me all the time.

Shibabaw Belew

Table of Content	Page
Acknowledgement.....	I
Table of Content.....	II
List of Tables.....	V
List of Figures	VI
Abbreviations.....	VII
Abstract.....	IX

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	5
1.3 Research Questions	7
1.4 Objectives of the Study	7
1.5 Significance of the Study	8
1.6 The scope and Limitations of the Study.....	8
1.7 Research Design and Methodology.....	9
1.7.1 Methods	9
1.7.2 Sample Design.....	10
1.7.3 Data Collection Techniques.....	12
1.7.4 Methods of Data Analysis	13
1.8 Structure of the Study.....	13

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Understanding of Civil Society Organization	14
2.1.1 What are Civil Society Organizations?	14
2.1.2 Ethiopian Government’s Definition of CSOs.....	21
2.1.3 Classification of Civil Society Organizations	23

2.2 Historical Emergence of Civil Society Organizations	26
2.2.1 CSOs in Africa.....	27
2.2.2 CSOs/NGOs in Ethiopia.....	28
2.3 CSOs and Development in Africa.....	30
2.4 CSOs and Democratic Political Culture.....	34
2.4.1 What is Democratic Political Culture?	34
2.4.2 Factors of Democratic Political Culture.....	34
2.4.3 Political Development of Ethiopia	36
2.4.4 The Role of CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture	37
2.5 CSO-State Relations in Africa	41

CHAPTER THREE: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

3.1 Profile of Respondents	45
3.2 Historical Role of CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture	47
3.2.1 The Role CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture in Africa	47
3.2.2 The Development of Democratic Political Culture in Ethiopia	53
3.2.3 Extent of Participation and Historical Roles of CSOs.....	56
3.3 CSO Contributions to the Development of Democratic Political Culture	58
3.3.1 Promotion of public awareness and participation.....	60
3.3.2 Contributions to increased capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions	62
3.3.3 Promoting fair and democratic election.....	63
3.3.4 Monitoring democratic process, rule of law and violations of rights.....	66
3.3.5 Contribution to improved policies, laws, and programs.....	67
3.3.6 Contribution to increased access to justice.....	69
3.3.7 Complementing the role of the government in democratization process	69

3.3.8 Challenging the state	70
3.3.9 Conflict resolution and peace building	72
3.4 Challenges faced by CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture ..	73
3.4.1 Misconception of the government	75
3.4.2 Policy environment.....	76
3.4.3 Lack of resources.....	77
3.4.4 Lack of public support.....	78
3.4.5 External and internal influences	79
3.4.6 Lack of clear demarcation	79
3.4.7 Poor institutional establishment.....	80
3.4.8 Lack of awareness about and frequent turnover of government officials	80
3.4.9 Government interferences.....	81
3.5 The State-CSOs Relationship.....	82
3.6 CSOs Engagement beyond their Mandate	86
3.7 Potential Impacts of CSP on CSOs	87
3.7.1 Potential Positive Impacts	88
3.7.2 Potential Negative Impacts of CSP	90

CHAPTER FOUR: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Summary	95
4.2 Conclusions	105
4.3 Recommendations	107
<i>Bibliography</i>	110
<i>Appendices</i>	119

List of Tables	Page
Table 1: Profile of the Respondents.....	45
Table 2: Development of Democratic Political Culture in Ethiopia.....	53
Table 3: Extent of Participation and Contributions of CSOs CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture.....	56
Table 4: CSO Contributions to the Development of Democratic Political Culture.....	59
Table 5: Elections in Ethiopia.....	65
Table 6: Instances CSOs Challenged Government.....	70
Table 7: Charities and Societies Registered from September 2009 to Feburaray 2010.....	94

List of Figures

Page

Figure 1: Knowledge of Respondents about CSOs and Democratic Political Culture..... 47

Figure 2: Opinion towards the Government in Promoting
Development of Democratic Political Culture.....55

Figure 3: Strategies used by CSOs in Promoting Public Awareness and Participation.....60

Figure 4: Instances CSOs Challenged Government..... 71

Figure 5: Challenges Faced by CSOs in the
Development of Democratic Political Culture.....74

Figure 6: Instances Government Interferes CSO’s Activities..... 81

Figure 7: Roles of CSOs in interacting with state before CSP 82

Figure 8: CSOs Engagement beyond their Mandate..... 86

Figure 9: Potential Impacts of CSP on CSOs 87

Figure 10: Potential Positive Impacts of CSP on CSOs 88

Figure 11: Potential Negative Impacts of CSP 91

Abbreviations

ADB = Asian Development Bank

AFD = Action For Development

ANC = African National Congress

ANPCANNE = Action Network for the Prevention Against Child Abuse and Neglect in Ethiopia

CBOs = Community Based Organizations

CDHRA = Council for Democracy and Human Rights Association

COSATU = Congress of South African Trade Unions

CRDA = Christian Relief Development Association

CSA = Charities and Societies Agency

CSOs = Civil Society Organizations

CSP = Charities and Societies Proclamation

DFID = Department for International Development

EWLA = Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association

FBOs = Faith Based Organizations

FDRE = Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

GROs = Grassroots Organizations

HPR = House of Peoples' Representatives

HRCO = Human Rights Council

HTPs = Harmful Traditional Practices

INGOs = International Non-Governmental Organizations

JFA PFE = Justice For All and Prison Fellowship-Ethiopia

LSE = London School of Economics and Political Science

NAWOU = National Association of Women Organizations in Ugandan

NEBE = National Electoral Board of Ethiopia

NEWA = Network for Ethiopian Women Association

NGOs = Non-Governmental Organizations

ODA = British Overseas Development Administration

OSJE = Organization for Social Justice in Ethiopia

PASDEP = Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty

PRSP = Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

UMA = Uganda Manufacturers Association

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to assess the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia. Descriptive survey method was used to attain the objective of the study. The study was conducted by using 27 CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture of the country, 5 donor agencies and 3 concerned government organizations. Respondents were executives of CSOs, government official and representatives of donor agencies. Respondents were selected through purposive sampling. Questionnaires, interviews and document review techniques were employed. The statistical tools used to analyze data were percentage, tables, graphs and charts.

The results have revealed that the historical role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture of the country was a recent development where CSOs have spent considerable time in service delivery activities. As far as the contributions of CSOs in the area are concerned, it is insignificant. CSOs have faced many challenges many of which arise from government. The CSO-state relation in the area in Ethiopia was not smooth for various reasons. There were also instances where CSOs were engaged beyond their mandate especially in the political activities. The government of FDRE has enacted CSP in 2009, which governs CSOs in Ethiopia. Its immediate impact will be negative while in the long term its effect will be positive.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The term civil society is very controversial as it is defined in various ways. According to the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), civil society refers to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups.

Civil society is composed of the totality of voluntary civic and social organizations and institutions that form the basis of a functioning society as opposed to the force-backed structures of a state (regardless of that state's political system) and commercial institutions of the market (Wikipedia). As to the Commission of European Communities (2001: 14) *civil society includes groups of trade unions and employers' organizations ('social partners'); nongovernmental organizations; professional associations; charities; grass-roots organizations; organizations that involve citizens in local and municipal life*

with a particular contribution from churches and religious communities. For the purpose of this research, the definition of CSOs given by the Commission of European communities is used.

The typology of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) varies depending on the context used. According to Dessalegn (2002: 105), civil society institutions in Ethiopia are divided in to four broad categories. These are: (1) Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), (2) advocacy organizations, (3) interest group institutions, and (4) community organizations. The Charities and Societies Proclamation (CSP) dealing with the formation and operation of CSOs divided them into two broad categories as Charities and Societies. It envisages three forms legal establishment of Charities and Societies depending on the laws under which they are formed, source of income, and composition of members' nationality, place of residence and control of Charities or Societies. These three forms of associations include (1) Ethiopian Charities or Ethiopian Societies, (2) Ethiopian Residents Charities or Ethiopian Residents Societies, and (3) Foreign Charities.

According to CRDA (2006: 6), the development of CSOs in Ethiopia exhibit three phases: full engagement in relief and humanitarian work; the de-linking of relief and humanitarian work and focusing on basic services provision; engagement in governance, advocacy and human rights in addition to the service delivery. Until 1991, the legal and political conditions were not conducive for the third phase of the NGOs development in the country due to the Imperial (1930-1974) and the Derg (1974-1991) governments' very restrictive and oppressive regulations and laws (CRDA, 2006:8).

In 1970s, more NGOs emerged in response first to 1973/74 famine and later on to 1983/84 famine (CRDA, 2006: 4). As Silkin et al (2005:18) outlined relief efforts in 1980s were dominated by International NGOs (INGOs), mainly because of the scarcity of Ethiopian NGOs and the experience and the human and material resources INGOs possessed to organize major logistical operations. These operations were frequently undertaken in collaboration with indigenous Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) such as the Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat.

With slight easing of operational space for CSOs in the 1990s, INGOs becoming involved in development activities but, again, with substantial resource inputs and a heavy emphasis on direct implementation. As the operating environment also encouraged Ethiopian CSO sector to emerge and, as it begin to take service delivery functions, INGOs made a further progressive shift towards capacity building for Ethiopian NGOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs). In the context of decentralization, this capacity building service has mainly focused on improving the effectiveness of local government and on strengthening civil society sector in calling government to account (Silkin et al, 2005:18). As Kassahun (2002: 123) stated, the areas of concern of NGOs varied from relief/rehabilitation to development and democracy (advocacy, empowerment, human rights).

In the movement for democratization of Africa, CSOs involved in democracy and advocacy groups had played a considerable role. Dessalegn (2002: 103) argues that the donor community encourages and strengthens voluntary institutions in the belief that the road to democracy in Africa lies not in the revolutions and class struggle but in the active involvement of civil society in the political process.

According to Beetham 1994, cited in Luckham et al (2003: 19), democratic political practices require not only political contestation, but also that contestation be tempered by certain basic moral and political principles, including popular control (over governments and political elites) and political equality (among all citizens). Thus, the notion of democratic political practices aim to hold democratic institutions to their promise through challenging governments and their policies, increasing citizen participation, guaranteeing equality of political and civil rights, ensuring fully inclusive citizenship, providing accessible procedures, assuring effective citizen redress against infringements and increasing accountability and transparency.

In the interview of Reporter with BT Costantinos in 2007, *political culture development can be explained with reference to two institutional factors: political organizations and political rules.*

The central hypothesis is that the relative strength of political organizations determines the rules of the political game that are installed. Democratization requires a plural set of political organizations, which promote and protect political participation and competition. Together, democratic institutions (plural organizations plus rules of accountability) ensure control of the state executive. In taking institutional perspective, we assume that the actors in the political system express preferences through organizations vary in strength according to their resource base. The relevant organizations are found both in the society, where they represent and aggregate individual interests, and in the state, where they check and balance executive authority.

Different kinds of organizations play a leading role during different phases of transition. A few resentful agent provocateurs or the independent press as a critical element may initially drive popular protest against a regime. As a political momentum accumulates, the organizational strength of the opposition becomes a more critical variable; mass membership organizations like CSOs, unions and faith based groups step into sustain and direct protest. The definition given by BT Costantinos is employed in this research to define the development of democratic political culture.

Despite important progress made in the area, development of democratic political culture of the country is at its early stage, which has been facing serious and complex challenges. CSOs have faced many challenges in realizing the development in the area. The major challenges include misconception by government, policy environment, lack of resources, lack of public support, internal and external influences, poor institutional arrangement, frequent turnover of government officials and arbitrary government interfaces.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to Diamond (1994: 5), civil society is thought to play different roles at different stages of the democratization process: democratic transition and democratic consolidation. In democratic transitions, civil society plays a major role in mobilizing pressure for political change. Organized social groups such as students, women's groups, farmers' organizations, NGOs, Grass Root Organizations (GROs), trade unions, religious groups, professional organizations, the media, think tanks and human rights organizations are a crucial source of democratic change.

Civil society is also considered to play a key role in the consolidation of democracy, in checking abuses of state power, preventing the resumption of power by authoritarian governments, encouraging wider citizen participation, and public scrutiny of the state. Hence, such actions enhance state legitimacy, a vibrant civil society is probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than for initiating it (Diamond, 1994: 7).

The contributions of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia since their engagement in the area cannot be undermined. Nevertheless, many scholars conclude the overall performance is unsatisfactory. According to Kassahun (2002: 129), despite the presence of many NGOs in Ethiopia, their contribution towards emergence and consolidation of democratic values has been insignificant. As cited in Wondwosen (2009: 85), who focused on the role of civil society in the 2005 election in Ethiopia, the government has accused various civil society leaders are the supporters of opposition parties. The government has also accused various CSOs in being engaged in partisan politics. Such blames of CSOs initiated the researcher to undertake the study in the area. Thus, the study tries to assess the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia.

The bottom-line of the study is (1) to assess the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture, (2) to identify challenges faced by CSOs, (3) to describe CSOs' engagement beyond their mandate, (4) to analyze CSO- state relation and (5) to assess potential impacts of CSP on CSOs in Ethiopia.

1.3 Research Questions

In addressing the issues mentioned in the statement of the problem, the research tried to answer the following questions:

1. Do CSOs have a historical role in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia?
2. What is the contribution of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopian communities?
3. What are the challenges faced by CSOs in discharging their duties and responsibilities?
4. Are CSOs playing the roles they are supposed to play in promoting democratic political culture?
5. What does the relationship of CSOs with government look like before and after enactment of CSP?
6. What are potential impacts of CSP on CSOs operating in Ethiopia?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to assess the contributions of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia. The specific objectives are to:

- Assess the historical role and extent of participation of CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture
- Assess contributions of CSOs with regard to development of democratic political culture

- Identify factors that constrain CSOs from discharging their duties and responsibilities
- Analyze potential impacts of CSP on CSOs operating in Ethiopia
- Assess the relationship between CSOs and government before and after enactments of CSP
- Suggest recommendations which may help CSOs involvement in the advancement of democratic political culture in the country

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study has the following significances:

- Assesses the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture of the country
- Helps policy makers to take appropriate action that foster CSOs engagement in the development of democratic political culture
- Used as stepping ground for further research

1.6 The scope and Limitations of the Study

Due to time and resource constraints, the research was not based on comprehensive study of all CSOs involved in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia. It was not also include religious organizations, traditional CSOs such as idir, ekub, mahber and other similar cultural associations. Therefore, the study was limited to those modern CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture. Moreover, the study has confined to CSOs headquartered in Addis Ababa. The area was selected purposely

because CSOs working in the development of democratic political culture noticeably concentrates in Addis Ababa.

While carrying out this study, the researcher was faced certain constraints. One of the major problems the researcher encountered was unwillingness of most INGOs to provide information. They reasoned out the CSP, which prohibits INGOs from advancement of right based issues. Another problem was it was difficult to get most of executives of CSOs because they were often in meetings out of their offices, field works and workloads. Lengthy appointments to return questionnaires or to conduct interviews have also affected the analysis of the study. These factors caused data collection to take long time running from 10 March to 6 May 2010. Despite this, the researcher overcame the problems by using various mechanisms. For instance, the researcher modified the title after discussion the advisor. Frequent visits and phone calls were also used to deal with the constraints. Until the executives in the field or meetings returned, the researcher also used to collect data from secondary sources.

1.7 Research Design and Methodology

1.7.1 Methods

Descriptive research was employed for the purpose of this study on the assumption it could to describe various social events. These events include historical roles, contributions and challenges of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture. It was also used to describe the CSO-state relation, engagement of CSOs in partisan politics and potential impacts of CSP on CSOs in Ethiopia. To gather opinion from a

population about the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia, the researcher employed survey method.

1.7.2 Sample Design

To collect data required to answer research questions, the researcher has selected twenty-seven CSOs, 3 government organizations and 5 donor agencies through purposive sampling. This is because the number of CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia was not known. However, effort made to get the number failed due to Charities and Societies Agency's (CSA) unwillingness to provide the information. According to different people contacted by the researcher, the information about CSOs has been lost during transfer of office. Thus, the researcher selected organizations expected to provide relevant information. In the same way, the researcher selected respondents from concerned CSOs. The lists of organizations contacted are presented as follow:

Ethiopian Charities or Societies

1. Addis Ababa City Women's Association (AAWA)
2. Addis Ababa Youth Associations (AAYA)
3. Ethiopian Mass Media Women Association (EMWA)
4. Ethiopian National Association of the Blind (ENAB)
5. Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA)
6. Human Rights Council (HRCO)

7. Justice For All – Prison Fellowship Ethiopia (JFA PFE)

Ethiopian Residents Charities or Societies

1. Agency for Cooperation Research in Development (ACORD)
2. Action for Development (AFD)
3. Action Network for the Prevention Against Child Abuse and Neglect in Ethiopia (ANPPACANE)
4. Action Professionals Association for People (APAP)
5. Association for Forced Migrants in Ethiopia (AFM)
6. Ethiopian Muslim Relief and Development Association (EMRDA)
7. Forum for Social Studies (FSS)
8. Love for Children
9. Mission for Community Development Program (MCDP)
10. Mothers and Children Multisectoral Development Organization (MCMDO)
11. Organization for Social Justice in Ethiopia (OSJE)
12. Progynist

Foreign Charities

1. Action Aid Ethiopia (AAE)
2. Inter Africa Group (IAG)
3. Norwegian Church Aid (NCA)
4. Save Children Norway

Consortiums

1. Consortium of Christian Relief Development Association (CCRDA)
2. Council for Democracy and Human Rights Association (CDHRA)
3. Network for Ethiopian Women Association (NEWA)
4. Poverty Action Network of Civil Society Organizations in Ethiopia (PANE)

Government Organizations

1. Charities and Societies Agency (CSA)
2. National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE)
3. House of Peoples' Representatives (HPR)

Donor Agencies

1. Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)
2. European Commission Civil Society Fund
3. Norway Embassy
4. Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
5. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

1.7.3 Data Collection Techniques

In conducting research, both primary and secondary data were used. To collect primary information, questionnaires consisting of both open and close-ended questions were employed. In addition to the questionnaire, structured interview of key informants, government officials and donors agencies were conducted for further information. Documents such as written reports, legislations, letters, agendas, lists, brochures and

flyers were reviewed. Analysis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) of CSOs was also another technique employed in this research. A review of various publications was also conducted to get facts about contributions, challenges and CSO's relation with the state in the area.

1.7.4 Methods of Data Analysis

Data presentation and analysis is one of the core points in this research and has been handled as follows. Data collected through the above-motined tools were organized and analyzed by using statistical tools such as percentages, tables, graphs, figures and multiple response analysis. Qualitative analysis was also applied to elaborate the data collected through interview and document reviews. Hence, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were employed in the research to come up with the thesis report.

1.8 Structure of the Study

This research report has been organized under four chapters. Chapter one concentrates on the problem and its approach. It includes the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, the scope of the study and research design and methodology. The second chapter is a general literature review on CSOs and democratic political culture. The third chapter covers presentation and analysis of the data. The last chapter focuses on the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Understanding of Civil Society Organization

2.1.1 What are Civil Society Organizations?

The term civil society is very controversial as it is defined in various ways. The World Bank uses the term civil society to refer to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. CSOs therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community groups, NGOs, labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations.

Civil society is composed of *the totality of voluntary civic and social organizations and institutions* that form the basis of a functioning society as opposed to the force-backed structures of a state (regardless of that state's political system) and commercial institutions of the market (Wikipedia). As to the Commission of European Communities (2001: 14) civil society includes *groups of trade unions and employers' organizations ('social partners'); nongovernmental organizations; professional associations; charities; grass-roots organizations; organizations that involve citizens in local and municipal life with a particular contribution from churches and religious communities.*

Bergdall (n.d: 7-8) states that most who write about civil society agree that it falls somewhere in the *realm between the individual and the state*, there is wide disagreement about who is part of civil society and who is not. Most, however, agree that civil society encompasses religious organizations, social clubs, social movements, CBOs, private schools and colleges, free press and independent media, consumer associations, labor unions, professional associations, and NGOs.

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

Bratton (1994: 2) defined civil society as a sphere of social interaction between the household and the state, which manifests in *norms of community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication*. The norms of civic community refer values such as trust, reciprocity, tolerance, and inclusion, which are the most important for the construction of civil society. The structure of associational life deals with the expression of civic life in organizational form to become institutionalized. The most common organizational structure in civil society is the voluntary association, a grouping of citizens who come together because of identity or interest to pursue a common objective. The networks of public communication refer to the necessity of

citizens to communicate with one another and to debate the type of government they desire for themselves so as to be politically active.

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

Civil society exists outside of the formal political arena even though it can be drawn in when there is a political crisis (Keller, 1997: 102). Accordingly, civil society is not society writ large, but merely a subset of it. What defines civil society is therefore its agenda. In that sense, the manifestation of civil society tends to be situational and intermittent. These groups may not have been born as civil organizations but are moved by circumstances (such as demands for constitutional reform, governmental accountability, human and political rights) to engage in politics.

Nevertheless, there are academic forces that claim that there is nothing inherent about civil society organizations that make them opponents of authoritarianism and proponents

of democracy. Accordingly, the impetus for civil society involvement in the democratization movement can be located in two externalities: a wider social movement and political opportunity. Thus, opponents of the civil society liberalization thesis contest the fact that organizations in the civil society, including NGOs are not central to opposing undemocratic governments and furthering and consolidating democracy (Costantinos, 2001: 5).

There are three theses on the nature of civil society in Africa. One thesis is spatial and contestational. It sees civil society as being primarily constituted to present a polarized position from that of the state (Diamond, et al, 1997). On this view, civil society is, *ipso facto*, in perpetual conflict with the state. Leading writers on the subject would seem to accept the conflict thesis but would narrow the realm of conflict to a much slimmer issue: civil society's attempt to breach and simultaneously counteract totalisation tendencies of the state. Taking the contestation thesis further, the transitions have been greatly enhanced by protest and reforms spearheaded by civil society; thus calling for access to independent material, organizational and ideological base. The assumption in this thesis is that *there is necessarily a connection between NGO activity and democratic struggle*. Associational life, for instance, is likely to be most developed in economies that have undergone the greatest degree of indigenous capitalist industrialization, equally attributing potency of democracy in an economically independent civil society.

Another thesis contests that this is not necessarily the case. If anything, *the propensity of NGOs to actively engage the state in democratic space is hinged on threats the state imposes on the specific interests of the NGOs*. Accordingly, civil society constituents

such as local voluntary organizations or associational bodies can be said to contribute to democratic fervency in Africa, if they embrace and express values of a democratic movement. This implies a dynamic in a given direction and shared values. Civil society accordingly lack such purposive cohesion given its diverse and narrow interests ... the only ideology that civil society has in common is that pluralism facilitates individual groups co-existence which at times run counter to democratic interests (Stephen, 1996: 6).

Many people employ the term NGO and Civil Society interchangeably (Bergdall, n.d: 8). However, the former is only one manifestation of the later. NGOs take different organizational terms and names in different countries. This diversity of terminologies challenges any single definition of NGOs. Despite this, most authors and authorities agree that the term NGOs include a wide variety of groups and institutions that are entirely or largely *independent of government* and characterized primarily by *humanitarian* rather than commercial objectives. Some of the terms used to describe NGO as Wikipedia states include ‘independent sector, volunteer sector, civil society, grassroots organizations, transnational social movement organizations, private voluntary organizations, self-help organizations and non-state actors (NSAs)’.

In its broadest sense, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) states the term NGO as ‘organizations (1) *not based in government*; and (2) *not created to earn profit*’. Hence, this definition embraces a large number and wide range of organizations that are unrelated structurally and functionally, the term NGO refers more to what an organization is not, rather than to what it is. According to Riddell et al (1995: 28), NGOs

are simply agencies or groups, which are *different from government bodies*. However, NGOs are distinctive in containing a *voluntary component* and because they *do not operate for profit*. The World Bank defines NGOs as ‘private organizations that pursue activities to *relieve suffering*, promote the *interests of the poor*, protect the *environment*, provide *basic social services* or undertake *community development*’ (Operational Directive 14.70).

According to Ngos.net, the term NGO refers to any *non-profit, voluntary citizens' group* organized on a local, national or international level. They are task-oriented and driven by people with common interest, perform variety of service and humanitarian functions, bring citizen concerns to governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, environment or health. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help, monitor and implement international agreements.

NGO is an organization that is not part of a state and was not founded by states. NGOs are therefore typically *independent* of states. Although the definition can technically include for-profit corporations, the term is generally restricted to social, cultural, legal, and environmental advocacy groups, having goals that are primarily non-commercial. NGOs are usually *non-profit* organizations that gain at least a portion of their funding from private sources (Non Profit Expert.com). DFID (2001: 1) uses the term NGO to describe a specific category of *voluntary or not for profit organization*. These are often categorized as registered, formally organized bodies with staff, either paid or unpaid. NGOs are part of civil society.

The Peace Corps (2003: 10) defines NGO narrowly as:

NGO is a specific type of organization that is not part of government and that possesses four characteristics. These are (1) works with people to help them improve their social and economic situation and prospects; (2) formed voluntarily; (3) independent, controlled by those who have formed it or by management boards representing the organization's stakeholders; and (4) not-for-profit; although NGOs engage in revenue-generating activities, the proceeds are used in pursuit of the organization's aims.

Various definitions given by various scholars and organizations underline the diversity of the nature and character of NGOs and different forms in which they can exist and operate. The Commonwealth Foundation (1995: 19) defines NGOs as organizations, which possess four common characteristics, which enable them to be distinguished from other organizations in civil society: they are *voluntary, independent, not-for-profit* and *not self-serving*, each characteristic is described as follow.

1. *Voluntary*: NGOs are formed voluntarily by citizens with an element of voluntary participation in the organization, whether in the form of small numbers of board members or large numbers of members.
2. *Independent*: NGOs are independent within the laws of society, and controlled by those who have formed them or by elected or appointed boards. The legal status of NGOs is based on freedom of association, one of the most basic constitutional (human) rights.

3. *Not-for-profit*: NGOs are not for private personal profit or gain. NGOs may, in many countries, engage in revenue-generating activities, but must use the revenue solely in pursuit of the organization's mission. Like other enterprises, NGOs have employees who are paid for what they do. Boards are not usually paid for the work they perform, but may be reimbursed for expenses they incur in the course of performing their board duties.
4. *Not self-serving in aims and related values*: The aims of NGOs are to improve the circumstances and prospects of people and to act on concerns and issues detrimental to the well-being, circumstances, or prospects of people or society as a whole.

2.1.2 Ethiopian Government's Definition of CSOs

The basic laws that have been governing the formation and operation of most types of CSOs are the 1960 Civil Code of the Empire of Ethiopia and Associations Registration Regulation of 1966. These laws are generally unresponsive to the current realities of the sector, as they fail to take into account the diversity of profiles among CSOs and contemporary appreciation of their roles in good governance and development (Desallegn et al, 2008: 93). Inadequacy of the existing law and other reasons expressed in the CSP justified its promulgation. The reasons that enforce the government to act the law are to (1) ensure the realization of citizens' right to association enshrined in the constitution, (2) aid and facilitate the role of Charities and Societies, (3) enable and encourage Charities and Societies to develop and achieve their purposes in accordance with the law, (4) create

a situation in which the operation of Charities and Societies is transparent and accountable, and (5) ensure Charities and Societies operate legally.

As per the CSP, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) classifies CSOs in to two broad categories: *Charities* and *Societies*. The new law envisages three forms of legal establishment of charities or societies, which may vary depending on their place of registration, source of income, composition of members' nationality, and place of residence. The three forms of association include:

1. *'Ethiopian Charities' or 'Ethiopian Societies'* are Charities or Societies formed under the laws of Ethiopia and whose members are Ethiopians, generate income from Ethiopia and are wholly controlled by Ethiopians. However, they may be deemed Ethiopian Charities or Ethiopian Societies if no more than ten per cent of their funds received from foreign sources.
2. *'Ethiopian Residents Charities' or 'Ethiopian Residents Societies'* are Charities or Societies that are formed under the laws of Ethiopia and consist of members reside in Ethiopia, and who receive more than ten per cent of their funds from foreign sources.
3. *'Foreign Charities'* are Charities that are formed under the laws of foreign countries, or consist of members who are foreign nationals, or are controlled by foreign nationals, or receive funds from foreign country sources.

According to Article 14 of CSP, Charity means an institution, which is established exclusively for charitable purposes and gives benefit to the public. Article 55 of the same

Proclamation defines Society as an association of persons organized on non-profit making and voluntary basis for the promotion of the rights and interests of its members and to undertake other similar lawful purposes as well as to coordinate with institutions of similar objectives.

2.1.3 Classification of Civil Society Organizations

The typology of CSOs varies depending on the context used. According to Dessalegn (2002: 105) civil society institutions in Ethiopia are divided in to four broad categories. These are: (1) Non-Governmental Organizations, (2) advocacy organizations, (3) interest group institutions, and (4) community organizations. CSP dealing with the formation and operation of CSOs divided them into two broad categories as Charity and Society. It envisages three forms legal establishment of Charities and Societies depending on the laws under which they are formed, source of income, composition of members' nationality, and place of residence. These three forms of associations include (1) Ethiopian Charities or Ethiopian Societies, (2) Ethiopian Residents Charities or Ethiopian Residents Societies, and (3) Foreign Charities.

Like CSOs, the term NGO is also very broad and encompasses many different types of organizations. The World Bank tends to interact with two main categories of NGOs, *operational NGOs* and *advocacy NGOs*. Operational NGOs are those primarily concerned with the design and implementation of development-related projects, and advocacy NGOs tends to defend or promote a specific cause and seek to influence the policies and practices of the Bank.

The World Bank further classifies operational NGOs into three main groups: *community based organizations*, which serve a specific population in a narrow geographic area; *national organizations*, which operate in individual developing countries, and; *international organizations*, which are typically headquartered in developed countries and carry out operations in more than one developing country. National and international organizations are intermediary NGOs which are formed to serve others whereas, CBOs are normally membership organizations made up of a group of individuals who have joined to further their own interests.

According to the World Bank, individual operational NGOs vary enormously according to their purpose, philosophy, expertise and scope of activities. A number of different NGOs typologies exist. For instance, they can be broadly classified according to whether they are more relief or development-oriented; whether they are religious or secular; whether they stress service delivery or participation and whether they are more public or private-oriented.

Bratton (1989: 571) suggested classifying NGOs according to a number of attributes such as size (big, medium, small); origin (indigenous, foreign); behavior pattern (regime conforming, regime-critical); central activity (relief/welfare, development); and orientation (secular, ecumenical). NGOs were seen as non-political, non-profit making-making and autonomous entities with potentials for positively transforming social life.

The ADB primarily concerned with developmental NGOs, identifies a wide range of organizations in this typology. These groups vary significantly according to philosophy, purpose, expertise, program approach, and scope of activities. Important distinctions can

be drawn with regard to (1) the functional roles of different types of NGOs; (2) the differing roles of NGOs on the continuum of NGOs from the local level, to the national level, and to the regional and international levels; and (3) the operational orientations and approaches of different kinds of NGOs.

Based on *functional roles* ADB classifies NGOs as *Operational* and *Advocacy* NGOs. Operational NGOs are those whose primary areas of activity are directed toward the contribution or delivery of development or welfare services, including emergency relief, and environmental protection and management. Reflecting the range of issues and interests that have emerged in development and welfare and in relation to the environment, operational NGOs display a range of programs, organizational structures, operational orientations, and areas of operation, both program-related and geographical. Advocacy NGOs can be regarded as NGOs whose primary orientation is towards the advocacy of policies or actions that address specific concerns, points of view, or interests. In the context of development, advocacy NGOs work to influence the policies and practices of governments, development institutions such as ADB, other actors in the development arena, and the public.

ADB further classified operational NGOs as international-level NGOs, often headquartered in developed countries; national-level NGOs, whose orientations are toward issues and interests in the countries in which they are based; and local-level or community-based NGOs that generally exist to address concerns in relatively localized geographical areas. Individual NGOs also reflect differences in philosophy, purpose, specialization, and operational approach. For operational purposes, NGOs can be

classified by characteristics such as purpose (religious, secular); operational orientation (a relief and welfare, a development); approach (service delivery, participatory activities); and degree of openness (a large degree of openness and public exposure, a more closed and private character).

According to CRDA (2006: 3), NGOs operating in Ethiopia could be categorized into two main categories: *Indigenous NGOs and International NGOs*. Indigenous NGOs are those established in the country by either Ethiopians or non-Ethiopians. International NGOs are NGOs, which have their head offices abroad and obtain support from those offices. Again, from within these NGOs another category could be established as *Secular NGOs and Religious NGOs*. NGOs can also be classified based on orientation as NGOs focusing on various sectors such as water, health, children, integrated rural/urban development, etc.

2.2 Historical Emergence of Civil Society Organizations

Early development CSOs/NGOs work was characterized by small organizations working in specific parts of the world in *a close relationship* with the target beneficiaries. As NGOs have developed in response to the gaps left by withdrawal of the state service provision, and gained a reputation with donors and Southern governments for quality work, they have also expanded. Programs grow larger, covering larger geographic areas and sectors that are more technical. This requires more people to manage the work. INGOs expanded rapidly in the 1980s when NGO funding reached a peak, and donor conditions were relatively less rigorous. INGOs emphasized to exit from development

issues and to move to right based agendas at international policy level (Keengwe et al, 1998: 5).

Korten (1990:118) has identified three stages or generations of NGO evolution. First, the typical development NGO focuses on relief and welfare, and delivers relief services such as distribution of food, shelter or health services directly to beneficiaries. NGOs in the second generation are oriented towards small-scale and self-reliant local development. At this evolutionary stage, NGOs build the capacities of local communities to meet their needs through self-reliant local action. Korten calls the third generation NGOs as sustainable systems development. At this stage, NGOs try to advance changes in policies and institutions at a local, national and international level; they move away from their operational service-providing role towards a catalytic role.

2.2.1 CSOs in Africa

During the colonial period, Africa was in harsh condition. It was remembered by minimal social service, discriminatory social policy, metropolis based social development goals, limited health and services. Although on the eve of independence, there were significant changes in the extent to which investments were made in the social sectors (Manji & O'Coill, 2002: 569).

NGOs emerged in Africa on the eve of the nationalist struggles for independence. The period that followed the independence of the ex-colonies created a vacuum in the provision of public services precipitated by the withdrawal of personnel and funding from metropolitan sources. The capacity of the nascent post-colonial African states to provide

services therefore steadily diminished. In many of the newly independent countries, expatriate church organizations and missionary societies tried to bridge the gap by running schools, hospitals, vocational training centers, etc. To this end, they made use of their connections with philanthropic organizations and foundations in developed countries of the North (Kassahun, 2002: 121). According to Manji and O’Coill (2002: 576), the role of NGOs in the early post independence period remained marginal. While they carried out projects providing services in peripheral areas that the state was disinclined to reach, the bulk of social services were provided by the state under its social contract with the people.

At the latter stage independence, NGOs run and manned by Africans began to emerge as voluntary agencies of various denominations. As Kajese (1990: 11-13) noted, the emergence of the majority of these was not a result of a natural evolution from traditional forms of association peculiar to the indigenous societies in question. Recent African NGOs are modern phenomena deriving their motivation from foreign sources. Their rapid proliferation in several countries, simulated by a considerable flow of foreign funding, attests to this.

2.2.2 CSOs/NGOs in Ethiopia

Prior to the coming of NGO, some segments of CSOs were operating in Ethiopia. Some institutions, such as *idirs* and *mahbers*, have been there for time immemorial, adding diversity to the civil society landscape in Ethiopia. The *missionaries or Faith- Based Organizations* were the first groups of NGOs that began to work as non- government bodies since 1930 (CRDA, 2006: 6).

Kassahun (2002: 121-122) states that the presence of NGOs in Ethiopia is a recent phenomenon. Prior to the 1970s, only a few NGOs were involved in Ethiopia. Among others the Ethiopian Red Cross (1935), the Mennonite Mission (1946), the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (1960), the Cheshire Foundation (1962), the Ethiopian Family Guidance Association (1969), Agri Service (1969), and the Hope Enterprise (1971). Several of them were ecumenical in orientation, foreign-supported, and mainly engaged in social welfare and community development programs of limited scope. They mainly addressed problems affecting vulnerable groups such as disabled, orphans, the aged, and the poor. They provided relief aid, education, health, and vocational training. The overwhelming majority was concentrated in Addis Ababa; their presence in the rest of the country was negligible. These first generation NGOs in Ethiopia functioned in close cooperation with government departments. Government officials presided on the organization's decision-making bodies as presidents and board chairpersons and members.

Silkin et al (2005: 18) argue that emergence of NGOs in Ethiopia is rooted in major humanitarian relief operations associated with the country's history of periodic drought and persistent conflict. The predominance of relief operations was also a consequence of the lack of space afforded to formal associations and development programs other than ones that were organized and driven by government. Relief efforts in 1980s were dominated by the INGOs, mainly because of the Ethiopian NGO sector scarcely existed and because INGOs possessed experience and the human and material resources to organize major logistical operations. These operations were frequently undertaken in collaboration with indigenous FBOs such as the Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat.

A slight easing of the operational space for CSOs in the 1990s saw INGOs becoming involved in development activities but, again, substantial resources inputs and a heavy emphasis on direct implementation. As the operating environment also encouraged and the Ethiopian CSO sector to emerge and, as it begin to take on service delivery functions, INGOs made a further progressive shift towards capacity building for Ethiopian NGOs and CBOs. In the context of decentralization, this capacity building has largely focused on improving the effectiveness of local government and on strengthening civil society in calling government to account. The most recent evolution of Ethiopian NGOs has been towards advocacy, both at Federal level and in the Regions (Silkin et al, 2005: 18-19).

According to CRDA (2006: 6), the development of NGOs/CSOs in Ethiopia exhibit three phases: (1) full engagement in relief and humanitarian work; (2) the de-linking of relief and humanitarian work and focusing on basic services provision; and (3) engagement in governance, advocacy and human rights in addition to the service delivery. Until 1991, the legal and political conditions were not conducive for the third phase of the NGOs development in the country due to the Imperial (1930-1974) and the Derg (1974-1991) governments' very restrictive and oppressive regulations and laws.

2.3 CSOs and Development in Africa

CSOs are increasingly recognized as an important role-player in community or people-centered development. They are a large category of structures responsible for development. NGOs have often been viewed as important for democracy because of their strong support at grassroots level and their capacity to develop and empower poor communities. They are extremely important mechanisms in rural development and they

enjoy the goodwill and acceptance of the community. Therefore, NGOs have become very important players in the field of social development (Nzimakwe, 2008: 90).

Since 1990s, democracy and sustainable development have become dominant themes in discussions of development problems in Africa. Donors share the view that *democracy* is conducive to improved economic performance, that *people's participation* in the processes of government ensures a stable environment and that *democratic regimes* are usually more effective than authoritarian ones at economic management and more responsive to a wider range of interests in formulating and implementing policies. The same donors are keen on *sustainable development* as an all-embracing development strategy which takes account of a whole range of issues such as population growth, reduction of income inequities, maintenance of ecological balance, the application of appropriate technology and participation of the poor in decision making processes (Buturo).

NGOs are indispensable because of the fact that there is a limit to what governments are willing and able to do for their respective citizens. Generally, their roles range from providing relief services, conserving the environment, contributing to development projects or simply battling with governments over human rights issues. Asamoah (2003) stated that NGOs are particularly critical in circumstances where state funds are limited, political situations are fluid, natural disasters resulting from both predictable and unpredictable environmental circumstances occur, ethnic strife is rampant, and the level of per capita income severely restricts the ability to purchase needed goods and services – social, educational and economic.

NGOs contribute to a civil society by providing a means for expressing and actively addressing the varied and complex needs of society. They are seen as serving several essential functions such as promoting pluralism, diversity, and tolerance in society; advancing science and thought, developing culture and art, protecting the environment; motivating citizens in all aspects of society to act; creating an alternative to centralized state agencies and provide services with greater independence and flexibility; establishing mechanisms by which governments and the market can be held accountable to the public (Peace Corps, 2003: 21-22).

In most cases, NGOs compliment government efforts and stand ready to give critical solidarity to governments in many countries. In many places, the NGO sector is a major contributor to economic development, employment and revenue, and at the centre of calling for social justice in development, challenging the global economic disorder, campaigning for debt relief for poor countries, and demanding accountability from inter-governmental institutions (Muchena, 2004:1).

They serve as media for intermediation between international institutions and poor communities, especially in an era of face offs in home countries. In crisis-infested societies, they are the voices of the weak and suppressed. They take initiative and provide voice for unheard interests, play monitoring role by improving accountability and reducing incentives for corruption in governments, and promote environmentally sound strategies (The World Bank, 2003:41). Most importantly, they have come to be recognized as channels of foreign aid to poverty-infested communities. Karla 1999, cited in The World Bank (2003) along this line has been argued that:

Countries around the world are seeking to encourage the growth of an independent, voluntary, not-for-profit sector, sometimes known as civil society, to serve as a partner with the government and for-profit sectors for social and economic development. NGOs are moving beyond charity and self-help activities, and are increasingly being asked to perform important services once the exclusive province of the government. They are being encouraged to seek funding for their expanded activities not only from charitable contributions and volunteer services, but, increasingly, from government grants and contracts and by encouraging business sponsorship and cooperation in new social and development-oriented activities.

The major advantages of NGOs include their flexibility, ability to innovate, grass-roots orientation, humanitarian orientation, non-profit status, dedication and commitment, and recruitment philosophy. Many are made-up of volunteers so deeply committed to the NGOs mission that they are willing to undergo considerable hardships and no monetary compensation in order to carry out that mission. In addition to supporting innovation, NGOs may serve as pilots for larger anticipated projects, help to motivate and involve CBOs whose constituents may be the primary beneficiaries of a larger project, serve as advocates or ombudspersons, and are in a unique position to share communication both horizontally and vertically (Asamoah, 2003).

Ezeoha (2006: 134) argues the importance of NGOs in Africa (1) to fill the gap created by the incapacity of government structure to render full services to the citizens, (2) the oppression and marginalization of certain segments of the society, and (3) emergencies in Africa such as famine, war, the outbreak of disease etc.

2.4 CSOs and Democratic Political Culture

2.4.1 What is Democratic Political Culture?

Political culture determines the type of government institutions, how authority is vested in government, who is given authority and power in society and government, who is allowed to participate in policy- and decision-making and how citizens hold their leaders accountable (Lane 1994 cited in Paletz & Lipinski, 1994: 2). Whether the political culture is democratic or not will have an impact on how citizens experience the entire political system (the executive, legislatures, bureaucracy, judiciary, political parties and civil groups), the political process (the behavior of parties, groups and individual citizens) and the policy-making process (Gross, 2002).

Although a democratic political culture is not easy to define, its obvious characteristic is that it sets ethical norms and standards of behavior for governments, organizations and individuals. Lane argues that political culture consists of widely shared, fundamental beliefs that have political consequence. It constrains the actions of politicians and public officials: even if inclined otherwise, they usually refrain from taking positions or from implementing policies that blatantly violate the elements of the political culture.

2.4.2 Factors of Democratic Political Culture

According to Booth and Seligson (1994: 109-110), there are two main elements of democratic political culture. One, from the *civic culture* tradition, emphasizes a mixture of participation in politics with more passive roles. The key tests have come to involve the degree to which citizens express support for the right to organize civic groups, work

for political parties, protest and vote. The second approach involves *citizens' willingness* to extend civil rights to proponents of unpopular causes. It is argued that tolerance is a critical element of democratic political culture.

According to the interview of Costantinos (2007) with Reporter, political culture development can be explained with reference to two institutional factors: political organizations and political rules.

The central hypothesis is that the relative strength of political organizations determines the rules of the political game that are installed. Democratization requires a plural set of political organizations, which promote and protect political participation and competition. Together, democratic institutions (plural organizations plus rules of accountability) ensure control of the state executive. In taking institutional perspective, we assume that the actors in the political system express preferences through organizations vary in strength according to their resource base. The relevant organizations are found both in the society, where they represent and aggregate individual interests, and in the state, where they check and balance executive authority.

Different kinds of organizations play a leading role during different phases of transition. A few resentful agent provocateurs or the independent Press as a critical element may initially drive popular protest against a regime. As a political momentum accumulates, the organizational strength of the opposition becomes a more critical variable; mass membership organizations like CSOs, unions and faith based groups step into sustain and direct protest.

2.4.3 Political Development of Ethiopia

Ethiopia's democratization and party development have passed three main stages: the imperial period (the no-party parliamentary system), the Derg military government (the one-party parliamentary system), and the Government of FDRE (the multi-party parliamentary system) (The Carter Center, 2009: 9).

Ethiopia's last monarch, Haile Selassie I, ruled from 1930 to 1974. Determined to modernize the country, he granted the country's first limited constitution that provided for both a parliament and judicial system. Nevertheless, formal, absolute power remained with the Emperor. His achievements included limited land reform, the emancipation of slaves, creation of a pan-Ethiopian economy and modern communications, and a revised constitution that provided for limited reforms, including universal suffrage. However, progressive elements within the government argued that these reforms were insufficient, if not empty. In order to realize his nation-building agenda, he created a strong bureaucratic administration and a centralized state, but the process severely restricted Ethiopia's democratic development.

The emperor's last decades were beleaguered with drought, famine, war and poor governance, resulting in great civil unrest. In September 1974, a self-proclaimed Marxist group known as the Derg, led by junior army officers, overthrew the monarchy. The Derg installed a Soviet-style military dictatorship, suspended the constitution, and ruled by a series of military decrees. With the downfall of military government in 1991, the government of FDRE has adopted the Constitution, which assures the right association of

citizens. Since then the number and diversity of CSOs have significantly increased. The extent of participation of CSOs has extended to right base issues and democracy.

2.4.4 The Role of CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture

NGOs exist for a variety of purposes, usually to further the political or social goals of their members, which include improving the state of the natural environment, encouraging the observance of human rights, improving the welfare of the disadvantaged, or representing a corporate agenda. However, there are a huge number of such organizations and their goals cover a broad range of political and philosophical positions.

One cannot have a democratic political culture unless there is a vibrant, diverse and critical civil society. Civil society is important, not only in helping the government to deliver social services, but in providing criticism as one of the checks and balances in the system of government. They help keep the government accountable. Even more so, they give citizens experience in the art of political association, increase their civic competence, stimulate participation in electoral politics, recruit and train new political leaders, generate democratic norms and values, and accumulate social capital. By making government responsive and accountable, and decision- making more inclusive, a diverse and critical civil society actually builds the democratic state. Furthermore, an independent, critical civil society can provide alternative information, to enlighten citizens to make their participation in the democratic process more effective, and to influence the agenda of the government. Especially if parliament becomes the rubber stamp of the executive, it is important that opposition voices outside parliament – of civil

groups, community groups and local leaders – should not be ignored or even intimidated by the state (Diamond, 1997: 24).

Edwards and Hulme (1996: 6) stated that in recent years the level of official funding for NGOs in development efforts has increased dramatically. This expanded funding forms an integral part of the neoliberal 'New Policy Agenda'. This agenda has the primary aims of (1) strengthening civil Society for the purposes of achieving political pluralism and democratic forms of governance; and (2) achieving greater efficiency by subjecting social programs to market forces.

NGOs and GROs are awarded a key role in the democratization process by bilateral and multilateral agencies, as witness recent policy statements from the World Bank (1994) and the British Overseas Development Administration (ODA) (1993) among others. They are seen as an integral component of a thriving civil society and an essential counterweight to state power, opening up channels of communication and participation, providing training grounds for activists, and promoting pluralism.

From the literature it is possible to identify a growing involvement by GROs in representation, lobbying and (in some situations) formal party politics: and by NGOs in mediation, advocacy, training and civic education (Fowler, 1991). For obvious reasons, these roles are more highly developed in relatively open and democratic political systems (Edwards & Hulme, 1992: 12).

The term advocacy refers to organized efforts to effect systematic or incremental change. This definition could therefore cover the activities of any pressure group within business,

government, or civil society, which is pushing for change. This might mean pushing for reform within a particular organization, it might mean pushing for the interests of a particular group vis-a-vis others, and it might mean the practice of politics (Holloway, 1998: 1). In line with this, Holloway views NGOs as value based organizations of citizens whose motivation is a desire for a better world for the poor and disadvantaged. Therefore, advocacy as the word is used by NGOs, contains two specific and particular elements, which underline the NGO way of doing advocacy:

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

Advocacy, therefore, as it is practiced by NGOs, is a systematic, democratic, and organized effort to change, influence, or initiate policies, laws, practices, and behavior so that disadvantaged citizens in particular or all citizens in general will be benefited.

In the movement for democratization that engulfed Africa in the 1990s, the civil society had played a considerable role. Dessalegn (2002: 103) argues that the donor community encourages and strengthens voluntary institutions in the belief that the road to democracy in Africa lies not in revolutions and class struggle but in the active involvement of civil society in the political process. Chazan (1992: 282) also notes that the nurturing of civil society is widely perceived as the most effective means of controlling repeated abuses of

state power, holding rulers accountable to their citizens and establishing the foundations of durable democracy, however, the current picture in many African countries is not that much encouraging.

CRDA (2006: 6) stated that the focus of the NGOs/CSOs was predominantly in providing humanitarian services, community services and services to members. Apart from humanitarian work, very limited CSOs were engaged in policy and advocacy activities, and standing up for the rights of their members, namely the Ethiopian Teachers' Association and the Ethiopian National Disabled Persons Association. Accordingly, the phases of NGOs/CSOs in Ethiopia can be broadly summarized in to three. The first phase was the full engagement of the sector in relief and humanitarian work. The next phase was the period of gradual de-linking of relief and humanitarian work and focusing on basic service provision. In the third phase, in addition to the service delivery, NGOs/CSOs began to advance a rights based approach, governance, and advocacy agendas.

The engagement of NGOs/CSOs in advocacy, governance, rights based approaches until the early 1990s was limited due to regressive legal framework. After the downfall of the Derg, the constitution guaranteed the establishment of independent associations and a number of NGOs/CSOs flourished. Gradually, NGOs/CSOs, in addition to service delivery, began to advance rights based approaches, to work on policy and advocacy and good governance.

2.5 CSO-State Relations in Africa

NGOs are considered as important role players in the socioeconomic and democratic development process. Thomas (1992: 133), states that:

The aim should be to empower ordinary people to take charge of their lives, to make communities more responsible for their development, and to make government listen to their people. Fostering a more pluralistic, institutional structure including NGOs is a means to these ends.

Clarke (1991) attributes three roles to NGOs. Hadenius and Uggla (1996), from their perspective, see NGOs as having two main functions.

In their relation with the state, Clarke (1991) presents the liberalist view that NGOs can fulfill three roles: complementing, reforming, and/or opposing the State.

The idea of the *complementing* is one of the roles of NGOs as service providers and implementers of development activities. In this case, NGOs fill in the gaps left by public services. By the 1990s, the prevalent ideology among donors was to see the State as an enabler rather than a provider.

The *reforming* role of NGOs is related to NGOs as agents of advocacy and contributors to policy dialogue. NGOs can represent the interest of the people they work with and, hence, ensure that policies are adapted to real life. In this way, policies are legitimized. NGOs can also contribute to generating informed public judgment.

Finally, NGOs can *oppose* the State, by acting as watchdogs and holding it accountable. This can be done either directly through lobbying, or indirectly by supporting groups that are adversely affected by government policy.

Hadenius and Ugglå (1996) see civil society, hence NGOs, as having two functions: the pluralist and the educational. The former refers essentially to the external and mutual relations of organizations while the latter looks at their internal life.

The *pluralist* function concerns the distribution of power in society and political life. The idea is that by organizing themselves, people obtain power resources. The outcome of a multiplicity of well-developed associations with access to channels for popular influence is a balance between power centers, interests and opinion. This ensures the best possible coherence between individual preferences and collective choices. The pluralist function is closely related to Clarke's second and third role.

The basic idea behind the *educational* function is that the spiritual support for democracy's fundamental principles can only be created through the experience gained from repetitive participation in democratic structures. This is socialization into democratic norms through a process of learning by doing. By being part of a democratic association, people can develop a procedural democratic culture, i.e. get used to confronting divergent and contradictory views, and gain the logic of shifting majorities. They become more tolerant and better at managing conflicts. It is believed that under favorable conditions, it can contribute to a convergence of opinions, and hence their integration into a common system of norms. An extended public spirit is thus created. This is the process of building social capital.

Consequently, NGOs are seen as important implementers of development activities as well as contributors to the consolidation of democracy. The roles and functions are attributed to the NGO sector on what is perceived as its strengths.

Even if NGOs are important actors by themselves, they are not a system on their own operating in a vacuum, but part of a wider environment (Bratton, 1989: 581). Dialogue between the two is essential. According to Hadenius and Uggla, total independence is virtually incompatible with political influence and the State needs civil society to achieve its objectives.

Hadenius and Uggla take this further by arguing that the state has the ability to strengthen civil society. They define a continuum of five stages from a situation in which the State is hostile to civil society to one of benevolence.

Stage 1: The State does not tolerate independent civil activity.

Stage 2: The State accepts autonomous organization, but does not provide a space for it.

Stage 3: A space for independent activity exists, but the practice of governance does not promote autonomous organization.

Stage 4: The State provides favorable structures, but no active support.

Stage 5: The State actively promotes autonomous organizations.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, data collected from different sources is presented and analysis and discussion is made across the collected data and the literature. Before presentation and analysis of the data, it could be important to describe the process of data collection. As indicated in the methodology section of this research the researcher intends to collect primary and secondary data through questionnaires, interviews and document reviews.

Seventy questionnaires were distributed to twenty-seven CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia. In addition, five donor agencies, three government organizations and four key informants were interviewed to collect the required data. Out of the total questionnaires distributed to executives of CSOs, forty-two were properly filled out and used for analysis. Document review was also another method employed for collecting the required data. From those documents researches, reports, flyers, publications, brochures were the major ones.

This chapter has seven sections and organized based on the research questions. The first section deals with the general profile of the respondents. The second section analyzes the historical roles of CSOs and the third section assesses CSO contributions to the development of democratic political culture of the country. The identification of challenges CSOs faced while discharging their duties and responsibilities constitutes the fourth section. The fifth section deals with analysis of CSOs engagement in relation to their mandate. The assessment of what the relationship of CSOs working in the area with

government look like before and after CSP is under the sixth section. The last section deals with the assessment of potential impacts of CSP on CSOs in Ethiopia.

3.1 Profile of Respondents

This section deals with presentation and analysis of the general profile of respondents across their position, experience and educational qualification. The analysis is based on the information provided by the respondents in the questionnaire.

Table 1: Profile of the Respondents

No	Educational Qualification	Experience of the Respondents (in years)	Position of the Respondents							Total	%
			Program Officer	Program Coordinator	Program Manager	Director	Researcher	Advisor	Others		
1	BA/BSC/LLB	0-2	2	1	0	0	0		0	3	7.1
		3-5	4	1	0	1	1		1	8	19
		6-10	3	2	0	2	0		0	7	16.7
		>10	2	4	1	1	0		1	9	21.4
		Total	11	8	1	4	1		2	27	
		Percent	26.2	19	2.4	9.5	2.4		4.8		64.3
2	MA/MSC/PhD	3-5	1	0	0	1	0	0		2	4.8
		6-10	0	3	1	1	1	0		6	14.3
		>10	1	2	1	2	0	1		7	16.7
		Total	2	5	2	4	1	1		15	
		Percent	4.8	11.9	4.8	9.5	2.4	2.4		42	35.7
%			31	30.9	7.2	19	4.8	2.4	4.8		100.0

Table 1 illustrates the general profile of the respondents. Out of the total respondents program officers and program coordinators, collectively accounts to 61.9 percent. Program managers and directors constitutes 26.2 percent, and 7.2 percent of the respondents are researchers and advisors. The remaining 4.8 percent are grouped under others category which constitutes president, head and expert. This indicates that the majority of the respondents are program officers, program coordinators and directors, which constitute 80.9 percent.

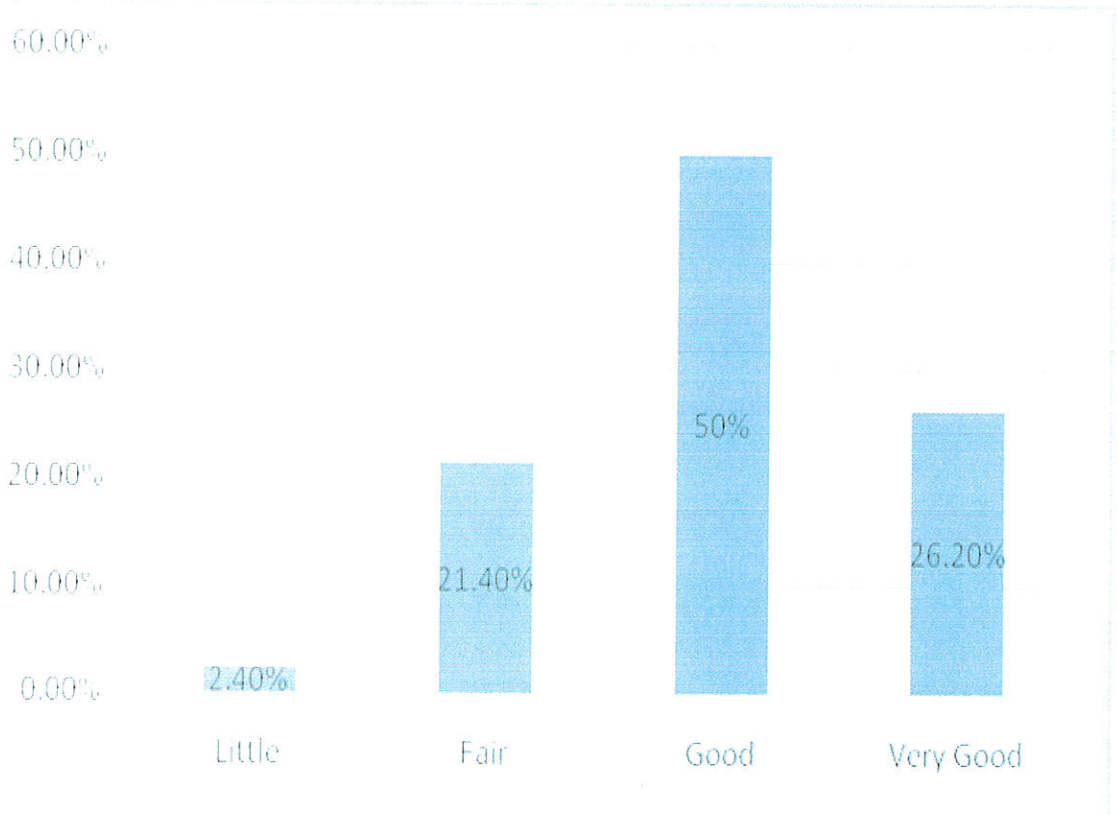
Regarding educational qualification, program officers and program coordinators who are first-degree holder account for 45.2 percent and 16.7 percent have second/third degrees. 9.5 percent of directors are first-degree holder and those with second/third degrees constitute the same. All respondents from others category are first-degree holder, which account for 4.8 percent. Out of the total respondents, 4.8 percent of program managers and 2.4 percent of advisors have second/third degree. Thus, the Table 1 illustrates that 64.3 percent of the respondents are first-degree holders and the remaining 35.7 percent are second/third degree holders.

Table 1 also shows that 69.1 percent of the respondents have served for more than 6 years and the remaining 30.9 percent have experience not more than six years. The awareness or knowledge of respondents about CSOs and democratic political culture is presented in Figure 1.

From the Figure 1 below, it is possible to deduce that more than 76 percent of the respondents have good or very good understanding of CSOs and democratic political culture. This indicates that the majority of the respondents have adequate experience and

knowledge to execute their respective duties effectively and to provide adequate and relevant information for the study.

Figure 1: Knowledge of Respondents about CSOs and Democratic Political Culture



Having the brief overview on the general profile of the respondents, the next part of data presentation and analysis is based on the remaining parts of the questionnaire, interviews and documents review.

3.2 Historical Role of CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture

For the assessment of the historical role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia, it is appropriate to review the experience of CSOs in Africa.

Accordingly, this section has three sub-sections: the first sub-section deals with the review of CSOs in Africa and the second sub-section analyzes the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia. The third sub-section assesses the extent of participation and historical contributions of CSOs in the area.

3.2.1 The Role CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture in Africa

Civil society is widely believed to have the potential to make a positive contribution to democratization in Africa and other parts of the developing world. In the liberal conception, civil society provides a vehicle through which citizens can pursue common goals, participate in and influence public affairs, and practice democratic values of tolerance, consensus building and free and open debate (Diamond, 1994). According to Hadenius and Ugglå (1996), CSOs that are internally democratic and motivated by broader societal concerns can make a positive contribution to the process of democratization by fostering pluralism, promoting democratic values and enhancing political participation.

In this session, the researcher tries to summarize the contributions of CSOs towards democratization in Africa from international development studies discussion paper by Robison and Friedman 2005. It assesses the contributions of CSOs in South Africa, Uganda and Ghana in influencing government policy and legislations, widening the opportunities available to citizens to participate in public affairs, by promoting a culture of accountability and challenging the power of the state to dominate political affairs and decision-making. All three countries have experienced some form of authoritarian rule

under civilian and military regimes, and are now ruled by regimes, which have, to differing degrees, democratic features.

In all three countries under review, the emergence of formal associations representing organized collective interests first took place under colonial rule. Mass-based civil society organizations contributed to struggles for independence through their prominent role in nationalist movements, despite efforts by the colonial authorities to control and regulate their activities. These included organizations comprising peasants and workers, as well as ethnic associations representing tribal and regional interests.

There was a phenomenal growth of civil society organizations in all three countries in the 1980s and 1990s, especially of NGOs engaged in both service delivery and policy advocacy. In Ghana and Uganda, this growth was the result of structural adjustment policies and political liberalization in many African countries. In South Africa, this process began in the mid-1980s, with large-scale support to groups and associations associated with the anti-apartheid movement. Many organizations were formed during the period of intensive political struggle leading up to majority rule in 1994, many of which were mass based, activist in orientation, and with strong links to the labor movement. They were supported because of their role either in fighting the system or in providing for the needs of black people who were not served by the state, or both.

1. South Africa

In South Africa, the state provides formal channels for public participation in policy formulation, in both national and provincial government. At various stages of the legislative process there was, during the first post-apartheid administration, extensive

public consultation on proposed bills through formal and informal processes in which civil society groups played a significant role. However, while there is clearly a decline in structured engagement since the second post-apartheid administration, CSOs retain the right to seek to influence legislation through mandatory hearings and formal consultative bodies. Other approaches include lobbying, publications and informal discussions with government officials. Public protest is also at times used to pursue civil society goals. One analysis notes that, since the methods, language and style of organization used in the anti-apartheid era continue to prevail, many groups resort to confrontation if structured policy dialogue fails to advance their cause.

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the leading South African trade union federation with 1.8 million paid-up members has achieved significant policy impact on behalf of its members. It is engaged in an alliance with the governing African National Congress (ANC) but, particularly since 1999, has often differed from the governing party on policy issues. It participates in the public policy process through a variety of formal mechanisms such as the National Economic Development and Labor Council, a parliamentary office to monitor legislation and to facilitate consultations with parliamentary committees and engagement with departments and ministries. It is regularly consulted on new legislation, often in advance of other CSOs, and provides inputs into government policy documents. Immediately before the 1994 election, COSATU played the leading role in the formulation of the Reconstruction and Development Program, an ambitious economic recovery program with strong redistributive components that was adopted by the ANC. It has encouraged the introduction of favorable labor legislation and has successfully defended subsequent

attempts to dismantle these gains. COSATU has also managed to slow down plans for the privatization of state industries. Several factors explain COSATU's relative success in policy engagement with the government. These are strong internal democratic culture, prioritizing and revising policies in national congress, large membership base, high level of independence and financial autonomy, and alliance with ANC and South African Communist Party.

2. Uganda

In Uganda, the public policy process is far less institutionalized than in South Africa, in part because parliamentary democracy and the practice of public consultation have yet to take firm root: policy engagement mainly consists of contacting government officials on a sporadic and selective basis.

The Uganda Manufacturers Association (UMA) has the most effective policy impact of all Ugandan CSOs. It has a specialized department responsible for lobbying, advocacy and networking and employs four key approaches in its efforts to influence government policy. These approaches are (1) advocacy to change unfavorable policies or support those, which it favors; (2) consultations over government proposals; (3) participation in decision-making bodies with government; and (4) representation in government bodies where the UMA has a strategic interest. It has regular access to government officials and makes submissions on draft legislation and budget proposals. It has successfully recommended changes or reductions in personal taxes, excise tariffs and import duties, the administration of value added tax and the creation of a Tax Tribunal. A high degree

of financial security derived from membership subscriptions and income-earning ventures further strengthens its successful involvement in policy dialogue.

The Ugandan human rights network claims to be involved in advocacy and lobbying, citing its work on legislation on the prevention of terrorism and its campaign against the death penalty as examples, but its impact on human rights policy and law has been limited. Its principal method of engagement with the state has been non-confrontational dialogue. It concentrates on offering services to its members and seminars and workshops on issues such as civic education and the provision of legal aid.

Similarly, National Association of Women Organizations in Ugandan (NAWOU) has a department responsible for lobbying, advocacy and networking based on an explicit mandate to act as a pressure group representing women's interests. NAWOU successfully campaigned for women to be effectively represented in the Constituent Assembly and to take part in debates on the new constitution as a means of ensuring that the final document would be gender sensitive. It has, with some success, lobbied members of the parliament and officials over legislation affecting women and for a provision governing co-ownership of land by men and women in the Land Act.

3. Ghana

Research in Ghana reveals a similar picture to that in Uganda, where active policy engagement by CSOs is limited in extent and impact. Civil society groups in Ghana have a long history of critical engagement with the state; the form depends on their relationship with the regime in power, which ranges from co-option to contestation. The Ghana Bar Association (GBA) was strongly opposed to military and autocratic civilian

rule and resorted to public protest such as declarations, strikes, demonstrations and the airing of reform proposals in the media to exert influence. However, a declining membership, the decision of several lawyers to serve on extra-legal tribunals established by the Rawlings regime and growing economic hardship weakened its influence and membership.

The advent of democratic government in the early 1990s created new opportunities for direct policy influence using mechanisms established by law or government action. Nevertheless, while some organizations, notably those representing lawyers and business, present views before parliamentary committees, submit memoranda on draft legislation and lobby MPs to propose legislative amendments, this is by no means the norm. Overall, the policy impact of Ghanaian CSOs is limited.

3.2.2 The Development of Democratic Political Culture in Ethiopia

To assess the development of democratic political culture of the country respondents of the questionnaire are asked to select from the list of four options ranging from very little to very good. The interviewees are asked to express their opinion about the development in the area. Data collected from forty-two respondents is summarized in the Table 2.

Table 2: Development of Democratic Political Culture in Ethiopia

No	Item	Frequency	%	
1	Development of Democratic Political Culture in Ethiopia	Very Little	2	3.7
		Little	17	31.5
		Fair	18	33.3
		Good	17	31.5
	Total	54	100.0	

Table 2 shows that 31.5 percent of the respondents have an opinion that the development of democratic political culture in the country is in good condition. Out of the total respondents, 33.3 percent perceive as fair while those who see as little and very little accounts 35.2 percent. Thus, the opinion of the respondents reveals that there is considerable improvement in the area since the coming of FDRE in 1991. The improvement can be manifested by various measures government has taken to promote development of democratic political culture.

The FDRE has adopted the Constitution in 1995 that establishes a multi-party parliamentary system of government, assures freedom of association and expression, and recognizes most of the human rights elaborated under international law. The government has also shown its commitment to promoting development of democratic culture through ratifying a number of international human rights instruments. It is reforming domestic laws to harmonize with international human rights standards. It emphasizes good governance in different policies and programs such as the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP). It has established democratic institutions such Human Rights Commission, Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission and Ombudsman. It has also amended existing laws and adopted of new laws. Thus, such institutions and laws are foundations for the development of democratic culture regardless of capacity and efficiency of institutions.

Respondents are also asked to express their views about the government in terms of promoting development of democratic political culture of the country. To this ends, they are given with a list of four options to select from and to explain their views briefly. Data collected from fifty-four respondents is presented in the Figure 2.

Figure 2: Opinion towards the Government in Promoting Development of Democratic Political Culture

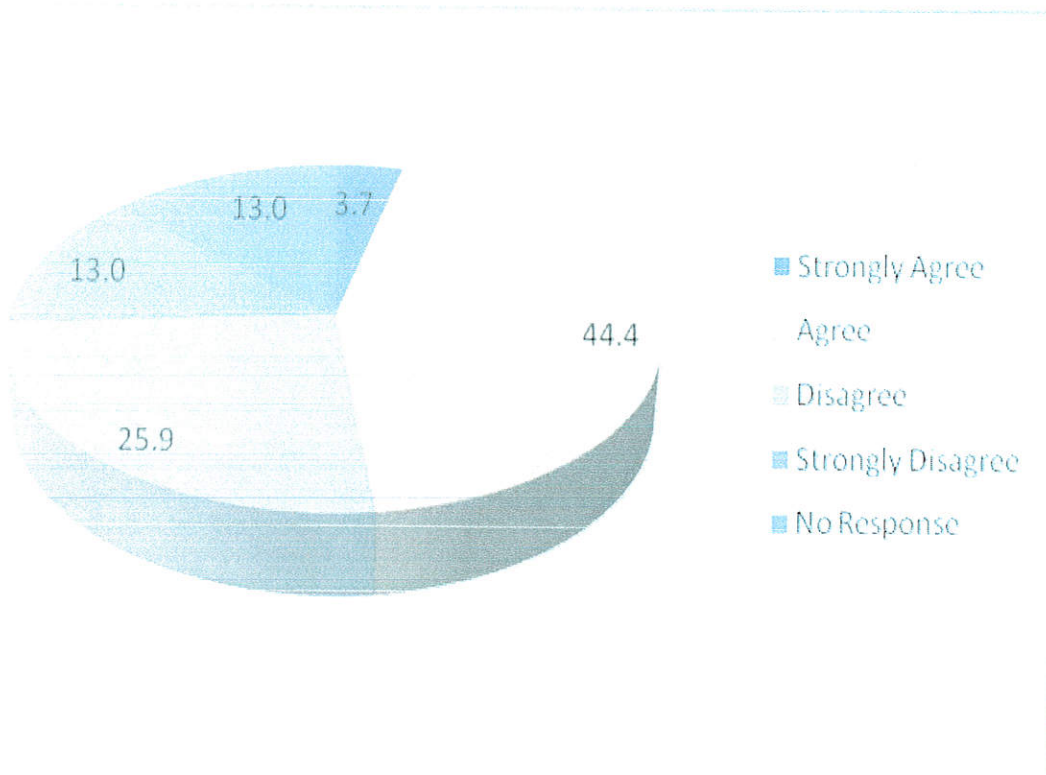


Figure 2 shows that 48.1 percent of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the view that the government is in the right track in developing democratic political culture of the country. Explanations for their agreement include the adoption of the Constitution, expansion of democratic institutions, enactment of new laws and revision of existing ones, improvement in the efficiency of judicial and executive organs and increased participation of public in election.

The FDRE has made considerable effort in the development of democratic political culture of the country. According to HPR's Negarit Gazeta list from 1994 -2009, it has legislated more than 450 proclamations. It has also established and amended about 27

democratic institutions in the period of 1994-2004. Nevertheless, there are problems in implementation of these laws.

Figure 2 also shows that 38.9 percent of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the efforts of government about the question. This group of respondents relates their disagreement with deficiency of government to materialize the provisions in the Constitution.

3.2.3 Extent of Participation and Historical Roles of CSOs

To assess the extent and historical roles of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture of the country, respondents are requested to express their opinion. To this end, they are provided with a list of five options ranging from very little to very good. The response of forty-two respondents is presented in the Table 3.

Table 3: Extent of Participation and Historical contributions of CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture

No	Item	Frequency	%	
1	Extent of CSOs Participation	Very Little	3	7.1
		Little	14	33.3
		Fair	14	33.3
		Good	10	23.8
		Very Good	1	2.4
		Total	42	100.0
2	Historical Contribution of CSOs	Very Little	7	16.7
		Little	12	28.6
		Fair	12	28.6
		Good	10	23.8
		Very Good	1	2.4
		Total	42	100.0

The result in the Table 3 under item 1 revealed that 73.7 percent of the respondents perceive the extent of CSOs participation in the development of democratic political culture of the country as minimum. The remaining 26.3 percent see the participation as good. In line with this, 76 percent of the respondents believe that the historical contribution of CSOs in the area is minimal.

Since 1950s, there were political movements organized by unions such as students' union, teachers' union. These movements were opposed the Imperial System that resisted to bring meaningful socio-economic and political reforms in the country. Their political movement witnessed the 1974 bloody revolution, which eventually consumed the life of many people.

The expansion and engagement of CSOs in promoting democratic political culture is related with the coming of FDRE in power in 1991. According to CRDA (2006: 6), the development of NGOs/CSOs in Ethiopia exhibit three phases. These phases include (1) full engagement in relief and humanitarian work; (2) the de-linking of relief and humanitarian work and focusing on basic services provision; and (3) engagement in governance, advocacy and human rights in addition to the service delivery. Until 1991, the legal and political conditions were not conducive for the third phase of the NGOs development in the country due to the Imperial (1930-1974) and the Derg (1974-1991) governments' very restrictive and oppressive regulations and laws (CRDA, 2006: 8).

According to Silkin et al (2005: 18), with slight easing of operational space for CSOs in the 1990s, INGOs becoming involved in development activities but, again, with substantial resource inputs and a heavy emphasis on direct implementation. As the

operating environment also encouraged Ethiopian CSO sector to emerge and, as it began to take service delivery functions, INGOs made a further progressive shift towards capacity building for Ethiopian NGOs and CBOs. In the context of decentralization, this capacity building service has mainly focused on improving the effectiveness of local government and on strengthening civil society sector in calling government to account. As Kassahun (2002: 123) stated, the areas of concern of NGOs varied from relief/rehabilitation to development and democracy (advocacy, empowerment, human rights). He also indicated that about 72 percent of NGOs operating in Ethiopia were engaged in welfare programs in the form of service delivery on a subsidized basis.

3.3 CSO Contributions to the Development of Democratic Political Culture

CSOs have strengths, which contribute in the development of democratic political culture of the country. These strengths include expertise, initiation, network, capacity, culture of voluntarism and access to grass root level. Ethiopia has made important progress in the development of democratic political culture after the FDRE comes in to power. It is known that the development of democratic political culture cannot be established overnight and by government alone. It is a system that can be developed through participation of different actors: the state, CSOs and the society. Thus, CSO contribution to the development of democratic political culture of the country could not be undermined. This sub-section tries to assess these contributions.

To assess CSO contributions to the development of democratic political culture of the country, respondents are provided with open-ended questions. They are requested to state

activities that their organizations did in the area. Hence, the nature of the question is multiple response type, there is a chance that the respondents have provided more than one contributions depending on their organizations area of engagement. Accordingly, the number of responses exceeds the number of respondents. The response collected from fifty-four respondents is presented in the Table 4.

Table 4: CSO Contributions to the Development of Democratic Political Culture

No	Contributions of CSOs	Responses		
		No. of Responses	% of Responses	% of Cases
1	Promotion of Public Awareness and Participation	43	46.7	79.6
2	Contribution to Access to Increased Justice	2	2.2	3.7
3	Contribution to Improved Policies, Laws and Programs	6	6.5	11.1
4	Contribution to Increased Capacity and Efficiency of Democratic Institutions	9	9.8	16.7
5	Complementing the Roles of Government in Democratization Process	5	5.4	9.3
6	Challenging the State	2	2.2	3.7
7	Conflict Resolution and Peace Building	2	2.2	3.7
8	Monitoring Democratic Processes, Rule of Law and Violations of Rights	9	9.8	16.7
9	Promoting Fair and Democratic Election	10	10.9	18.5
10	Insignificant	4	4.3	7.4
Total			92	100.0

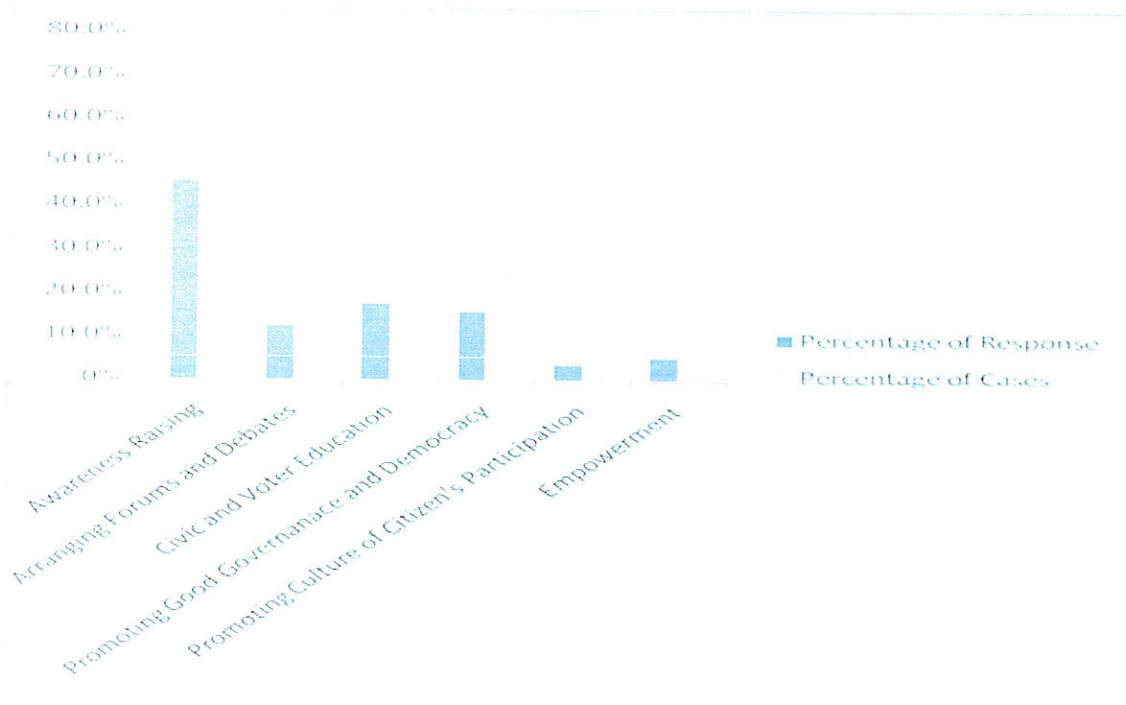
According to The Table 4, the most practiced activity by CSOs is promoting public awareness and participation and the least exercised is challenging the state. Out of fifty-four respondents, four of them sees the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia as insignificant and suggests to shift their focus towards developing culture of tolerance and compromise. Based on the response collected from

54 respondents about CSO contribution to the development of democratic political culture of the country, nine thematic areas are identified as shown in the Table 4.

3.3.1 Promotion of public awareness and participation

CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture, either as core areas of intervention or as part of development activities, typically undertake awareness raising initiatives to inform public and bring concerns of their targets to public discussion forums. The thematic areas on which CSOs work in promoting public awareness cover a range of issues including right based, democracy and governance, corruption, voter education, pastoralist issues, access to justice, etc. Figure 3 presents the opinion of respondents about strategies used by CSOs in promoting public awareness and participation.

Figure 3: Strategies used by CSOs in Promoting Public Awareness and Participation



CSOs have various strategies to promote public awareness and participation. Figure 3 shows that some of the major strategies include awareness raising, arranging forums and debates, civic and voter's education, promoting governance and democracy, enhancing culture of citizen's participation, and empowerment of marginalized groups. It also shows that awareness raising, civic and voter's education, and promoting governance and democracy are the most common activities exercised by CSOs engaged in the area.

According to Dessalegn et al (2008:81-82), major strategies are deployed by CSOs to raise public awareness. These include inter alia: publication and dissemination of Information Education Communication (IEC) materials; dissemination of legal and other documents such as the FDRE Constitution; conducting voter education; organizing debates and forums among contending parties; organizing trainings and workshops on various issues of human rights and democracy; running radio programs on various governance and human rights issues.

Apart from raising public awareness, one of the main strategy CSOs have been using to promote the participation of citizens in the area is mobilizing and empowering grassroots, religious, community and mass based organizations and marginalized groups. Dessalegn et al (2008: 83) have illustrated some of the interventions and achievements of CSOs in the area. These include:

- AFD and SOS Sahel strengthen the role of traditional structures of elders in South Omo zone in preventing and managing inter-clan conflicts, and Gada elders in managing natural resources and fighting Harmful Traditional Practices (HTPs)

- The establishment of the school clubs on child rights, HTPs, civic education, environment, violence against girls, corporal punishment and other issues. Now they have been officially recognized extra-curricular structures in primary schools across Ethiopia. It was initiated and supported by CSOs such as ANPPCANE, EWLA, etc
- The establishment of children's participation structures in the community (outside the schools) such as networks of child rights clubs, children's councils and children's parliaments has been initiated and supported from the early stages by child focused CSOs including ANPPCANE and Mary Joy.
- Many of the existing membership organizations of the poor and vulnerable groups, including youth, women's and people with disabilities associations, were established with the support of international and national CSOs whose financial and technical support has been instrumental for their engagement in governance issues
- A number of CSOs have mobilized and supported idirs and other community based organizations to participate in various human rights and governance issues.

These structures have created and expanded the space for the participation of communities and vulnerable groups around human rights and democracy issues of direct relevance to their situation.

3.3.2 Contributions to increased capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions

Table 4 shows that out of the 54 respondents asked about CSO contributions to the development of democratic political culture of the country, 9 of them have replied as

their CSOs played a role in building capacity and increasing efficiency of democratic institutions.

The capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions are important factors in realizing democratic political culture of the country. Even where appropriate and pro-poor policies and laws have been put in place, lack of capacity can become a critical hindrance to their implementation. These problems are more acute at the lower levels of government administration.

The engagement of CSOs in building the capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions is quite extensive. Through training, workshops, experience sharing forums, joint planning and implementation activities, and other support interventions, wide ranges of CSOs have sought to enhance the capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions to discharge their responsibilities.

Summary of achievements of Justice For All and Prison Fellowship-Ethiopia (JFA PFE) reveals that it has made extensive interventions in building capacity of democratic institutions. From 2005-2009 JFA PFE has undertaken several activities towards increased efficiency and capacity of democratic institutions:

- Training on human rights, justice, democracy and good governance given to 9,206 justice officials, decision makers, duty bearers and policy makers including parliamentarians trained with the aim of improving their capacity in effective implementation in the area
- Leadership training given to 600 top-level government officials
- Capacity building training on gender issues given to 281 different professionals

- National level dialogue forums on democratization, federalism and consensus building, leadership and management, and religious tolerance arranged for about 300 people from parliamentarians, government officials, religious leaders, diplomats, and ambassadors
- Prepared and distributed 9,206 human rights training materials
- Constructed 14 Biogas plants, 13 prisoner women sleeping quarters, 56 counseling centers, 23 blocks of toilets and shower and one clinic, library and store, and other facilities

3.3.3 Promoting fair and democratic election

In the Table 4 above, 10 respondents out of 54 have mentioned that their CSOs have engaged in election in various forms. According to Wondwosen (2009: 84), CSOs in Ethiopia have played considerable role for the first time during 2005 election. They have involved in election monitoring, conducting civic education programs, and organizing debates and forums among contending parties. In this case, the role of CSOs is not only limited to contributing towards fair and democratic elections but also contributing towards the development of a democratic culture, based on dialogue, compromise, accommodation and tolerance at different levels of government administration and among public.

Muntean and Gheorghita (2005: 6-9) cited in Wondwosen, argue that apart from routines like drafting and promoting laws, organizing strikes, contacting officials, boycotts, demonstrations or signing petitions, civil society organizations have other types of interaction with the political society. These are direct involvement in elections by

mobilizing the people to participate in the election, arranging roundtable discussions, participating in election monitoring and supporting certain political parties.

The active involvement of the civil society in the 2005 election has mobilized and sensitized public to be active participant in the election. The contribution of CSOs in the electoral process by organizing public forums and conducting voters education has initiated and sensitized the public to make active participation in the election as a voter, as a candidate and as an observer.

Table 5: Elections in Ethiopia

No	Election	Registered Voters	Votes	Candidates		Seats in HPR		Observers	
				HPR	Regional State Council	EPRDF	Others	Domestic	International
1	1995	21,337,379	20,068,508			483	65		
2	2000	21,834,808	19,607,841	1080	2164	481	66		
3	2005	27.3 million	22.6 million	5900		327	219	12,238	429
4	2010	31,926,520		2205	4734				

Note: Others under the column of seats in HPR include EPRDF-Affiliated Parties, Opposition Parties and Independents

Source: NEBE Reports on Election 1995, 2000, 2005 and NEBE web site

The active role of CSOs in promoting fair and democratic election has seen in 2005 parliamentary election. According to Table 5, about 27.3 million people were registered as voters and out of which 22.6 million people gave their votes. The number of

candidates for HPR and Regional State Councils were more than 5,900 that exceeded the 2000 election by 2,656 candidates. About 12,667 people observed the election. Moreover, the number of seats taken by EPRDF-affiliated parties, opposition parties and independents in HPR is 219 of which opposition parties won 174 seats.

The number of registered voters and candidates for HPR and regional state councils in the election 2010 has increased to 31,926,520 and 6,939 respectively. Despite this, with the letter dated 19 March 2010 the NEBE has issued license for 10 CSOs named as civil society organizations alliance in order to observe 2010 election. In addition, the Board has issued license on 11 April 2010 for one association. Thus, the overall figures indicate that the participation of public in the election process has been increasing from time to time; however, it cannot be attributed to CSOs involvement alone.

3.3.4 Monitoring democratic process, rule of law and violations of rights

In the Table 4 above, item eight indicates that nine of the respondents stated that their organizations have engaged in monitoring democratic processes, rule of law and violations of rights. HRCO is the leading organization in Ethiopia to monitor, publicize and reports human rights violations, and fight for the people to full realization of rights under the Constitution.

EWLA is another CSO in monitoring democratic process and fighting for violations of rights. It specifically focuses on promoting the rights of women and assists them to secure full protection of their rights under the Constitution and international human rights conventions.

3.3.5 Contribution to improved policies, laws, and programs

Item 3 of Table 4 indicates that CSOs have been contributing for improved policies, laws and programs through various ways. They address the questions of marginalized and voiceless groups, which are often excluded from the decision-making processes. Exclusion and inconsideration of the poor and disadvantaged sections of society from decision-making processes affects their lives. This can best be addressed through pro-poor government policies, laws, institutions and programs. CSOs take considerable part in initiating pro-poor structural measures and promoting the needs and interests of the disadvantaged in various levels of government through research and advocacy.

CSOs engage in awareness raising and advocacy work that aims at bringing about changes or revisions in public policies, laws, and decision-making structures by directly targeting the policy and law making processes. They use various advocacy works such as public discussion, judiciary and public consultations, convincing parliament and government officials at various levels on the need for new pro-poor policies, laws and programs or review of existing ones.

There are a number of cases, where CSOs have successfully initiated and contributed to the development and adoption of pro-poor policies, laws, structures and programs. In this regard EWLA, most CRDA member CSOs, ANPPCANE and Save Children Norway take considerable part.

EWLA has studied in the area of women's rights in which the research findings are used to seek amendment of discriminatory laws and illegal practices. EWLA has played an

instrumental role in initiating public dialogue and influencing decision makers in the process leading up to the revision of family law and penal code.

According to Dessalegn et al (2008: 88), CSOs/NGOs initiated and promoted policy dialogues in various areas and succeeded in making the rights of women, children, pastoralists, people with disabilities and other vulnerable group's policy issues. Some of these are:

- A number of CSOs, mostly CRDA members have participated in and contributed to the formulation of different policies including the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process within the framework of the NGO PRSP Taskforce
- The National Plan of Action on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children was initiated and developed within the framework of the National Steering Committee against Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children representing a diverse profile of child rights actors including Forum on Street Children Ethiopia (FSCE), Save the Children Sweden, Save the Children Norway, and ANPPCANE
- The Women Association in Tigray region in collaboration with the Women Caucus of the regional council challenged the gender imbalance in appointments of bureau heads. This resulted in appointment of more women in key positions (as deputy bureau heads). The Women Association also submitted a petition challenging provisions in the draft regional Family Law, which was accepted and incorporated in the final law endorsed in 2007. Moreover, the Association has also challenged and managed to introduce revisions in the administrative guideline for public works, which happened to be discriminatory against women.

3.3.6 Contribution to increased access to justice

As Table 4 above shows, CSOs have also engaged in enhancing people for increased access to justice. EWLA has been providing free of charge legal aid service to women, particularly poor women who are victims of gender based violence. The services include legal advice or counseling, writing court briefs such as court charges and affidavits as well as representing clients in courts. The issues most often EWLA has been providing legal aid include rape, abduction, domestic violence, marital disputes, paternity claims, pension and other pecuniary interests. To this end, nearly 70,000 clients throughout the country have received legal aid services from 1996 till to end of 2007. EWLA also has been providing free legal aid services in nine sub-cities of Addis Ababa as of 2003.

Despite the Constitution recognizes access to justice and legislative measures of citizens, affordable and quality legal services are not available for most Ethiopians. This, coupled with capacity and efficiency limitations in judicial and administrative institutions, has made access to justice the privilege of the few. The situation is particularly dire for the resource poor and other vulnerable groups. In response to this gap, an increasing number of CSOs are engaged in the provision of legal aid services in Ethiopia. The services of many of these organizations focus on the needs of specific social groups such as women, children and persons accused of crimes concurrently targeted by other interventions (Dessalegn et al, 2008: 84).

3.3.7 Complementing the role of the government in democratization process

Item five of Table 4 illustrates that CSOs are also involved in complementing the role of government in the democratization process. Since the government cannot involve in

every democratization processes and development activities, civil society plays a great role in assisting the activity of the state by filling the gap where the government is short. This will help to make those services more relevant to the poor and more responsive to democratic influences. Civil societies also assist the government in identifying social problems, which have not been detected or addressed by the government.

3.3.8 Challenging the state

The opinion of respondents about CSO contributions to the development of democratic political culture of the country summarized in the Table 4 above shows CSOs have been also challenging the wrongdoings or reluctance of the government. In the other part of the questionnaire, respondents are asked whether they are challenged the state while doing wrong or prefer not to challenge. They are also asked to indicate the occurrence and explain the situation if they challenged and if not to indicate why they prefer not to challenge the government while doing wrong. To this end, data collected from 42 respondents of the questionnaire is presented in the Table 6.

Table 6: Instances CSOs Challenged Government

No	CSOs Challenged Government	Frequency	%
1	Yes	32	79.2
2	No	9	21.4
3	Do not know	1	2.4
Total		42	100.0

79.2 percent of respondent opinion in the Table 6 shows that, their organizations have challenged government in various instances. The response of 21.4 percent of the respondents reveals that their organizations have preferred not to challenge government

while doing wrong. From the opinion presented in the Table, it is possible to deduce the existence of CSOs challenging the state.

The explanations of the respondents show that CSOs challenge government's plans, policies and actions. These have negative impact on the lives of the poor and would deprive their constitutional rights. CSOs challenge activities, policies or programs of the government for various reasons. The common grounds for challenge include being undemocratic practice, rights violation, for the sake of free and democratic election and pro-poor policies, laws and programs. The opinion of 32 respondents about the instances that their organizations have challenged the state is demonstrated in the Figure 4.

Figure 4: Instances CSOs Challenged Government

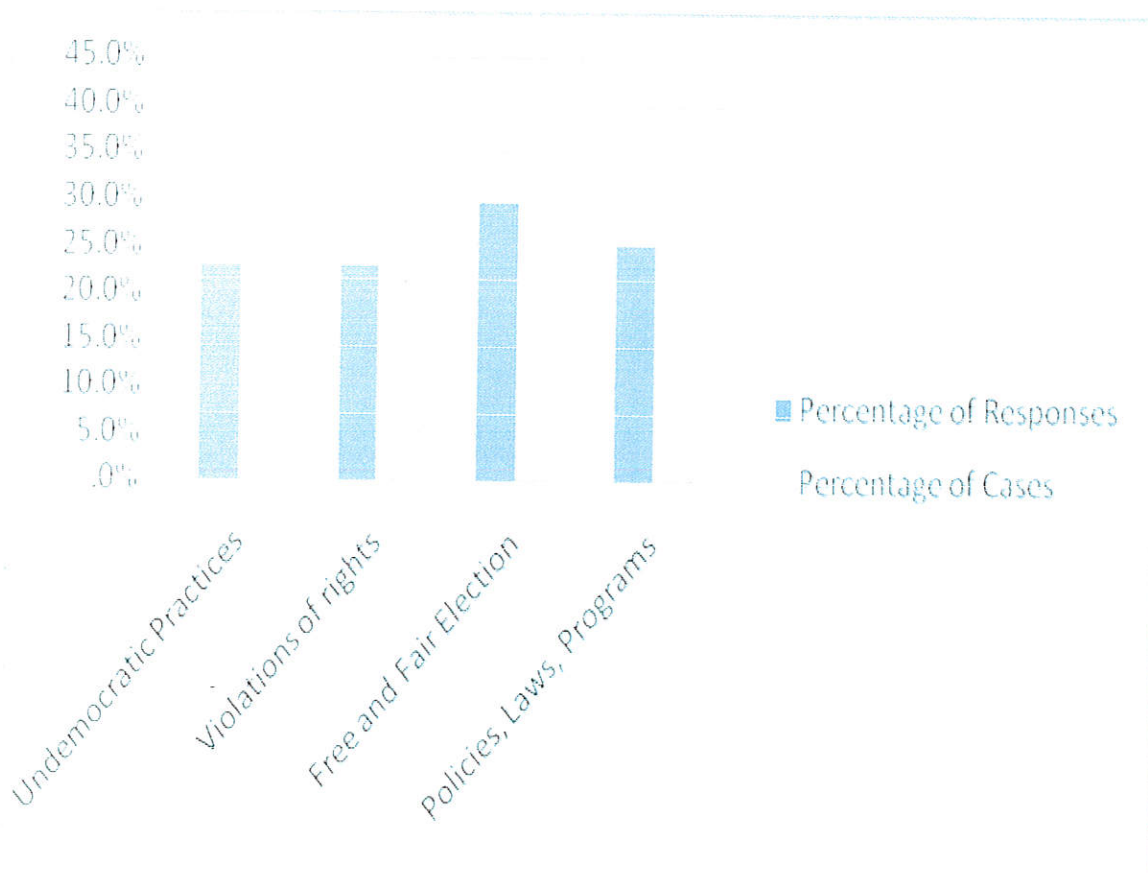


Figure 4 shows that undemocratic practices, violation of rights, sake of free and fair election and pro-poor policies are major events that CSOs are trying to influence government in a way that favors their constituencies or target groups. They use various strategies in influencing government. These include publicizing the event, imposing pressure to government, taking the case to the court, reporting to international institutions, requesting government to implement the Constitution, etc.

In the item 2 of the Table 6, about 21.4 percent of the respondents reveal that there are no instances their CSOs challenged the government's actions or inactions. Based on their explanation there are various reasons to do so. These include unconducive environment, fear for future existence, and misconception by government and CSOs emphasis on complementing government.

3.3.9 Conflict resolution and peace building

Item 7 of Table 4 indicates that CSOs directly or indirectly take part in conflict resolution and peace building of the country. Peace and development of the country are interrelated and thus, stability and progress are intertwined. With this belief, CSOs are involved in resolving conflicts and contributing to bringing peace and stability in the country. CSOs use various methods such training on traditional and modern methods of resolving conflicts and promoting peace and stability. In this regard, EPaRDA in South Omo zone and AFD in Borona have made significant achievements in strengthening traditional structures of Elders and Gada system respectively.

Recently Ethiopia has enacted CSP, which divides CSOs in to two as Charities and Societies. The Proclamation envisages three forms of establishment of Charities and

Societies. The three forms of associations include Ethiopian Charities or Societies, Ethiopian Residents Charities or Societies, and Foreign Charities. The Proclamation also lists those activities that are reserved only to Ethiopian Charities and Societies. These activities include:

- (1) the advancement of human and democratic rights
- (2) the promotion of equality of nations, nationalities and peoples and that of gender and religion
- (3) the promotion of the rights of the disabled and children's rights
- (4) the promotion of conflict resolution and reconciliation
- (5) the promotion of the efficiency of justice and law enforcement services

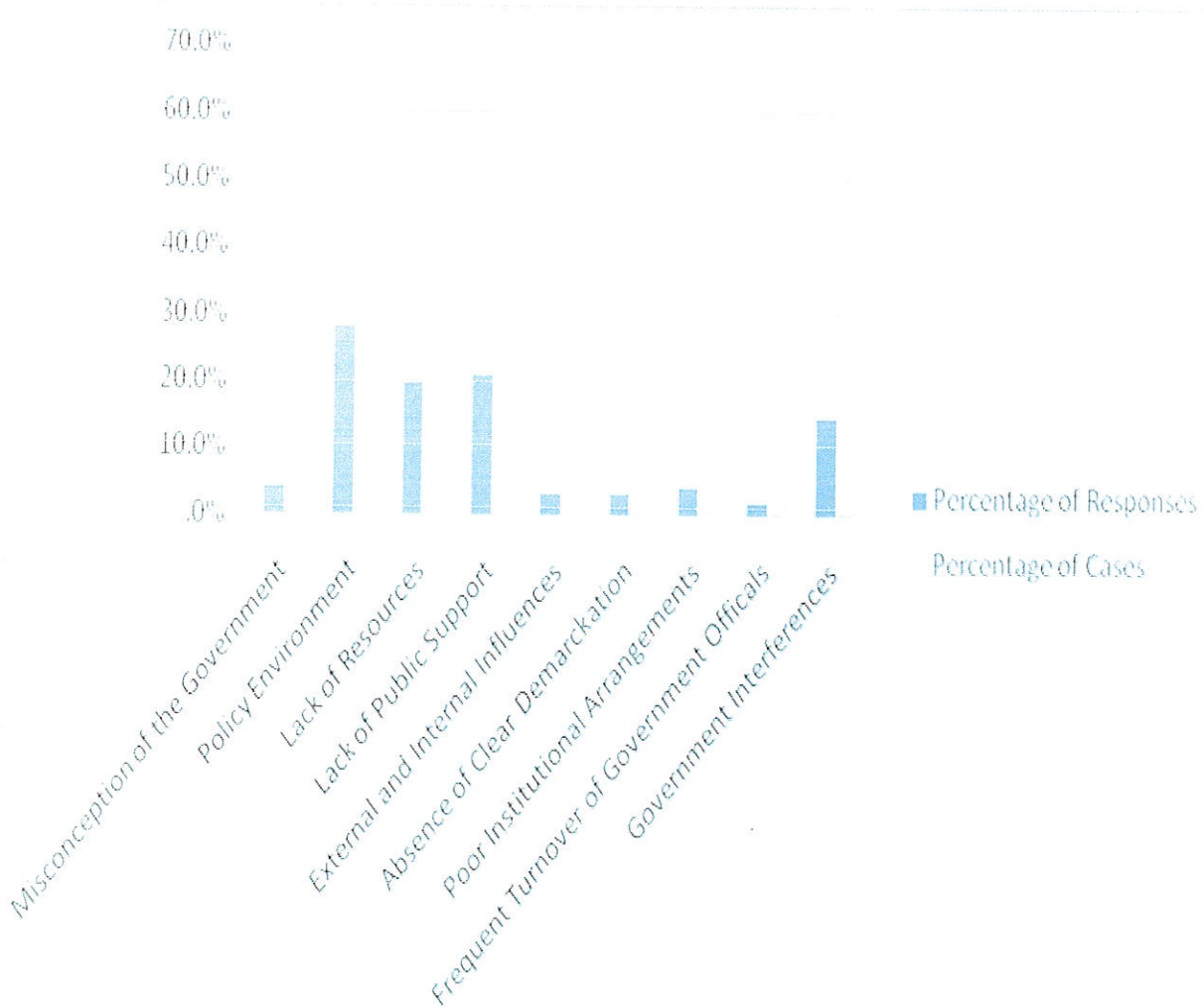
Out of the total contacted organizations, only seven CSOs are registered as Ethiopian Charities or Societies. Thus, the remaining 20 organizations are Ethiopian Residents Charities, Ethiopian Residents Societies or Foreign Charities, which are prohibited from undertaking the aforementioned five activities.

3.4 Challenges faced by CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture

In this section, respondents are required to state briefly challenges their CSOs have faced in discharging their duties in the development of democratic political culture of the country. Consequently, the top nine factors that hinder activities of CSOs are identified by respondents and presented in the Figure 5. These major factors include misconception

of the government, policy environment, lack of resources, lack of public support, external and internal influences, absence of clear demarcation, poor institutional arrangements, frequent turnover of government officials, and government interferences. These factors have implications for CSOs autonomy and determine the effectiveness of programs and projects undertaken by those CSOs. It is also easy to observe from the Figure that policy environment, lack of resources, lack of public support, and government interferences are most common problems of CSOs.

Figure 5: Challenges Faced by CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture



3.4.1 Misconception of the government

As shown in the Figure 5, for 9 percent of respondents misconception of CSOs activities and objectives by the government is a crucial challenge that CSOs confronted. Thus, government as political activity regards the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture of the country, especially when CSOs involve in criticism or exposure of government's illegal acts. The misconception of CSOs and their objectives as they involve in such programs has been evident among government officials at various levels of administration. This misconception arises due to low level of awareness regarding rights and roles of CSOs and lack of self-confidence among government officials.

Another reason why CSOs face hostility from government as they involve in the development of democratic political culture of the country could be the fact that democratization process is a recent phenomenon.

Thus, most of the founders and leaders of CSOs intimidated by government officials and some are allegedly accused of involving in political agitation and encouraging community to claim their rights. As cited in Wondwosen (2009: 86), in the post 2005 election period, the government officially accused various civil society leaders as the supporters of the opposition parties. This accusation led to the arrest of many civil society leaders and individuals working for various CSOs.

3.4.2 Policy environment

For 60 percent of respondents in the Figure 5 the policy environment of Ethiopia towards CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture is perceived as restrictive, centralized, discriminatory and non-conducive.

Until 1991, the legal and political conditions were not conducive for the development of governance; advocacy and human rights centered CSOs. This is due to the Imperial (1930-1974) and the Derg (1974-1991) governments' very restrictive and oppressive regulations and laws. The number of CSOs significantly grows after the overthrow of the military regime in 1991. The growth of CSOs was associated with creation of a more permissive legal and policy framework by the transitional government of Ethiopia. According to the interview with Charities and Societies Agency (CSA) on 21 April 2010, the number of CSOs before the promulgation of CSP was around 3,822.

With the recent enactment of CSP advocacy activities are considered political activities, which are allowed only for Ethiopians Charities and Societies that can mobilize more than 90 percent of their income from local sources. In this regard, article 14 (5) of the CSP lists those activities that are reserved only for Ethiopian Charities and Societies.

These activities include:

- (1) the advancement of human and democratic rights
- (2) the promotion of equality of nations, nationalities and peoples and that of gender and religion
- (3) the promotion of the rights of the disabled and children's rights

(4) the promotion of conflict resolution and reconciliation

(5) the promotion of the efficiency of justice and law enforcement services

Thus, the Proclamation has prohibited Ethiopian Residents Charities, Ethiopian Residents Societies and Foreign Charities from advocacy activities from aforementioned five activities.

3.4.3 Lack of resources

As illustrated in the Figure 5, about 42 percent of the respondents stated that the lack of resources primarily finance is another critical challenge for CSOs in the achievement of their goals. They have described that in some cases, lack of skilled and experienced personnel to perform certain functions is another factor that deteriorates CSOs services. The scarcity of facilities such as roads, telecom services, water and police also constrain CSOs to outreach services in remote areas and thus, most of them are isolated from their constituencies and target groups.

Achieving the financial stability required to implement quality projects and activities, and to serve as catalysts in the development of democratic political culture and to meet the interests of constituents, is the major challenge facing CSOs in Ethiopia. According to Kassahu (2002: 128), most CSOs in Ethiopia depend on donors and governments for financial and material resources deemed essential for carrying out activities. The interview with key informants reveals that dependency of Ethiopian CSOs on foreign fund is due to little or no culture of voluntarism and fear of public to make financial contributions to the works of CSOs.

3.4.4 Lack of public support

From the Figure 5, it is possible to conclude that the lack of public support is another problem of CSOs for the development of democratic political culture of the country. Since development of democratic political culture is a process that needs involvement of various actors, the perception of public towards CSOs engaged in the area fosters or hinders the process.

Democratic culture in Ethiopia is a recent phenomenon, which is related with the coming of FDRE in 1991. However the civil society sector has made significant progress in number and diversity, it is at its early stage, which has been getting little or no support from public in undertaking development of democratic political culture of the country. There are various factors contributed to low level of public support. The first is that majority of Ethiopian people do not clearly know what their rights and responsibilities are and they do not know whether their rights are violated or not. As a result, they do not claim for the realization of their rights. Hence, the opinion of the respondents reveals that most of the people resist programs of CSOs concerned to rights and criticizing government.

Another reason why CSOs have little or no support of their programs is related with recent coming out from imperial and military regimes. Majority of people are not well understood of democratic culture and the roles of CSOs, and expects everything from government. Thus, resists and neglects the programs of CSOs.

In most parts of the country, particularly in rural areas, it is also difficult to access target groups such as women in public meeting and conferences. Promoting gender equality

under such circumstances and getting support from the public is very difficult. Moreover, diversity of languages in the country has created communication problems between CSOs and public.

The aforementioned factors could be potential reasons for CSOs mainly focus on promoting public awareness and participation in the development of democratic political culture of the country.

3.4.5 External and internal influences

In the Figure 5, external and internal influences have also demonstrated as challenges that CSOs faced in discharging their duties. According to Kassahun (2002: 128), most CSOs in Ethiopia depend on governments and donors for financial and material resources deemed essential for carrying out activities. As to him, this dependency makes CSOs indifferent to unpopular measures even when these run counter to their stated objectives. Hellinger (1987: 137) viewed NGOs involvement in joint projects funded by governments as a threat to their independence and long-term survival. Weston (1994: 14) proved that NGOs involved in such a situation failed to distance themselves from economic and social policies with negative bearings on the poor. Thus, CSOs dependency on foreign funds and governments as well as hidden agendas is a threat to CSO's autonomy and accountability to the public.

3.4.6 Lack of clear demarcation

The lack of clear demarcation of activities of CSOs is another challenge illustrated in the Figure 5. This could be possibly due to deficiency of previous laws and regulations

governing CSOs. Thus, depending on circumstances such availability of funds, sensitivity of issues and other factors, CSOs had involved in various activities ranging from complementing development activities to advocacy activities.

3.4.7 Poor institutional establishment

CSOs have also faced problems that may be of their own making. Very few CSOs cultivate internal democracy and some have been accused of embezzling funds. Good management practices demand that obvious key management concepts and principles such as sustainability, accountability, transparency, clarity of objectives, which are necessary for institutionalized formal procedures, are put in place. Thus, CSOs have been accused of lacking transparency and democratic internal procedures, and some even for having hidden agendas.

3.4.8 Lack of awareness about the roles of CSOs and frequent turnover of government officials

As indicated in the Figure 5, few of the respondents stated that lack of awareness about CSOs and frequent turnover of government officials as a challenge. Lack of awareness of government officials especially at lower levels of administration regarded CSOs engagement as a partisan politics, which has to be handled by political parties. The frequent of turnover of government officials at various levels of administration also disrupts communication and continuation of preplanned activities of CSOs.

3.4.9 Government interferences

About 15 percent of respondents in the Figure 5 stated government interference in the activities of CSOs as a challenge for the achievement of their goals. Government sometimes directly or indirectly interferes in activities of some CSOs or it influences their democratization programs. In the other part of the questionnaire, the respondents are asked about instances that the government interferences in activities of CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture of the country. To this end, they are asked to choose between yes and no. They are also requested to describe the areas and extent of interference if their answer is yes. The information taken from the questionnaire filled by 42 respondents is presented in the Figure 6.

Figure 6: Instances Government Interferes CSO's Activities

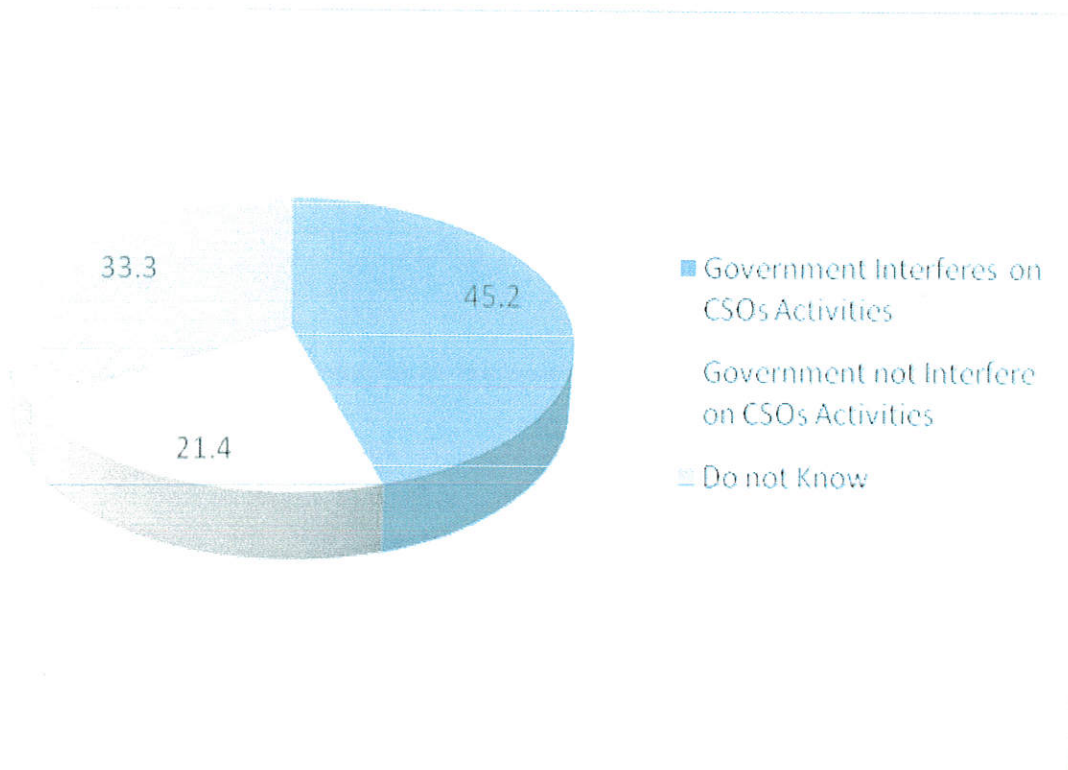
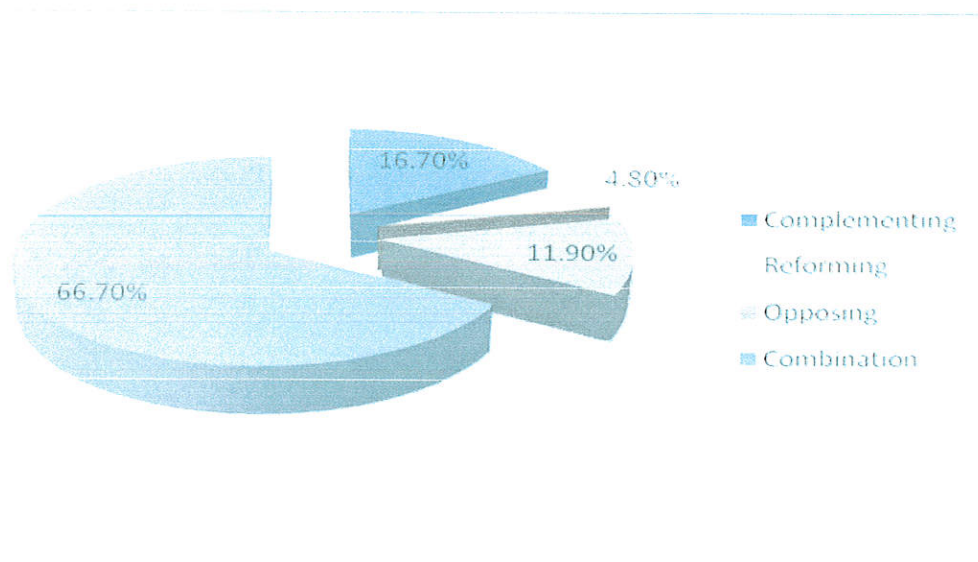


Figure 6 show that 45.2 percent of respondent’s opinion reveals that the government interferes in the activities of CSOs. The common reasons for interferences are misconception of CSOs as supporters of political parties and engagement beyond their mandate. This interference affects CSOs in such a way that they find it difficult to make decisions on critical issues. On the other hand, 21.4 percent of the respondents state that the government did not interfere in the activities of CSOs. The remaining 33.3 percent of them are indifferent.

3.5 The State-CSOs Relationship

In this section, respondents are required to select among the choices that best describe their relationship with government in the area before promulgation of CSP and after that. To this end, a checklist of six options is given to respondents to select from. They are also asked to describe their answers briefly. Their response of checklists on CSOs relation with the state before CSP is presented in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Roles of CSOs in interacting with state before CSP



CSOs are considered as important players in the development process in Ethiopia since the introduction of democracy in 1991. They are also closely involved in working with people at grass-roots level. Thomas (1992: 133), who emphasizes on NGOs, described their aims as to empower ordinary people to take charge of their lives, to make communities more responsible for their development, and to make government listen to their people. Fostering a more pluralistic, institutional structure, including NGOs, is a means to these ends.

Consequently, CSOs are seen as important implementers of development activities as well as contributors to the consolidation of democracy. Hence, they need interaction with state to achieve their objectives. The CSO-State relation can be described in various ways ranging from closely collaborative to antagonism and hostility emerging from the corresponding roles they are playing. Hence, in their relation with the state, CSOs can fulfill three roles: complementing, reforming and/or opposing the state.

As indicated in the Figure 7, about 66.7 percent of CSOs were playing combination of complementing, reforming and/or opposing roles in interaction with the government in the development of democratic political culture of the country. CSOs engaged in complementing the state, in reforming the state and challenging the state accounts to 16.7, 4.8 and 11.9 percent respectively. Hence, it is possible to conclude that only few CSOs are involved in the development of democratic political culture of the country as their primary area of intervention.

After 1991, most CSOs have been complementing the state through providing services and implementing development activities. In this case, CSOs fill the gaps that cannot be

provided by public services especially at grassroots level. They also focus on awareness creation about democratic principles, human rights and democratic rights, constitution, etc.

CSOs are also playing a reforming role where they are as agents of advocacy and contributors to policy dialogue. In this case, CSOs can represent the interests of the people especially marginalized and disadvantaged groups to ensure that policies are based on the concerns of the target groups. EWLA has made significant contribution for the amendment of family law and penal code, which ascertains gender equality.

As Figure 2 illustrates, 11.9 of the respondents see the interaction of their CSOs with the government as of opposing the state. In this case, CSOs are acting as watchdogs and holding the government accountable. Few CSOs, mainly HRCO, EWLA, NEWA are involved in opposing the wrong doings of the government.

The engagement of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture of the country is a comparatively recent development. Mainly due to restrictive and oppressive legal environment, CSOs dominant areas of operation until the beginning of 1990s were relief activities and service delivery. The advocacy organizations started to emerge in 1990s after the Transitional Government of Ethiopia put a more conducive environment in place. According to Dessalegn et al (2008: 80), the number of registered CSOs/NGOs at the federal level with primary objective of promoting good governance, democracy, human rights and peace building stands at 120. There were also about 37 advocacy and human rights organizations registered at regional level and 12 advocacy networks that are operating in different regions.

Despite many CSOs emerged after 1991 with the establishment of permissive environment, their relation with the state could not be concluded as smooth in the entire time. According to Sisay (2002: 13), in September 2001, the Ministry of Justice allegedly accused EWLA for having involved in activities beyond their mandate when they criticized the Ministry in public for not taking measures against persons charged on violation of women's rights. Furthermore, they accused the Ministry for absence of an independent court system. The Ministry closed EWLA's office and banned its work. As to him, the activities of EHRCO, now HRCO was regarded as political issues and considered by the government as an opposition political party.

Wondosen (2009: 84) stated that the active participation of the NGOs/CSOs in the 2005 election, however, caused a very serious conflict between the civil society and the political society in the country. The government has arrested civil society leaders and introduced repressive proclamation. As to him, though the relationship between the government and the civil society from 1991 to 2005 was not smooth, it reached the freezing point during the 2005 election. Many factors deteriorated the relationship between the government and the civil society. The first major factors include:

- (1) the attempt of the government to bar the local CSOs from election observation
- (2) CRDA's press release that condemned the ruling party's hate speech in the pre-election campaigns
- (3) CSOs protest against the emergency law
- (4) CSOs condemnation of the government's handling of the post-election crisis.

Recently, the FDRE has enacted CSP, which reserves advocacy activities only to Ethiopian Charities and Societies. Out of 27 CSOs contacted, only seven organizations are registered as Ethiopian Charities and Societies. The remaining 20 organizations are Ethiopian Residents Charities, Ethiopian Residents Societies, Foreign Charities or Consortiums of Ethiopian Residents Charities and Societies and Foreign Charities which are prohibited from advocacy activities.

3.6 CSOs Engagement beyond their Mandate

For assessing the circumstances under which CSOs are engaged in activities beyond their mandate or not, respondents were asked to choose between yes and no. They are also asked to describe the situation briefly if there are circumstances that they go beyond their mandate. To this end, their response is presented in the Figure 8.

Figure 8: CSOs Engagement beyond their Mandate

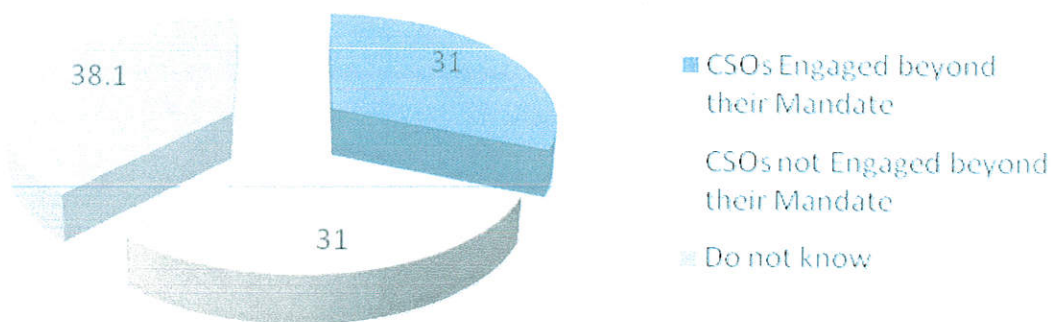
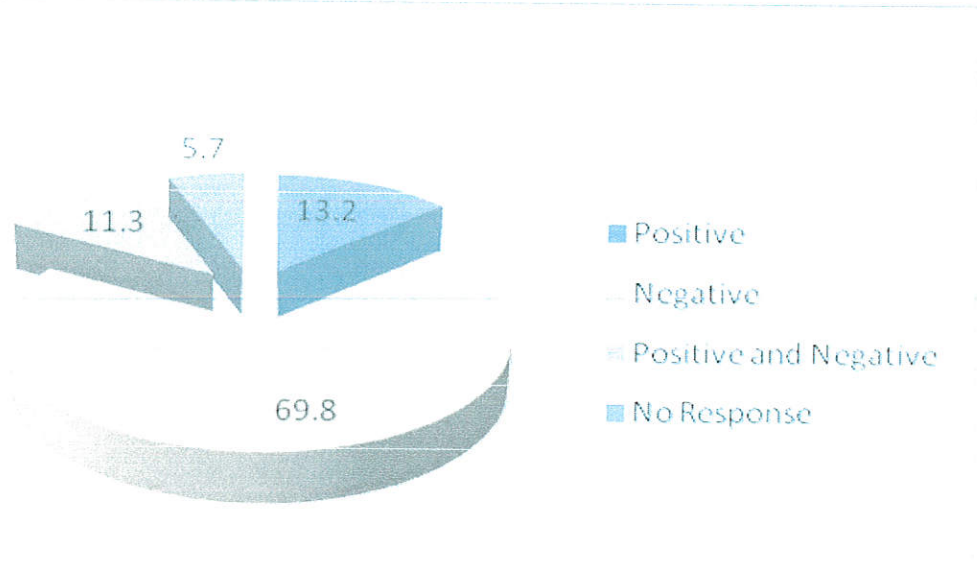


Figure 8 illustrates that those who said yes and those who said no each account to 31 percent. The rest 38 percent are indifferent that their organizations were engaged beyond their mandate or not. Respondents have also explained the circumstances that their CSOs engaged in partisan politics. As stated by them, there are various reasons for the involvement in partisan politics. The reasons include (1) availability of foreign fund in the area; (2) lack of transparency; (3) hidden agendas; (4) factors such as approaching election time; and (5) deficiency of previous laws.

3.7 Potential Impacts of CSP on CSOs

In this session, respondents are requested to choose between the dichotomies of positive and negative with regard to potential impacts of CSP on CSOs operating in Ethiopia. They are also asked to describe the potential impacts briefly. In this regard, the opinion of the respondents is presented in the Figure 9.

Figure 9: Potential Impacts of CSP on CSOs



As the Figure 9 indicates, about 69.8 percent of the respondents view the potential impact of CSP on CSOs operating in Ethiopia as negative and 13.2 percent of them view as positive. 11.3 percent of the respondents also replied as CSP has both negative and positive impacts. The remaining 5.7 percent of respondents did not say anything.

3.7.1 Potential Positive Impacts

The description of respondents' positive view on the potential impact of CSP is summarized into four thematic areas. The result is presented in the Figure 10. Accordingly, independence from foreign fund, effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, mobilizing domestic politics by its own citizens and enhances accountability of CSOs are dominants reasons for anticipating the potential impacts of CSP as positive.

Figure 10: Potential Positive Impacts of CSP on CSOs



1. Independence from foreign fund

There are several encouraging features of CSP for which, CSOs appreciate the government's efforts. CSP allows Charities and Societies to engage in income generating activities. This helps Charities and Societies to strengthen their internal capacity and ensure the sustainability of their activities. The Proclamation also exempts Charities from income tax, which enhances their financial capacity.

2. Mobilizing domestic politics by citizens

The government of Ethiopia has various rationales for the enactment of the Proclamation. Ensuring the rights of citizen outlined in the Constitution including the right to association is one of the reasons. Mobilizing citizens in politics will help to reduce foreign influence in the politics of the country and assure sustainability of democratic development of the country.

3. Effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms

The previous rules and regulations governing CSOs could not create enabling environment for their operations because those rules and regulations were not formulated in such a way to accommodate diversity of CSOs, their operations and unique characteristics. The government's initiative to address these gaps was both timely and eagerly anticipated. Another positive feature of CSP is the establishment of CSA to undertake the registration and supervision of CSOs. CSP also incorporates specific provisions for different types of CSOs.

One of the difficulties encountered under the previous rules and regulations was the lack of a provision for the legal status of CSO consortia. In this regard, CSP provides the establishment of such a consortium of Charities and Societies.

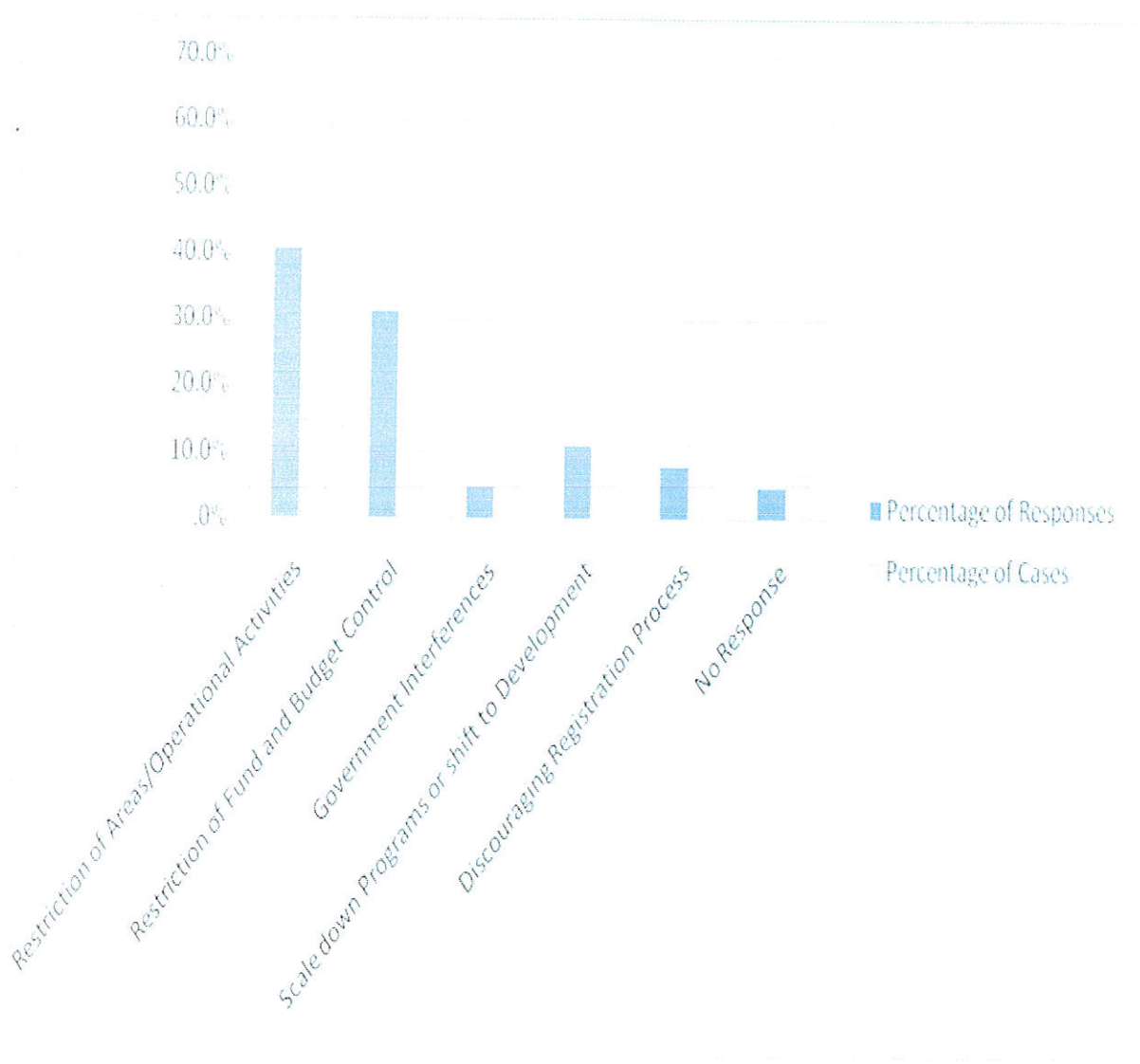
4. Enhances accountability of CSOs

Ethiopian government argued that CSP would help the institutions to become efficient, and avoid their shortcomings and ethical problems in the area. The Ethiopian government stressed that it drafted the law to promote financial transparency among CSOs and increase their accountability to the stakeholders.

3.7.2 Potential Negative Impacts of CSP

The opinion collected from the respondents reveals CSP would entail a far reaching negative consequences both on the existence and growth of CSOs and on the benefits they bring to the Ethiopian society at large. The data collected from the respondents is presented in the Figure 11.

Figure 11: Potential Negative Impacts of CSP



1. Restriction of areas/operational activities

CSP excludes, Foreign Charities as well as Ethiopian Residents Charities and Societies from rights-based and advocacy work. The implications of this provision could potentially restrict CSOs from undertaking rights-based and advocacy-related work, as most of these activities are foreign funded.

Most CSOs will not be able to continue their interventions in mobilizing and empowering different sections of society to engage in governance and human rights issues. This will result in reduced participation of citizens. In other words, charities and societies seeking to pursue these purposes cannot receive foreign funding that amounts to more than 10 percent of their overall income. This diminished citizen's participation in governance will, in turn, lead to less pluralism, democracy and respect for human rights in the country.

2. Restriction of foreign funding

The CSP retains a ten percent threshold on foreign funding, as a basis for defining Ethiopian Charities and Societies, as being distinct from other categories of CSOs that receive more than 10 percent of their income from foreign sources, such as Ethiopian Residents Charities and Societies and Foreign Charities and Societies. The implication of this provision could limit the work of foreign-funded CSOs to largely service delivery activities, and constrain the few domestic CSOs who wish to continue to work on human rights and governance issues. The foreign funding restrictions force the closure of many organizations, especially human rights organizations. This is of particular concern in Ethiopia where local sources of financing are limited and CSOs are often dependent on foreign funding. As with the interview of HRCO, the Council has closed eight offices and reduced around 50 employees. EWLA has also reduced around 47 employees due lack of finance.

3. Government interferences

CSP permits excessive governmental interference in the functioning of CSOs, jeopardizing their autonomy. Such independence is a key feature of civil society and integral to its ability to contribute meaningfully to public debates. CSP seeks to keep CSOs under perpetual observation, by requiring them to give the government seven days prior to notice before holding any general assembly meeting. It also retains the final authority to deny registration to and dissolve Foreign Charities and those of Ethiopian Residents, as these CSOs have no right of appeal under the Proclamation. In addition, the CSA has the authority to:

- Seize and reallocate assets and resources of CSOs
- Convene meetings and nominate chairpersons of Societies' General Assembly
- Institute inquiries into the internal affairs of CSOs
- Suspend officers and operations of CSOs

4. CSOs scale down their programs or shift to development

Given the lack of fundraising opportunities inside Ethiopia, most organizations rely on foreign sources of funding. Therefore, by cutting off the sources of funding for local Ethiopian CSOs, CSP would result in the closing down of many organizations or shift their programs to development. It will reduce the size of the sector, since many advocacy CSOs/NGOs will be forced to cease their operation and many of the development CSOs/NGOs (employing the rights-based approach) will be forced to terminate the advocacy/governance component of their intervention. Thus, organizations such as

CDHRA, Civic and Voter's Education Association in Ethiopia (CVEAE), OSJE have terminated the advocacy activities and shifted to development.

Table 7: Charities and Societies Registered from September 2009 to 13 February 2010.

No	Charities and Societies	Re-registered	New	Total
1	Foreign Charities	221	4	225
2	Adoption	62	-	62
3	Ethiopian Residents Charities	1013	17	1030
4	Ethiopian Residents Societies	39	-	39
5	Ethiopian Charities	97	1	98
6	Societies	183	19	202
Total		1615	41	1656

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter has three sections. The first section summarizes the whole research. The second section presents the conclusion of the research and the last section suggest potential recommendations to enhance CSO contributions to the development of democratic political culture of the country.

4.1 Summary

The main objective of the study was to assess the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia. In achieving this objective, the study attempts to answer the following basic questions.

1. Do CSOs have a historical role in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia?
2. What is the contribution of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopian communities?
3. What are the challenges faced by CSOs in discharging their duties and responsibilities?
4. Are CSOs playing the roles they supposed to play in promoting democratic political culture?
5. What does the relationship of CSOs with government look like before and after enactment of Charities and Societies Proclamation no. 621/2008?

6. What are potential impacts of Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 on CSOs operating in Ethiopia?

Descriptive research was used for the purpose of the study. The methods employed by the researcher were conducting survey studies. The researcher, purposively selected Twenty-seven CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture. To collect the necessary information questionnaire, interview, review of documents and SWOT analysis were employed. The findings of the study are summarized as follow.

1. Historical Roles of CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture

Before 1991, the concept of democratic political culture was not familiar in the country. It is a recent phenomena related with coming of FDRE in power. In this regard, 66.7 percent of respondents perceive the development of democratic political culture of the country as good or fair. The remaining 33.3 percent of the respondents see it as little or very little. Thus, the opinion of the respondents reveals that there is considerable improvement in the area since the coming of FDRE in 1991. The improvement can be manifested by various measures government has taken to promote development of democratic political culture. These measures inter alia include:

- Adoption of the FDRE Constitution that establishes a multi-party parliamentary system of government, assures freedom of association and expression, and recognizes most of the human rights elaborated under international law
- Ratifying a number of international human rights instruments
- Reforming domestic laws to harmonize with international human rights standards

- Emphasizes good governance in different policies and programs such as the PASDEP
- Established democratic institutions such Human Rights Commission, Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission and Ombudsman
- Amended existing laws and adopted of new laws

The historical role and extent of participation of CSOs was also limited to service delivery until 1991. Since permissive legal and policy environment was put in place by transitional government, CSO's engagement was extended to governance, advocacy and human rights. In this regard, 73.7 percent of the respondents perceive the extent of CSOs participation in the development of democratic political culture of the country as minimum. In line with this, 76 percent of the respondents believe that the historical role of CSOs in the area is minimal.

2. CSO Contributions to the Development of Democratic Political Culture

Democratic political culture of the country can be developed through participation of different actors: the state, CSOs and Society. Thus, CSO contributions to the development of democratic political culture of the country could not be undermined. The major CSO contributions are summarized as follow.

a. Promotion of public awareness and participation

46.7 percent of the responses show that CSOs directly or indirectly undertake awareness raising and public participation initiatives. The thematic areas on which CSOs

intervention include right issues, democracy and governance, corruption, voter education, pastoralist issues, access to justice, etc. Apart from raising public awareness, CSOs have been promoting participation of citizens in governance, democracy, human rights and peace building. This can be achieved through mobilizing and empowering grassroots, religious, community and mass based organizations.

b. Contributions to increased capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions

9.8 percent of the responses indicate that building capacity and increasing efficiency of democratic institutions is one of CSOs area of intervention. They enhance capacity and efficiency of democratic institutions through training, workshops, experience sharing forums, joint planning and implementation activities, and other support interventions.

c. Promoting fair and democratic election

10.8 percent of the responses show that CSOs have engaged in election process in various forms. CSOs in Ethiopia have played considerable role for the first time during the 2005 election. They have involved in election monitoring, conducting civic education programs, and organizing debates and forums among contending parties. This has initiated and sensitized public to participate actively in the election. In this case, CSOs have contributed towards fair and democratic elections.

d. Monitoring democratic process, rule of law and violations of rights

For 9.8 percent of the respondents their organizations have engaged in monitoring democratic processes, rule of law and violations of rights. HRCO and EWLA are the

leading organization in Ethiopia to monitor, publicize and reports human rights violations, and fight for the people to full realization of rights under the Constitution.

e. Contribution to improved policies, laws, and programs

CSOs have been also contributing for improved policies, laws and programs through various ways. They address the questions of marginalized and voiceless groups, which are often excluded from the decision-making processes. They engage in awareness raising and advocacy work that aims at bringing about changes or revisions in public policies, laws, and decision-making structures.

f. Contribution to increased access to justice

CSOs have also engaged in enhancing people for increased access to justice. CSOs provide legal aid services. EWLA provides services such as legal advice or counseling, writing court briefs such as court charges and affidavits as well as representing clients in courts.

g. Complementing the role of the government in democratization process

CSOs assist the government by filling the gaps where it is short. They also identify social problems, which have not been detected or addressed by the government.

h. Challenging the State

CSOs also challenge plans, policies, programs, actions or inactions of the government. These have negative impact on the lives of the poor and would deprive their constitutional rights.

i. Conflict resolution and peace building

CSOs directly or indirectly take part in conflict resolution and peace building of the country. CSOs use various methods such training traditional and modern methods of resolving conflicts and promoting peace and stability.

Recently Ethiopia has enacted CSP, which reserves advocacy and right based activities only to Ethiopian Charities and Societies. Ethiopian Residents Charities or Societies, and Foreign Charities are prohibited from undertaking such activities.

3. Challenges faced by CSOs in the Development of Democratic Political Culture

CSOs have faced various challenges in the achievement of their objectives towards development of democratic political culture of the country. These factors have implications on their autonomy and effectiveness of programs. The major challenges of CSOs are summarized as follow.

a. Misconception of the government

For 9 percent of the respondents, activities and programs of CSOs are regarded by the government as a political activity. This misconception arises due to lack of experience in democratization process, low level of awareness about rights and roles of CSOs and lack of self-confidence among government officials.

b. Policy environment

For 60 percent of respondents, the policy environment of Ethiopia towards CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture is restrictive, centralized, discriminatory and non-conducive.

c. Lack of resources

42 percent of the respondents stated that lack of resources primarily finance is another critical challenge for CSOs in the achievement of their goals. CSOs are dependent on foreign funds. This is mainly due to little or no culture of voluntarism and fear of public to make financial contributions to the works of CSOs.

d. Lack of public support

For 20 percent of the respondents little or no support from public is another critical challenge. This is due to illiteracy, lack of experience and unable to access target groups.

e. External and internal influences

Dependency of Ethiopian CSOs on foreign funds and government makes indifferent to unpopular measures. Few CSOs have also hidden agendas.

f. Lack of clear demarcation

The lack of clear demarcation of activities of CSOs is another challenge. This could be possibly due to deficiency of previous laws and regulations governing CSOs.

g. Poor institutional establishment

CSOs have also faced problems of sustainability, accountability, transparency and clarity of objectives. Thus, CSOs have been accused of lacking transparency and democratic internal procedures, and some even for having hidden agendas.

h. Lack of awareness about roles of CSOs and frequent turnover of government officials

Lack of awareness of government officials about roles of CSOs especially at lower levels of administration is critical. The frequent turnover of government officials at various levels of administration also disrupts communication and continuation of preplanned activities of CSOs.

i. Government interferences

For 15 percent of respondents, government interference in the activities of CSOs is also another challenge.

4. The State-CSOs Relationship

CSOs are important implementers of development activities as well as contributors to the consolidation of democracy. The CSO-state relation can be described in various ways ranging from closely collaborative to antagonism and hostility emerging from the corresponding roles they are playing.

Expansion and engagement of CSOs in advocacy activities is related with coming of FDRE in power. Despite this, CSO-state relation was not smooth. According to

Wondwosen (2009: 84), the relationship between government and civil society reached freezing point during the 2005 election.

With enactment of CSP, Ethiopian Residents Charities or Societies, Foreign Charities or Consortiums of Ethiopian Residents Charities and Societies and Foreign Charities are prohibited from advocacy activities. Thus, the interaction between the aforementioned organizations and government in the areas of advocacy and right based activities is none.

5. CSOs Engagement in Partisan Politics

For 31 percent of the respondents, there were instances that CSOs engaged in activities beyond their mandate. There are various reasons to be engaged in political activities. These include (1) availability of foreign fund in the area; (2) lack of transparency; (3) hidden agendas; (4) factors such as approaching election time; and (5) deficiency of previous laws.

6. Potential Impacts of CSP on CSOs

For 69.8 percent of the respondents, the potential impact of CSP on CSOs working in Ethiopia is negative. Those that view CSP impact as positive accounts for 13.2 percent. 11.3 percent of the respondents also replied as CSP has negative and positive impacts.

The opinion collected from the respondents reveals CSP would entail far-reaching negative consequences on both the existence and growth of CSOs. It has also implications on the benefits CSOs bring to the Ethiopian society. The potential negative consequences are summarized as follow.

a. Restriction of areas/operational activities

The CSP excludes Foreign Charities as well as Ethiopian Residents Charities or Societies from rights-based and advocacy works.

b. Restriction of foreign funding

The CSP retains a ten percent threshold on foreign funding, as a basis for defining Ethiopian Charities and Societies. This could limit the work of foreign-funded CSOs to service delivery activities, and constrain the few domestic CSOs who wish to continue to work on human rights and governance issues.

c. Government interferences

CSP permits excessive governmental interference in the functioning of CSOs. This has implication on their autonomy and effectiveness.

d. CSOs scale down their programs or shift to development

Due to shortage of fund, many CSOs have scale down programs, closed offices or shift their programs to development.

In spite of the concerns of the CSOs over a number of the provisions in CSP, they also noted that it has several encouraging features. These positive features are summarized as follow.

a. Independence from foreign fund

b. Mobilizing domestic politics by citizens

c. Effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms

d. Enhances accountability of CSOs

4.2 Conclusions

In light of the findings of the study the following conclusions are drawn.

1. CSOs in Ethiopia have spent considerable time in relief works and service provisioning. During the Imperial and the Derg regimes, the legal and political conditions were not conducive for CSOs engagement in the development of democratic political culture. However, protest groups such as the Ethiopian Students Movement have played critical role in resisting the Imperial regime in 1950s and 1960s, CSOs involvement in governance, advocacy and human rights was prohibited until 1991. Despite the struggle for democratic political culture is related to the Ethiopian Students Movement in 1950s, the CSOs role in the area has been legally recognized with the coming of FDRE in power.
2. Since 1991, CSOs whose functions are to enhance public awareness, to initiate pro-poor policies, to contribute to increased access to justice and pro-poor policies, to protect constitutional rights, to promote effective participation in social, economic and political aspects of the country are increasing. Their engagement mainly focuses on promoting public awareness and participation. Thus, the contribution of CSOs to the development of democratic political culture of the country is insignificant.

3. CSOs involved in the development of democratic political culture face several challenges. These include misconception by the government, policy environment, lack of resources, lack of public support, internal and external influences, absence of clear demarcation, poor institutional arrangements, lack of awareness about the roles of CSOs and frequent turnover of government officials, and government interferences. These challenges are mainly from government. This is one of the reasons for the existence of limited number of CSOs undertaking the program.
4. According to Ottaway (2005: 130-131), the relationships between the state and the civil society in developing countries are very complex than the situation in industrial countries. In developing countries, many governments see CSOs as dangerous enemies to be tightly controlled. Wondwosen (2009: 84) who studied Civil Society and Democratization in Africa addressed the state-CSOs relations in Ethiopia. As to him, the relationship between the ruling party and civil society from 1991 to 2005 was not smooth. It reached a freezing point during the 2005 election. Thus, the CSO-state relation in the development of democratic political culture of the country is not smooth. It reached its extreme point with enactment of CSP in 13 February 2009. The relationship of the state with Ethiopian Residents Charities or Societies and Foreign Charities, which were leading role players in the area, gets in to none.
5. The legal framework that assures involvement of CSOs in the development of democratic political in Ethiopia has been set with the adoption of FDRE Constitution in 1995. Due to infancy, it has been facing various shortcomings and ethical problems. There were CSOs engaged in partisan politics especially during

the 2005 election. Thus, there were instances that CSOs were engaged in partisan politics.

6. However it is too early to say the extent to which CSP affects CSOs in Ethiopia, it is possible to anticipate potential negative impacts and positive impacts. These potential negative impacts include restriction of areas of engagement, restriction on foreign fund, arbitrary government interferences. Despite these concerns, CSP has several encouraging features. The CSP allows CSOs to engage in income generating activities, mobilizes citizens to politics, establishes specific agency to undertake registration and supervision of CSOs and enhances CSO's accountability. Thus, the immediate effect of CSP on CSOs could be negative as few CSOs interrupted their programs due to lack of fund. On the other hand, the long-term effect could be positive as it enhances resource mobilization and voluntarism.

4.3 Recommendations

Taking in to considerations of the findings obtained and conclusions drawn, the following recommendations are suggested:

1. A major challenge of most CSOs is dependency on donors for financial and material resources deemed essential for carrying out their activities. Overcoming this challenge will require the government and society to recognize the important role of CSOs. The government must realize the role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture. It should also establish various types of incentives. Citizens have also take part in the activities of CSOs through participation and

contribution. They should develop culture of voluntarism and financing CSOs. CSOs on the other hand should institutionalize formal procedures, which enhance sustainability, accountability and transparency. This will improve internal democratic culture, which subsequently makes appropriate disbursement of funds.

2. CSOs play important role in the development of democratic political culture of the country. Their role in the revision of discriminatory laws such family law and penal code was remarkable. Despite this, government hardly recognizes as partners in consolidating democratic culture. Thus, CSOs need to create stronger advocacy campaigns and build strategic partnership with government.
3. CSP retains a ten percent threshold on foreign funding, as a basis for defining Ethiopian Charities and Societies to involve in right based and advocacy activities. It also provides one year for CSOs to adopt themselves with the CSP. Restriction of foreign funds along with little public support for CSO's work will be bottleneck for viability and sustainability of CSOs in the near term. Because of the scarcity of resources and the ongoing struggle for operating funds, some CSOs working in the area of rights and democracy are forced to freeze their programs. To maintain the continuity of the programs of CSOs in the area, the Proclamation should give time to harmonize CSOs with the new law.
4. Repeated studies have shown that the activities of most CSOs in Ethiopia are dependent on funds from donors and governments. This has implication on CSO's autonomy and effectiveness. To meet the concerns of their target groups and their

constituencies, CSOs need to have its own viable source of income. To this end, they need to harmonize themselves with CSP as fast as possible.

5. Even though CSOs complained about lack of enabling environment to realize the development of democratic political culture of the country, they also have significant weaknesses that hinder the development in the area. They lack a clear sense of identity; they are loose collection of groups that lack defined common objectives; they could not create strong alliance among themselves; and they are replicating programs of another CSO. Thus, CSOs need to work on these setbacks to achieve their goals.

6. Since 1991, CSOs have made historical progress towards the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia. Their intervention in various areas especially in promoting public awareness and participation is considerable achievement. Despite this, development of democratic political culture needs tolerance and compromise, which are missing among majority of the public. Thus, CSOs needs to shift their focus from awareness raising to internalizing principles such as tolerance and compromise.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Asamoah, Y 2003. 'NGOs, Social Development and Sustainability'. Foreign Aid Rating.

Available at:

[http://www.foreignaid.com/thinktank/articles/NGOsAndSocialDevelopment.ht](http://www.foreignaid.com/thinktank/articles/NGOsAndSocialDevelopment.html)

ml. Accessed on 5 February 2010.

Asian Development Bank. 'Cooperation Between the ADB and NGOs'. Available at:

[http://www.adb.org/Documents/Policies/Cooperation_with_NGOs/ngo_sector.a](http://www.adb.org/Documents/Policies/Cooperation_with_NGOs/ngo_sector.asp?p=coopngos)

sp?p=coopngos. Accessed on 30 January 2010.

Bergdall, T. (n.d) *Civil Society Strengthening in Africa*, MAP Consultations.

Booth, J and Seligson M 1994. Paths of Democracy and Political Culture of Costa Rica,

Mexico, and Nicaragua. In L. Diamond (Eds), *Political Culture and Democracy*

in Developing Countries. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Bratton, M 1989. Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa. *World*

Politics, 41(3): 407-430.

Bratton, M 1994. Civil Society and Political Transition in Africa. *IDR Reports*, 11(06): 1-

21.

British Overseas Development Administration 1993. *Taking account of good*

government. London: Overseas Development Administration.

Buturo, J. 'NGOs, Democracy and Sustainable Development in Africa'. Available at:
[http://www.un-
ngls.org/orf/documents/publications.en/voices.africa/number5/vfa5.06.htm](http://www.un-ngls.org/orf/documents/publications.en/voices.africa/number5/vfa5.06.htm).
Accessed on 5 February 2010.

Carter Center. *Observing the 2005 Ethiopia National Elections, Carter Center, Final Report, December 2009.*

Chazan, N 1992. Africa's democratic challenge. *World Policy Journal*, 9(2).

Clark, J 1991. *Democratizing Development: The Role of Voluntary Organizations*. West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press.

Commission of the European Communities 2001. *European Governance*. White paper, COM, 428 final, Brussels, 25.7.2001.

Commonwealth Foundation 1995. *Non-Governmental Organizations: Guidelines for Good Policy and Practice*. London.

Costantinos, BT 2001. *Foundations, development and potential of Civil Society in Africa: an Assessment and Strategic Perspective*, Volume I, A Theoretical Construct, Report prepared as part of the Assessment of Lessons Learned for Popular Participation in Political Consensus Building and the Current State and Potential of CSOs in Africa: Foundations of new Strategies and approaches.

Costantinos, BT 2007. *Post Conflict Capacity Development and Governance – building political rules and institutions*. Conference on engaging fragile states:

challenges and opportunities, July 24-25, 2007, Co-hosted by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, the United Nations ECA, and the Independent Evaluation Group of the World Bank.

CRDA 2006. *Assessment of the Operating Environment for CSO/NGOs in Ethiopia*.

CRDA 2006. *NGO Establishment and Operation in Ethiopia*.

Department for International Development. *Civil Society Policy for DFID Nigeria*, Draft 1, November 2001.

Dessalegn Rahmato 2002. Civil Society Organizations in Ethiopia. In Bahru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang (Eds), *Ethiopia: The Challenge of Democracy from Below*. Nordiska Afrikainstitute and Forum for Social Studies.

Dessalegn Rahmato, Akalewold Bantirgu, Yoseph Endeshaw 2008. *CSOs/NGOs in Ethiopia: Partners in Development and Good Governance*. A Report Prepared for the Ad Hoc CSO/NGO Task Force.

Diamond, L 1994. Rethinking civil society: toward democratic consolidation. *Journal of Democracy* 5(3), 4–17.

Diamond, L, Marc P, Yuan-han C and Hung M 1997. *Is the Third Wave of Democratization Over? The Imperative of Consolidation*, Working paper 237, March 1997.

- Edwards, M and Hulme, D 1996. Too close for comfort? The impact of official aid on nongovernmental organizations. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 1(1): 6-28.
- Ezeoha, A 2006. Can NGOs Aid Good Governance and Sustainable Development in Africa? Some Theoretical Insights. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 8(3): 128-147.
- Fowler, A 1991. The role of NGOs in changing state-society relations: Perspectives from Eastern and Southern Africa. *Development Policy Review*, 9(1), 53-84.
- Gross, P 2002. Media and political society in Eastern Europe, in *Mass Media and Democratization in Eastern Europe*, Media Development 1, WACC, 2002.
- Hadenius, A and Ugglä, F 1996. Civil Society Work Promoting Democratic Development: What States and Donors Can Do. *World Development* 24 (10): 1621-1639.
- Hellinger, D 1987. NGOs and the Large Aid Donors: Changing the terms of Engagement. *World Development*, Vol.15, PP. 135-143.
- Holloway R, 1998. *Establishing and Running an Advocacy NGO*, A Hand Book.
- House of Peoples' Representatives. *Negarit Gazeta List from 1994-2009*.
- Justice For All and Prison Fellowship-Ethiopia. *Past Achievements of JFA PFE from 2005-2009*.

- Kajese, K 1990. *African NGO Decolonization: A Critical Choice for the 1990s*. Critical Choices for the NGO Community: African Development in the 1990s, CAS, University of Edinburgh.
- Kassahun Berhanu 2002. The Role of NGOs in Promoting Democratic Values: The Ethiopian Experience. In Bahiru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang (Eds), *Ethiopia: The Challenge of Democracy from Below*. Nordiska Afrikainstitute and Forum for Social Studies.
- Keenywe, M, Percy, F, Mageka, O and Sheik Adan, M 1998. *NGO Roles and Relationships: Partnership Dilemmas for International and Local NGOs (in Kenya)*. NGOs File Series no. 3. September 1998.
- Keller, J 1997. *Political Institutions, Agency, and Contingent Compromise: Understanding Democratic Consolidation and Reversal in Africa*. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Korten, D 1990. *Getting to the 21st century: Voluntary action and the global agenda*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.
- London School of Economics and Political Science. 'Civil Society'. Available at: http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/what_is_civil_society.htm. Accessed on 14 May 2010.
- Lukham, R, Goetz, A M and Kaldor M 2003. Democratic Institutions and Democratic Politics. In S Bastian and R Lukham (Eds), *Can Democracy be Designed?: The*

Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-torn Societies. London and New York: Zed Books.

Manji, F and O’Coill, C 2002. The missionary position: NGOs and development in Africa. *International Affairs*, 78(3): 567-583.

Muchena, T 2004. ‘NGOs Have a Critical Role to Play in Development’. *Global Policy Focus*, August.

National Electoral Board of Ethiopia 1996. 1995 Parliamentary Election Report.

National Electoral Board of Ethiopia 2000. 2000 Parliamentary Election Report.

National Electoral Board of Ethiopia 2005. 2005 Parliamentary Election Report.

National Electoral Board of Ethiopia. ‘2010 Election’. Available at:

<http://www.electionethiopia.org/en/home.html>. Accessed on 18 May 2010.

Ngos.net. ‘Non-Governmental Organization’. Available at:

<http://www.ngos.net/ngos/ngoinfo/define.html>. Accessed on 28 January 2010.

Non Profit Expert.com. ‘NGOs – Non-Governmental Organizations’. Available at:

<http://www.nonprofitexpert.com/ngo.htm>. Accessed on 30 January 2010.

Nzimakwe, T 2008. South Africa’s NGOs and the quest for development. *International NGO Journal* Vol. 3 (5): 090-097.

Paletz, D and Lipinski, D 1994. *Political culture and political communication*. Working Paper No. 92. Barcelona.

Peace Crops 2003. *NGO Training Guide for Peace Corps Volunteers*. Information Collection and Exchange Publication No. M0070.

Proclamation on Charities and Societies 2009. (Federal Negarit Gazeta). Addis Ababa: Ethiopia.

Proclamation on Charities and Societies 2009. (Negarit Gazeta). Addis Ababa Ethiopia.

Riddell, Roger, C, Robinson, Mark, Coninck, J, Muir, Ann and Sarah, W 1995. *Non-Governmental Organizations and Rural Poverty Alleviation*, Overseas Development Institute, London Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Robison, M and Friedman, S 2005. *Civil society, democratization and foreign aid in Africa*, IDS Discussion Paper 383, April 2005.

Seligson, M and Booth, J 1993. Political Culture and Regime Type: Evidence from Nicaragua and Costa Rica. *The Journal of Politics*, 55(3): 777-792.

Silkin, T, Sinclair, M, Akelewold, B and Getinet, A 2005. *Review of Donors Engagement with Civil Society in Ethiopia*. Final Report.

Sisay Gebre-Egziabher 2002. The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Democratization Process in Ethiopia. Paper Presented at the Fifth International Conference of the International Society for the Third-Sector Research (ISTR), Transforming Civil Society, Citizenship and Governance: The Third Sector in an Era of Global (Dis) Order. July 7-10, 2002 at University Of Cape Town Cape Town, South Africa.

Stephen, N 1996. *The Two Faces of Civil Society: NGOs and Politics in Africa*, West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press Inc.

Thomas, A 1992. Non-Governmental Organizations and the limits to empowerment. In M. Wuyts, M. Mackintosh and T. Hewitt (Eds), *Development Policy and Public Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wikipedia. 'Civil Society'. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_society. Accessed on 14 May 2010.

Wikipedia. 'Non-Governmental Organizations'. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non_governmental_organizations. Accessed on 24 December 2009.

Wondwosen Teshome 2009. Civil Society and Democratization in Africa: The Role of the Civil Society in the 2005 Election in Ethiopia. *International Journal of Social Science*, 4(2), pp. 80-95.

World Bank 1994. *Governance: The World Bank's experience*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank 1997. International Center for Not-for-profit Law, 1997. *Handbook on Good Practices Relating to Non-Governmental Organizations*, Washington.

World Bank 2003. *Sustainable Development in a Dynamic World: Transforming Institutions, Growth, and Quality of Life*. The World Bank Development Report, Washington D.C.

World Bank Operational Directive 14.70. 'Involving Nongovernmental Organizations in World Bank-Supported Activities'. Available at: <http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/wb-ngo-directive.html>. Accessed on 28 January 2010.

World Bank. 'NGO World Bank Collaboration'. Available at: http://www.gmfield.info/Assets/8/20040506104105_10-3-36-111.pdf. Accessed on 3 February 2010.

Appendices

Appendix I

Assessment of the Role of CSOs in the Development of a Democratic Political Culture in Ethiopia

Masters of Public Administration, School of Graduate Studies,
Department of Public Administration and Development Management, Faculty of
Business and Economics, Addis Ababa University

Dear respondent,

My name is Shibabaw Belew and I am Masters of Public Administration (MPA) student in the department of Public Administration and Development Management at Addis Ababa University under supervision of Dr BT Costantinos. I am kindly requesting you to contribute your part in the research by providing requested information in the questionnaire. Your response will be kept confidential.

My MPA thesis is entitled as '*Assessment of the Role of CSOs in the Development of a Democratic Political Culture in Ethiopia*'. Specifically it focuses on two issues: Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and democratic political culture.

An integral part of the research is to assess the role CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia and impact of Charities and Societies Proclamation No 621/2009 on CSOs. I want to thank the respondent in advance for cooperation. Please, feel free to contact on 0911 505109 or at shibabawmob@yahoo.com.

Yours Sincerely,

Shibabaw Belew

Questionnaire

For each of the following questions you are kindly requested to provide short, precise and appropriate answer. When responding to the questions, please be specific to the CSOs concerned to you. I would like to promise you that all your information would be kept confidential and used only for the purpose of this study.

1. Position of the respondent: _____

2. Respondent's work experience

a. 0-2 years b. 3-5 years c. 6-10 years d. above 10 years

3. Respondent's educational qualification

a. 10th or 12th grade b. Diploma c. BA/BSC d. MA/PhD
e. Other _____

4. What do you know about Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Democratic Political Culture?

a. Very Little b. Little c. Fair d. Good e. Very Good

5. How is the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia?

a. Very Little b. Little c. Fair d. Good e. Very Good

6. How is the historical contribution/role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia?

a. Null b. Very Little c. Little d. Fair e. Good f. Very Good

7. To what extent have CSOs participated in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia since their involvement?

a. Very Little b. Little c. Fair d. Good e. Very Good

8. What were the contribution/role of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia before promulgation of Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009?

9. What are the contributions/roles of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia after promulgation of Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009?

10. Is there any instance CSOs has challenged the government in the development of democratic political culture when the government is doing wrong?

a. Yes	b. No
--------	-------

If your answer is yes, please indicate the occurrence and explain the situation?

If your answer is no, please indicate why CSOs prefer not to challenge the government while it is doing wrong?

11. What are the strategies/approaches that CSOs are using in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia?

12. What are the major achievements of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia?

13. What did the relationship between CSOs and government with reference to the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia look like before promulgation of Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009?

a. Complementing	b. Reforming	c. Opposing
d. combinations of a, b and/or c	e. Neither	f. Other _____

Please, describe the answer briefly.

14. What does the relationship between CSOs and government with reference to the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia look like after promulgation of Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009?

a. Complementing	b. Reforming	c. Opposing
d. combinations of a, b and/or c	e. Neither	f. Other _____

Please, describe the answer briefly.

15. How do you see the environment of Ethiopia towards CSOs working in the development of democratic political culture?

a. Encouraging	b. Discouraging	c. Neither of both
----------------	-----------------	--------------------

16. How is the transparency of the government and CSOs with regard to their activities?

a. Very Poor	b. Poor	c. Fair	d. Good	e. Very Good
--------------	---------	---------	---------	--------------

17. How do you see the effect/impact of Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 on CSOs operating in Ethiopia?

a. Positive	b. Negative
-------------	-------------

Please, describe the answer briefly.

18. What portion of CSOs is working in the development of democratic political culture of the country?

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|---------|----------------|
| a. Very Little | b. Little | c. Fair | d. Significant |
|----------------|-----------|---------|----------------|

Please, describe your answer why so.

19. Is there any instance that the government interferences in the works on CSOs engaged in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia?

- | | |
|--------|-------|
| a. Yes | b. No |
|--------|-------|

If the answer is yes, please describe the areas and extent of interference.

20. Does the government have doubt on the activities of CSOs that are engaged in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia?

- | | | |
|--------|-------|----------------|
| a. Yes | b. No | c. Indifferent |
|--------|-------|----------------|

If your answer is yes, please state your reasons.

21. Is there any circumstance that CSOs are engaged in activities beyond their mandate?

a. Yes	b. No
--------	-------

If your answer is yes, please describe the situation briefly.

22. CSOs working in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia have done their best so far especially in promoting pluralism of political institutions.

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

Please, explain the reasons for your answer briefly.

23. What are strengths and weaknesses of CSOs in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia? Please, state strengths and weaknesses briefly.

Strengths

Weaknesses

24. What are the challenges CSOs faced while discharging their duty in the development of democratic political culture in Ethiopia? Please, state the challenges briefly.

25. In terms of developing democratic political culture, the government of Ethiopia is in the right track.

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

Please, explain the reasons for your answer briefly.

Thank You!

Appendix II

Discussion Questions

1. How is the development of a democratic political culture in Ethiopia?
2. How is the contribution of CSOs in the development of a democratic political culture in Ethiopia? *(as per CSOs potential to contribute and contributions as compared to other countries, typically Africa)*
3. What are the major achievements of CSOs in the development of a democratic political culture in Ethiopia? *(in terms of institutions and rules/law)*
4. How do you see the environment of Ethiopia towards CSOs working in the development of a democratic political culture?
5. How do you see the effect/impact of Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 on CSOs operating in Ethiopia?
6. What portion of CSOs is working in the development of a democratic political culture of the country?
7. What are strengths and weaknesses of CSOs in the development of a democratic political culture in Ethiopia?
8. What are the challenges CSOs faced while discharging their duty in the development of a democratic political culture in Ethiopia? Please, state the challenges briefly.
9. In terms of developing a democratic political culture, the government of Ethiopia is in the right track.


DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all the sources of materials used for the thesis have been acknowledged.

Declared By:

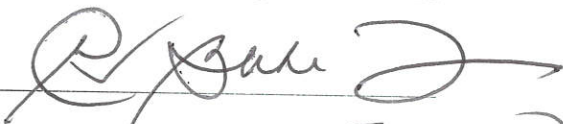
Name: Shibabaw Belew

Date: June 24, 2010

Signature: 

Confirmed by Advisor:

Name: BT Costantines

Date: 

Signature: June 20 2010

Place and date of submission: _____