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Deepening Democracy through Political Actors'
Empowerment in Ethiopia

(A research report submitted to Global Research Network on Parliaments and People)

Hosted by Ethiopian Management Institute

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Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AACA	Addis Ababa City Administration
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
KII	Key Informant Interview

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Abstract

This research project aims at assessing the perception, role and barriers in relation to deepening democracy in Ethiopia. The study addresses four basic research questions: (i) how do political actors (individual citizen, media and political parties) perceive about the practices of 'efforts of democracy' in terms of rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity in Ethiopia? (ii) what roles do political actors like media, political parties, CSOs and individual citizen play in deepening democracy in Ethiopia? (iii) to what extent have 'efforts of democracy' explained deepening democracy as measured by public trust in government? And (iv) what are the prevailing barriers to democratic deepening process in the country? The study employed mixed method design in which both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were used to collect primary data. A total of 900 resident households participated in survey questionnaire. In addition, 10 Key informant interviews and 1 Focus Group Discussion were used to collect data from the media, CSOs and political parties. The study employed descriptive, multiple regression and mediation techniques to analyze quantitative data while thematic analysis was employed for qualitative dat. With regard to the perception of citizens on the practices of democracy in terms of social accountability, national election, freedom of individuals, rule of law and economic equity, all dimensions were rated below average. The study also found that the level of satisfaction in democracy and the public trust on government as one of the outcomes of democracy is below 50%. This is mainly due to lack of meaningful reforms to ensure free and fair elections, weak democratic institutions and justice system, government control of media, unfair use of economic resources and human rights violation. With respect to roles played by the actors of democracy, the study revealed that the contributions of individual citizens, political parties, CSOs and the media in deepening democracy are very minimal. Findings from qualitative analysis, however, revealed that the political space in Ethiopia is promising as a result of the Government reform since April 2018. The regression result shows that the five dimensions of democracy (rule of law, social accountability, election, freedom and equity) collectively explain public trust as a proxy measure deepening democracy for about 35.4%. Furthermore, the study confirms that public satisfaction in democracy partially mediates the positive significant effect of democracy on public trust. The study identified that institutional incapacity, subject and 'conflictual' political culture, and mob mentality would jeopardize the democratization process in Ethiopia. Thereby, the study recommended free and fair election, institutional capacity building, fair and equitable distribution of resources, human rights protection and building public trust. It also highlighted that inclusive governance system is indispensible to promote deepening democracy.

Keywords: actors of democracy, deepening democracy, economic equity, election, human rights, rule of law, social accountability

Chapter one

Introduction

1.1.   Background of the study

Deepening democracy is one of research themes in political science and public administration literature. This is particularly in pursuit of finding scientific explanations about the linkage between democratic performance and democratic legitimacy (Ariely, 2013). Deepening democracy reflects the level of citizen empowerment in which citizens would not only be given the chance to actively participate in politics but also that they have a right to do so (Heydenrych, 2008). In an operational term for this study, it is a manifestation of the level of public trust in government and its main apparatuses. This is in line with the assumption of theory of institutional trust which highlights that public trust is the perception of the citizens whether their intentions and interests are shared and protected by the government and its institutions (Olutola & Bello, 2016). Cognizant of this, Ariely (2013) asserts that public trust in government is an outcome of democratic performance through institutions on such issues as respect for human rights and freedom, electoral fairness, and economic equity.

Though there is an ongoing debate in academic literature about the optimal level of public trust for well-functioning of a state, high level of public trust in government and its institutions is a principal requisite to get support from the citizenry. This would in turn increase the legitimacy of a political system or government in order to implement laws, policies and public services. In addition, public trust is essential to build democratic society by empowering political actors through continuous political reform that aims to improve their political participation and improving the government's ability to provide good governance for the people (Marien & Hooghe, 2011; Uslaner, 2003; Wang, 2005).

Conversely, low level of trust in government results in less support for compliance with tax and other citizenship obligations. In the absence of voluntary compliance, governments would use force to implement regulations with the result that it is more difficult for political institutions to function in effective manner. In other words, governing society will be more costly and difficult (Grönlund & Setälä, 2007; Gustavsen, Pierre, & Røiseland, 2017).

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Ethiopia has passed through different government regimes having their own unique features. For instance, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) led government has recognized multi-ethnic federalism and multi-party politics for the first time in the history of Ethiopia since 1991 following the overthrown of the Derg military junta. The current constitution, which was enacted in 1995, legalizes the rights of nations, nationalities and peoples to self-determination. The federal arrangement is based on the self-rule and shared-rule principles in which in which both federal and regional governmental units enjoy separate powers or competencies allocated to each level. The federal government of Ethiopia is arranged into nine regional self-governments, by and large, on the basis of ethnic identity and two city administrations, namely Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The shift from unitary form of government to a federal system aims to introduce inclusive constitutional approach that recognizes ethnic plurality in the country without causing a threat to the political and territorial integrity of the state. The current federalism system of Ethiopia is a propitious step on the path to democracy though it is not a panacea in creating win-win situation in a diversified society (Fessha, 2016; Tola, 2019). According to Burnell (2004), any governance system should be open to scrutiny and regular investigation in order to accommodate the ever-changing interests and expectations of the citizens which would in turn contribute to ensure that democracy becomes more meaningful and deeper.

The purpose of this research is, thus, to assess the practices of deepening democracy through the political actors' empowerment based on empirical evidences from Addis Ababa City Administration (AACA) in particular and Ethiopia in general.

1.2. Statement of the problem

The existing literature shows that there is a direct association between democracy and level of country's development. The big quest, however, is how to ensure a stable democracy that benefits a given nation economically and politically. With this respect, empirical studies from countries of advanced democracy emphasize that deepening democracy requires strengthening citizenship, the involvement of civil society and media, institutionalization of political parties, and democratization of the state (Goldfrank, 2007; Heller, 2009; Stockton, 2001). In emerging democracies like Ethiopia, there are scant empirical studies on how to deepen the culture of democracy.

The level of public trust is declining from time to time throughout the world in general and in incipient democracies in particular. In 2016 Polity data-set, for example Ethiopia was ranked as 111 from 130 countries with 3.23 points in terms of level of democracy as measured from -10 to +10 scales. This is a decline in the level of democracy when compared to the democracy index of 2006 whereby it was ranked as 92 from 130 countries with 4.17 points. Deterioration of public trust results in less support for government policies (Blind, 2007). In addition, low level of trust increases the probability that people break the law and rules of the game. It might also undermine the legitimacy of government and its ability to implement the rule of law in a given country (Marien & Hooghe, 2011). Some of the manifestations of low trust in government in Ethiopia, inter alia, include tax fraud, 'mob mentality' attitude, displacing and killing people. If such immoral and/or illegal behaviours continue without remedial actions, the ultimate outcome would be state fragility. Such daunting situation about the performance of democracy quests for empirical study.

In line with this, Newton (2001) underscores the importance of examining how and why pubic trust is generated and under what institutional mechanisms it rises or falls in order to enhance citizen participation in political, social and economic affairs. Empirical literature has not provided a conclusive finding whether political 'goods' (such as accountability, guaranteeing human rights and rule of law, holding free and fair elections) or perceived economic performance in a given county that trigger democratic legitimacy. For instances, perceptions of change in individual or national economic circumstances are the most important predictor in post-communist Central and Eastern Europe; politics matters in many Latin American countries; both nation's and household's economic condition in East Asian countries; no factor, economic or political explains democratic legitimacy in many Arab countries (Chu, Bratton, Lagos, Shastri, & Tessler, 2008).

In order to address the aforementioned existing problems and fill in the literature gap, the present study considers the effect of both political and economic dimensions on public trust as a proxy measure of deepening democracy. This study, therefore, explicates the role of dimensions of democracy such as rule of law, social responsibility, election, human rights and economic equity in fostering democratic deepening as measured by public trust in government in Ethiopian context.

1.3. Research questions

This research project seeks to address the following four key research questions:

1. How do political actors (individual citizens, media, political parties and civil society organizations) perceive about the practices of 'democracy dimensions' such as rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity in Ethiopia?
2. What roles do the political actors play in deepening democracy in Ethiopia?
3. To what extent have 'democracy dimensions' explained deepening democracy as measured by public trust in government?
4. What are the prevailing barriers to democratic deepening process in the country?

1.4. Objectives of the study

The overall objective of this research is to assess the current practices of deepening democracy in Ethiopia. Specifically, the research aims to:

- Examine perception of political actors (individual citizens, media, political parties and civil society organizations) the practices of democracy dimensions in terms of rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity in Ethiopia
- Explain the roles played by the political actors in deepening democracy.
- Elucidate the effects of efforts aimed at promoting democracy on public trust as a proxy measure of deepening democracy.
- Explore the barriers to deepening democracy in the country.

1.5. Significance of the study

The study reveals the status of dimensions of democracy in terms of rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights, and economic equity. From this finding, it is possible to identify areas of interventions for government, civil society, the media and political parties to enhance deepening democracy. Furthermore, this study would identify the problem areas that hamper deepening democracy which would in turn become inputs for politicians, policy makers, CSOs, and the media so that they would proactively take remedial actions on the challenges and problems in the democratization process.

More importantly, the key findings and recommendations from this research would be converted in to a film which would increase the level of awareness of the political actors towards deepening democracy. This would in turn enhance reasoning, argumentation and

persuasion culture that contributes for the realization of deepening democracy. The study is also of paramount importance to the existing literature on democracy since it explicates the effects of essential components of democracy on public trust.

1.6. Scope of the study

The general purpose of this study is to examine the perception, role and barriers in relation to deepening democracy in Ethiopia. The study mainly targets heads of households who own residential houses in Addis Ababa City Administration. But, it also covers some institutions from the media, political parties and civil society organizations which operate at national level capacity. In terms of time coverage, the study addressed the practices of democracy in the *EPRDF* period. But, it had no any intention to evaluate the ongoing holistic reform initiatives by the *EPRDF* government since April 2018.

The independent variables in this study are 'dimensions of democracy or interchangeably used with 'efforts of deepening democracy', and the dependent variable is level of deepening democracy. 'Efforts of deepening democracy' entail the performance of government on the five dimensions of democracy which are rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity. They are treated as 'efforts of deepening democracy' on individual basis and aggregated as an index variable. The dependent variable, level of deepening democracy, is measured by public trust.

1.7. Limitations of the study

The study has several limitations that should be taken into account when interpreting the findings and some of these points are opportunities for future research. First, this study applies a cross-sectional data not a longitudinal study. As a result, the study does not show the changes of efforts of deepening democracy and public trust over period of time. Besides, a cross-sectional research design limits inferences about causal direction. Second, the results are based on subjective ratings instead of objective data regarding the key constructs of the study. However, multiple scale items were used to measure each construct in order to capture all possible information on the constructs.

Third, the study concentrates only on domestic constituency such the media, political parties, CSOs; it did not address the role of external influences and actors in democratic deepening.

International influences through leverage mechanisms such as diplomatic pressure, political conditionality, and military intervention, and/or linkages –which refer to the density of a country's ties to the USA, the European Union, and Western-led multilateral institutions– have of importance role in democratic deepening (Levitsky & Way, 2005).

1.8. Structure of the paper

This paper is organized into six Chapters. Following this Introduction Chapter, the second Chapter contains a review of literature on concepts of democracy and deepening democracy, the roles of political actors in deepening democracy, the barriers to deepening democracy. It also provides conceptual framework and hypotheses of the study. The third Chapter describes about detailed methodological issues which include research design, target population and sampling design, methods of data collection and analysis. The fourth Chapter deals with presentation, analysis and discussion of data obtained through survey questionnaire. The fifth Chapter presents analysis and discussion for the data collected through Key Informant Interview (KII) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The last Chapter of this paper contains a summary of empirical findings that integrates both quantitative and qualitative findings, a discussion of the overall implications and recommendations.

Chapter Two
Review of Related Literature

2.1. Basic concepts

Democracy is a "political system whose leaders are elected in competitive multi-party and multi-candidate processes in which opposition parties have a legitimate chance of attaining power or participating in power," and that have a universal suffrage (Freedom House, 2002). The well known definition of democracy is given by Ober (2008) as 'the power of the people'.

Fung and Wright (2003) differentiate between 'thin' and 'deepen' democracy. In a thin democracy, there exist weak parties and disengaged electorate. 'Deepen democracy' refers to empowered participatory governance in which ordinary people effectively participate in and influence policies which affect their lives. It is based on principles of bottom-up participation, starting with a pragmatic orientation to solve concrete problems. In addition, it seeks to foster deliberation in which 'participants listen to each other's positions and generate group choices after due consideration' (Gaventa, 2006).

Heydenrych (2008) further indicates that participatory democracy model is the highest stage in deepening democracy. He argues that participatory democracy is closest to a direct democracy which needs vibrant citizenry whereby a citizen actively participates on a large scale across a wide spectrum of issues in a given country. Thereby, participatory democracy ensures not only that citizens would participate actively in politics given the chance but also that they should participate – that is, that they have a right to do so.

In a broader sense, Huber, Rueschemeyer, and Stephens (1997) provide six elements of social democracy. These are (i) regular free fair elections, (ii) universal suffrage, (iii) accountability of the state's administrative organs to the elected representatives, and (iv) effective guarantees for freedom of expression and association as well as protection against arbitrary, (v) high levels of participation without systematic differences across social categories (for example, class, ethnicity, gender), and (vi) increasing equality in social and economic outcomes. They conceptualize that formal democracy constitutes only the first four elements, and participatory democracy consisting of all the five elements.

2.2. Indicators of deepening democracy process

According to Goldfrank (2007), deepening democracy entails strengthening citizenship and democratizing the state by moving beyond regular elections. "Strengthening citizenship implies transforming residents from passive subjects in dependent relationships with particular politicians or parties into active citizens who know that they have political rights, that they can legitimately make demands on the government for public services, and that they can make their voices heard in political debates" (Goldfrank, 2007, p. 11). Therefore, deepening democracy goes beyond undertaking regular elections to further strengthening of citizenship and democratizing the state by transforming citizens from passive actors in dependent relationships with politicians and political parties into active ones who can demand public goods provision from the state. More specifically, Morlino (2009) describes qualities of democracy by three major dimensions, namely procedures, contents and outcome. The following few paragraphs provide explanations on these dimensions of democracy.

Procedures

Procedural dimension of democratic quality includes rule of law, accountability, as well as participation and competition.

Rule of law: the supremacy of the law, and its universal, predictable, and unambiguous enforcement by the judicial system. It implies that everyone is equal before law without any differences by level of income, social network and level of authority. This requires establishing independent judiciary. Rule of law also refers to ensuring personal safety and civil order in all territories. For Morlino (2009), corruption and inadequate administrative capacity would degrade the rule of law. Diamond and Morlino (2004) also indicate that the most important antecedent factors promoting the development of law-based rule are the diffusion of liberal and democratic values at both popular and elite levels; strong bureaucratic traditions of competence and impartiality; and adequate institutional and economic means. This entails gradually building up the independence, capacity, and authority of law courts.

Electoral and institutional accountability: This entails the ability of citizens to hold officeholders accountable and sanction government, either through the electoral process and civil society action (electoral/vertical accountability) or as part of a design of institutional checks and balances (institutional/horizontal accountability). In this regard, Menocal provides precise explanations about the types of accountability in the following manner:

Three dimensions of accountability are usually distinguished: (i) vertical accountability, which enables citizens to hold their political leaders to account through the electoral channel at specified points in time, [and through referendums]; (ii) horizontal accountability, which refers to accountability mechanisms that exist within the distinct bodies of government itself, whereby state institutions are authorized and willing to oversee, control, redress and, if need be, sanction unlawful actions by other state institutions; and (iii) social accountability, which refers to the (ongoing) watchdog functions of civic associations, other NGOs and an independent mass media over the actions of the state [which can be realized by civic engagement] (Menocal, 2007, p. 2).

Democracy will have a strong basis when civil society organizations, political organizations and the media are not only independent from the state but also internally democratic (Cohen & Vigoda, 2000). Figure 2.1 depicts the types of accountability in a vivid manner.

Horizontal Accountability

Executive   Civil service   Legislature/Oversight

Vertical
Accountability

Social
Accountability

Citizens
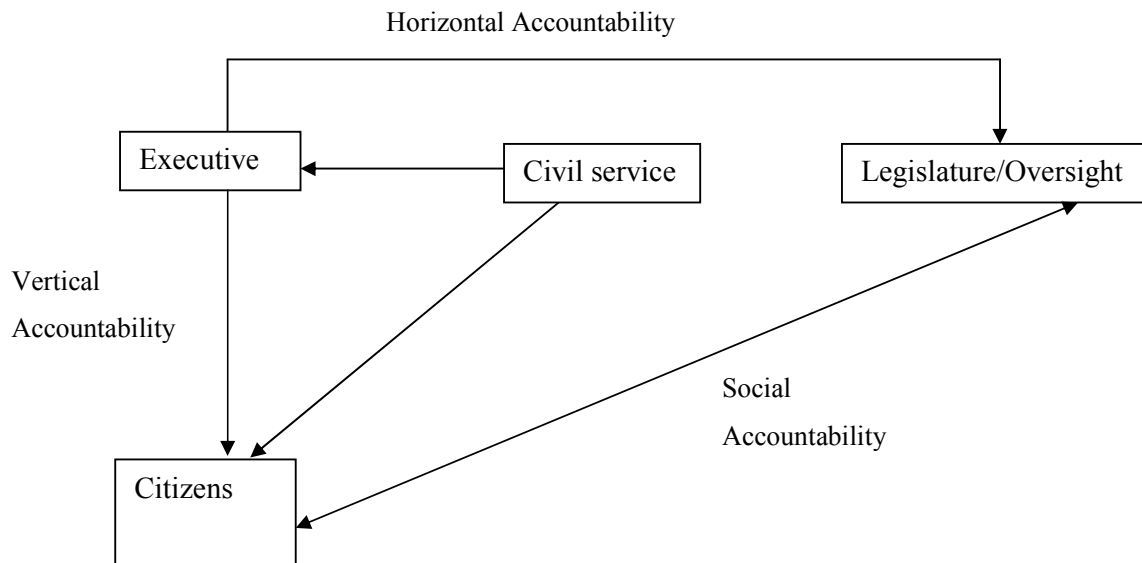
Figure 2. 1: Types of Accountability

Source: Pelizzo and Stapenhurst (2013, p. 4)

Political Participation and competition: This *refers to* the ability of individuals and groups to influence the recruitment of and decisions by political authorities and competition among political actors or within political organizations. A weak or thin democracy, for example, is characterized by elite dominance, almost non-existence of party system, and structures of social and political exclusion. A strong democracy, on the other hand, promotes the development of pluralist political systems, and supports for democratic political parties (Gaventa, 2006; Menocal, 2007).

Content: freedom and equality

Content dimension of democratic quality is concerned with freedom and equality. Freedom rights are related to personal dignity (right to life, prohibition of torture and slavery); civil rights (habeas corpus; freedoms of religion, expression, association; and personal liberty and security); and political rights (to vote and be elected). Equality relates to the extent to which the efforts of a government contribute towards narrowing income differences, alleviating poverty, and addressing widespread discrimination. Equality can be measured by poverty indicators and income differentials. Overall, the content aspect of deep democracy relates to the notion of 'putting people first' that promotes inclusive development and people will be masters of their destiny. This is the means of achieving sustainable, equitable growth and development (Forje, 2011)

Outcome

Outcome dimension of democratic quality is measured by the degree of satisfaction of citizens with the level of democracy in a given country. Besides, it reflects the level of public trust in different branches and apparatus of government such as parliament, executive, judiciary, security forces, election board and political parties. According to Dekker and Feenstra (2015), net public trust in government can be computed by taking the difference between the percentage of people who 'tends to trust' and the percentage of people who 'tends not to trust'.

2.3. The role of political actors in deepening democracy

This section presents the theoretical role of media, political parties, civil society organizations and individual citizens in deepening democracy.

2.3.1. Media

Media came into existence around the 1780s with the introduction of newspapers, and since then it has matured by leaps and bounds. Nowadays most media is the backbone of democracy and has a powerful role to play in deepening democracy which cannot be possible without media and free press. New theories in democracy appreciate the role of media in ensuring government accountability. If citizens are well informed via media, they can make officials and institutions accountable to their action. Nehru, the first prime minister of India, one time called media "the watchdog of our democracy". This means that media can play a

vital role in the political structure of each country through disseminating information, enlightening voters, protecting human rights, creating tolerance among groups and helping government to be transparent and accountable. Moreover, it also helps an individual to judge society and form opinions which are essential for the wellbeing of democracy (Tummala, 2009).

According to Panday (2009) there are six metaphors to understand the role of media in deepening democracy. The first one is considering the effective watch dog role of media which is crucial in fledgling democracies where the institutions like legislature, judiciaries and other bodies are incapable against the potent or vacillating people. The second is considering media as a public sphere which encourage wide and inclusive public debate about social, economic and political issues. Public sphere entails multiplicities of voices that serve as a channel between governors and the governed and as a ground for public dispute that lead to better public and decision making. The third metaphor is the role of media as a fourth branch of government that provides the check and balance without which government cannot be effective. The fourth is that media is considered as a mirror of the society. Media ensures availability of information on what is going on in the nation as well as in each parts of the world. The development of new media in the form of internet and web based communication simplified the role. The fifth metaphor is the information superhighway which has opened up countless new channels for media. The last one is that media can create a market of ideas which always make people familiar with different ideas.

Sen (1999) also argue that there is a need for "transparency guarantees" such as a free press and the free flow of information. According to him, these guarantees have a clear instrumental role in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility and underhanded dealings. He argues that the media as a watchdog is not just against corruption but also against disasters. The argument is that effective media are the key as they can provide the information poor people need to take part in public life (Berger, 2002). Ideally, the media should provide voice to those marginalized because of poverty, gender, or ethnic or religious affiliation. By giving these groups a place in the media, their views – and their afflictions – become part of mainstream public debate and hopefully contribute to a social consensus that the injustices against them ought to be redressed. In this way, the media also contribute to the easing of social conflicts and to promoting reconciliation among divergent social groups. All these are extrapolations on the media's role as virtual town hall or Public Square: by

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providing information and acting as a forum for public debate, the media play a catalytic role, making reforms possible through the democratic process and in the end strengthening democratic institutions and making possible public participation, without which democracy is mere sham.

2.3.2. Political Parties

There is no universally accepted definition of what a political party is. However, various scholars have tried to define it in various ways. Churchill (1963) citied in Maiyo (2008) defines a political party as a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo (2003) have also defined a political party as is an organized association of people working together to compete for political office and to promote agreed-upon policies. For Maiyo (2008), political parties are pre-eminent institutions of modern democratic governance

In an ideal multiparty democracy, political parties are the key mechanisms that make the democratic chain of political delegation and accountability work. Political parties fulfil a vital intermediate role between citizens and the state, in which they are supposed to represent citizens' interests and translate these into a policy agenda that responds to citizens' concerns. With this interest-oriented agenda, they try to influence policymaking and decision-making processes. At the same time, they hold the government to account on behalf of citizens and society as a whole (Burnell, 2004).

Unfortunately, political parties have not made enough contributions to the process of deepening democracy in Ethiopia because they are virtually lacking in ideology, enmesh in intra and inter-party crises, very corrupt and not transparent in their activities. Instead of making life easier, comfortable and satisfactory for Ethiopians they have done little or nothing to deepen democracy. Political parties with vibrant ideologies are necessary to ensure democracy. They should also be pillar of democracy and channel through which effective services could be delivered. As observed by Pwanagba (2015), without ideologically-based, strong and independent political parties, democracy is not likely to be deepened. This is because, political parties should not be mere instrument of capturing political power but platform of bringing good living conditions to the people by instituting viable policies. Political parties are expected to regularly mediate in the affairs of the people and public

office holders to ensure the public benefit from enthroning their candidates with state power. They should create appropriate link between citizens and government. They should, as well, be institutionalized channel of connecting future political leaders to their constituents and serve as avenues for providing and promoting accountability, collective participation and resolve gridlocks, especially between the executive and the legislature. When voters are linked with political parties through established ideology, representation and policies; it lowers the chances of populist leaders rising to power (Morgenstern, Green, Horowitz, Carreras, & Araya, 2011; Olowojolu, 2015).

Political parties give life to democracy and are insulators to it as well. So, it can be said that the foundation of any government in a democratic setting anchors on ideologically-based political parties (Lamidi & Bello, 2012). Therefore, political parties can serve multiple functions. They are necessary to build and aggregate support among broad coalitions of citizens' organizations and interest groups; to integrate multiple conflicting demands into coherent policy programs; to select and train legislative candidates and political leaders; to provide voters with choices among governing teams and policies; and, if elected to office, to organize the process of government and stand collectively accountable for their actions in subsequent contests. Representative democracy is impossible without multiparty competition. Political parties accordingly function uniquely and constitute a cornerstone of democratic society. The long list of their potential functions can be summarized under five key headings: 1) the integration and mobilization of citizens; 2) the articulation and aggregation of interests; 3) the formulation of public policy;4) the recruitment of political leaders; and 5) the organization of parliament and government (Bartolini & Mair, 2001).

2.3.3. Civil Society Organizations
The civil society can be defined as organizational life that is voluntary, self- generating, self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. It consists of a vast array of organization, both formal and informal: interest groups, cultural and religious organizations, civil and development associations, issue-oriented movements, the mass media, research and educational institutions, and similar organizations. The difference between these groups and other groups is that they are concerned with and act in the public realm, relate to the state, and encompass and respect pluralism and diversity (Hyden, Hydén, Mease, & Mease, 2004).

Civil society consists of individuals from different groups who are seeking change within a society. Through organizing themselves in various forms of protests they demand their rights. Civil society has proved to be powerful when a few societies have transformed from non-democratic into the democracies. As explained by Boussard, civil society uses three ways to deepen democracy.

> *"First is to explore the role of civil society role that plays a democratic consolidating, the reason being that even though frequently discussed in the literature on democratic consolidation, the role civil society remains unclear. Second is the dynamics between civil society and other factors that shape democracy. Here the reason is the importance of questioning the extent to which uni-linear models of explanation are helpful. Third is the significance of 'civil' in society, the point being that the concept inevitably implies something normative and the need, therefore, to identify attributes. Not all the associations are necessarily source for the growth of democratic values. Only those that in one way or another foster 'civic' values may have effects"*(Boussard, 2002).

According to Gyimah-Boadi (2004), the role of civil society organizations in deepening democracy can be summarized in four categories: civic education, advocacy, partnerships as well as watch dog roles. CSOs can deepen democracy via educating citizens and building the culture of tolerance as well as civic engagement. For instance, the Civil Society Organizations in Ethiopia played a very active role in the 2005 elections. They contributed greatly to the electoral process by organizing public forums, and conducting voter education and training (ICNL, 2009). The second role is advocacy. Through their advocacy role, CSOs try to meet the social and economic needs of marginalized groups (such as women) and enhance their representation in the democratization process. CSOs can play their partnership role by working directly with government in shaping, financing and delivering public services and expenditures integral to good governance. CSOs via their watch dog (surveillance) role enhance transparency and the availability of information about the making and implementation of government policies and strategies. Another role played by CSOs in African democratization process is limiting the power of the state and challenging abuses of authority. The watchdog functions of CSO are particularly important in levelling the playing field for all political parties under multiparty framework. This function is particularly important for conducting 'free and fair' elections.

2.3.4. Individual citizens as an actor

Citizens can play an active role in deepening of democracy by voting their own representatives, by participating and taking control of democratic institutions as well as voicing their demands, concerns and expectations from the government. On the basis of the works by Bullock (2014) and Welzel and Inglehart (2008), the roles that citizens play in deepening democracy are summarized as follows. First, citizens in a democracy should vote and know their representatives. It is through direct or indirect way that citizens can vote their representatives. Second, citizens in a democracy should understand the powers and duties of the government stated in the constitution or other related laws. Third, citizens in a democracy should know their rights as well as their obligations. Fourth, citizens in a democracy should assume the responsibility of being informed about the issues that affect the country as a whole, for example, the economy, immigration policy, environmental policy, and foreign policy. Fifth, citizens should be concerned and informed about federal and local government that affects their day-to-day life. They should always be aware and critical of what the government is doing. Citizens should also check how institutions like executives, legislatives and judiciary bodies, are working. Sixth, citizens should be willing to pay taxes, since without taxes to provide a democratic government, there would be no democracy. And finally, citizens must have a duty to obey the law.

2.4. Barriers to Democracy

Democracy does not just happen. It is created through process. Excluding a few democratic experiments from ancient and medieval history, there were no democratic regimes prior to the 18th century. For the most part, democratic regimes are born out of autocratic regimes (or colonial regimes) through a process known as a democratic transition. However, this transition can be influenced through different factors that can make the process very stagnant. This section thus addresses different factors that can influence the process of deepening of democracy.

2.4.1. The Structure of the State

The absence of a unified administrative structure, as well as the differential allocation of resources to the different racial groups, leads to wide spread variations in the quality and quantity of services delivered to communities across the country. Although the representatives of these structures were ostensibly elected (some were appointed by

provincial officials), they lacked all deliberative powers and merely advise the municipality or the central government departments on matters pertaining to their communities. In the absence of any compact between citizens and the state, there is little prospect that communities could be mobilized to participate in programs of socio-economic development that can improve their wellbeing (Tapscott, 2008).

Tapscott (2008) underlines that national and provincial governments must delegate municipalities and local governments for those matters that would most effectively be administered locally and (if) the local government has the capacity to administer it. Where a local government cannot fulfil an executive obligation in terms of legislation, the relevant central or provincial executive may intervene by issuing a directive to the local council, or by assuming responsibility for the relevant obligation. The conditions under which such an intervention might take place, would include instances where essential national standards for the rendering of services are not being maintained, where economic unity is threatened, or where a local government council's actions are prejudicial to another local government or to the province as a whole.

2.4.2. Administrative Incapacity

Weak implementation of policy has frequently been uttered when describing the performance of the government. In reality, if the policies introduced are, in many instances, completely incompatible with the administrative capacities of implementing agencies; to the knowledge and skills of public officials (particularly at middle management levels), it results in poor job definitions, ill-formed administrative systems, and the prevailing culture and ethos of the public sector. It would be no exaggeration to state that the prevailing ethos of many rural communities is one of indolence and lethargy. This administrative order was characterized by a lack of transparency, by arrogance and by a disregard for individual integrity, which, as might be expected, gave rise to a strong degree of generalised distrust. It is this context, partially, that we can understand the tyranny of petty bureaucrats at the local level and their seeming disinterest in effective service delivery (Tapscott, 2008).

Furthermore, Tapscott (2008) noted that the lack of administrative capacity has given rise to a crisis of popular expectations. At the most basic level, citizens vote a political party into office and pay their taxes in the expectation that the government will serve their needs, whether this be the creation of jobs, the provision of services or merely the retention of the

status quo. Where governments are persistently incapable to fulfil the commitments made to their constituencies, disillusionment inevitably ensues.

2.4.3. Local Politics and Limited Local Trust

When the poor have little or no faith in the workings of local government, either as a first tier of democracy or as a key provider of services, this could be an indication lack of trust. Along with this lack of trust, the poor in general will perceive unwillingness to pay taxes or tariffs into local government coffers or to participate in the process of local governance. The outcome of this state of affairs is that local councils lack popular support and legitimacy. At the same time, they are also able to operate with limited public accountability. In this context, corruption is endemic, public funds are misappropriated and service delivery is poor or non-existent. This, in turn, leads to further public disillusionment and further withdrawal from the process of local government, as the local citizenry look to provincial or local government and, increasingly, to central government for administrative services (Taylor & Mattes, 1998). The author further noted that the lack of social capital and trust at the local level manifests itself, in the first instance, in low local polls. Under these circumstances, many of the local government councillors assuming office do without a broad popular mandate. However, whilst they might lack popular support and legitimacy, they are also free from constant local scrutiny and hence are not accountable for their actions.

The combination of low polls and limited accountability frequently encourages the development of both corruption and clientelism. Since office bearers need only depend on the support of a small proportion of the community for re-election, a tendency emerges for some councillors to address the needs of this select group (for example, in the allocation of municipal housing, jobs etc.) at the expense of the community as a whole. A further manifestation of this tendency is the direct intervention of politicians in the administrative affairs of a municipality. This process, moreover, has tended to be self-perpetuating. The more local politicians service their client networks, the less they are able to address welfare needs equitably, the more the community at large loses faith in the system of local democracy, the less the accountability of elected officials, and so forth. This iterative process further constrains the development of social capital. It also serves to limit the extent to which local populations feel motivated to participate in local democratic processes.

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It is evident that local politicians frequently do not communicate effectively with their constituencies and most citizens in the rural areas of developing countries have little understandings of the workings of local government, and few actively participate in the process of local governance. For instance, a study conducted by Roefs and Liebenberg (1999) found that 91% of those interviewed in the Northern Province of South Africa had no understanding of local councils, 86% were not well informed about Parliament and 89% had no knowledge of the policy-making process (Roefs & Liebenberg, 1999). In a similar vein, a survey conducted by (Henstone & Humphries) found that 72% of respondents living in rural homelands, never or seldom presented opinions to politicians in local councils (Henstone & Humphries, 1999). This clearly confirms that the rural community may not understand what is going in politics unless effectively communicated by local politicians.

2.4.4. The Formalistic Dimensions of Participatory Democracy

The idea of grass roots participation in local systems of governance must be considered as formal procedure. In this regard, there must be legal procedure which explicitly instructs local governments to "establish appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures to enable the local community to participate in the affairs of their community" (Mulgan, 2003).

2.5. Conceptual framework and hypotheses of the study

This section presents conceptual framework and hypotheses of the study. The study considers the procedural and contents of democracy as independent constructs whereas democracy satisfaction and public trust as mediator and dependent constructs respectively. The next few points explain the operational definitions of each construct and the relationships between the independent constructs vis-à-vis the mediator and dependent constructs.

The Rule of Law: It refers to all citizens are equal before the law, which is fairly and consistently applied to all by an independent judiciary, and the laws themselves are clear, publicly known, universal, stable, and non-retroactive. A strong rule of law defends the political rights and procedures of democracy, upholds everyone's civil rights, and reinforces the authority of other agencies of horizontal accountability that ensure the legality and correctness of official actions. But, a weak rule of law will likely mean that participation by the poor and marginalized is suppressed, individual freedoms are insecure, many civic groups are unable to organize and advocate, the resourceful and well-connected are unduly favoured,

corruption and abuse of power run rampant, political competition is unfair, voters have a hard time holding rulers to account, and overall democratic responsiveness is gravely enfeebled (Diamond & Morlino, 2004). From these arguments, one can infer that a strong rule of law has a positive effect on level of deepening democracy as measured by public trust in government.

Social Accountability: It represents the extent to which citizens actively participate in civic and advocacy associations to hold government accountable. A good democracy must ensure that all citizens are in fact able to make use of formal rights to influence the decision-making process: to vote, to organize, to assemble, to protest, and to lobby for their interests. In this respect, democratic quality is high when citizen extensively participate not only through voting but in the life of political parties and civil society organizations, in the discussion of public policy issues, in communicating with and demanding accountability from elected representatives, in monitoring official conduct, and in direct engagement with public issues at the local level (Diamond & Morlino, 2004). Similarly, Newton (2001) emphasizes that citizens are actively involved in voluntary or civil society organizations, they develop social networks through which they let governments are held accountable to the mass public. This would in turn create bonds of social solidarity which is a basis for democracy. Thus, creating favourable conditions for citizens to play their social accountability would have positive influence on public trust.

Election: It is the foundation for a healthy and representative democracy. The quality of election is measured by openness of nomination and selection of candidates, degree of electoral contestation, and inclusiveness of voting procedures (Manion, 2006). As Diamond and Morlino (2004) explain, the quality of election also entails providing equality in access to political finance and to the mass media. Loeber (2011) underscores that the trustworthiness of the techniques and methods used during the elections would influence public trust in government. Accordingly, free, fair and periodical election has a positive significant effect on public trust.

Human rights: This*, mainly,* consists of political and civil rights. Political rights include the rights to vote, to stand for office, to campaign, and to organize political parties. Civil rights include personal liberty, security, and privacy; freedom of thought, expression, and information; freedom of religion; freedom of assembly, association, and organization

(including the right to form and join trade unions and political parties); freedom of movement and residence; and the right to legal defence and due process (Diamond & Morlino, 2004). Needles to say, a political system that ensures freedom would enjoy high level of public trust.

Economic equity: This relates to the extent to which the efforts of a government contribute towards narrowing income differences, alleviating poverty, and addressing widespread discrimination (Forje, 2011). In line with the work by Uslaner and Brown (2005), economic equity has a positive effect on public trust.

Public trust reflects an evaluation of the political world. According to Newton (2001, p. 205), 'trust is a litmus test of how well the political system is performing in the eyes of the citizens'. Low trust suggests that something in the political system-politicians or institutions, or both-is thought to be functioning poorly. This could be attributable to poor performance or high expectations, but either way low trust tells us that something is wrong. Borrowing from the motive-based theory of institutional trust developed by (Tyler & Huo), public trust depends on the perception or believe that people intentions and interests are shared and protected by the institution (Tyler & Huo, 2002). This means that citizen-government (its institutions) relationship plays an essential role in public trust in government (Olutola & Bello, 2016). For this study, public trust was measured by a five point scale from 1, for 'not at all', to 5, for 'very much', with higher values expressing higher levels of trust in government and its key institutions. The institutions listed were the courts, supreme audit general, ombudsman office, anti-corruption commission, the armed forces, federal government, federal parliament, the civil service system. For analysis purpose, a political trust index was created by computing mean trust score from each of the institutions measured on a 5-point scale (Cronbach's α = .896).

There is a strong argument that satisfaction with public services is a reliable predictor of public trust and that satisfied users tend to have high level of trust than that of the dissatisfied users. (Gustavsen et al., 2017). In a similar vein, citizen satisfaction with 'democracy satisfaction' drives public trust in government. Thereby, 'satisfaction with satisfaction' could have a mediating effect on the relationship between the overall efforts of deepening democracy and public trust. Figure 2.2 shows the conceptual framework of the study.
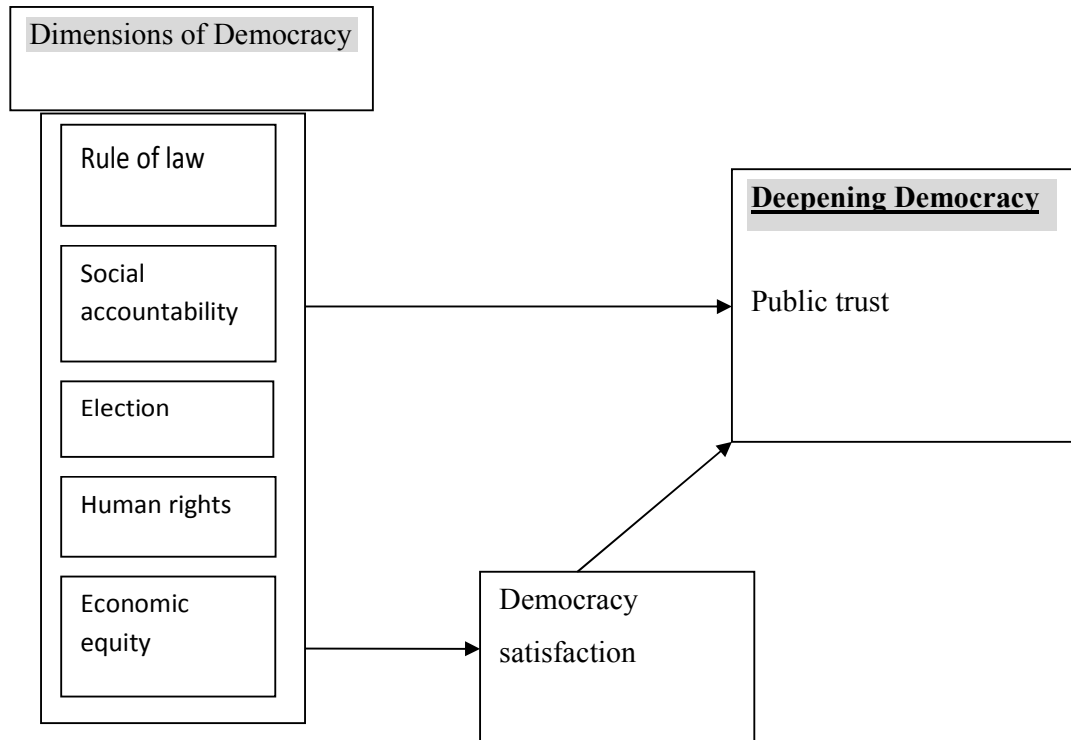
Figure 2. 2: Conceptual framework of the study

Source: created by the researchers on the basis of Chu et al. (2008) and Diamond and Morlino (2004)

With reference to the conceptual framework of the study, the following two hypotheses have been suggested.

- Hypothesis 1: All procedural & contents dimensions of democracy (rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity) have positive statistical significance on public trust.
- Hypothesis 2: Democracy satisfaction has a significant positive mediation effect in the relationship between dimensions of democracy and public trust

In this study, the key political actors refer to political parties (both the ruling and opposition parties), the media, civil society organizations and individual citizens. Deepening democracy is realized through empowering these political actors in terms of upholding rule of law, social accountability, human rights, free/fair/periodical election, and economic equity.

Chapter Three
Methodology of the study

This chapter consists of sub-sections related to methodology of the study such as research design, population, sample size and sampling technique, data sources and data collection instruments. It also addresses data collection procedures, methods of data analysis, model specifications and description of study variables, and ethical considerations.

3.1. Research design

Research design is "the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure" (Kothari, 2004). The nature of this study requires combining both quantitative and qualitative data to examine the issue of deepening democracy through citizen participation in Ethiopia. For Creswell and Creswell (2018), convergent mixed method is a form of mixed methods design in which the researcher merges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, the investigator typically collects both forms of data at roughly the same time and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results. Contradictions in the findings between quantitative and qualitative data sources are explained. Accordingly, this study employed a convergent mixed method research design that combines both survey (quantitative data) and qualitative data obtained through interview and focus group discussion because of the complexity of the research questions.

This research project has both descriptive and explanatory nature. It is a descriptive study in the sense that it seeks to describe perceptions of citizens about the democratization process in terms of efforts undertaken in ensuring rule of law, social accountability, free and fair elections, human rights and economic equity as well as levels of democracy satisfaction and public trust in government. The study is also explanatory in the sense that it examines the effect of procedural and contents of democracy (by taking the composite mean of rule of law, social accountability, free and fair elections, human rights and economic equity) on public trust as a proxy measure of deepening democracy. In addition, it explicates the mediation effect of democracy satisfaction in the relationship between procedural and contents of democracy (democracy dimensions) and public trust.

3.2. Sample size and Sampling procedures

This study purposively targets Addis Ababa City Administration (AACA) and some federal institutions. For survey, the target population for this study is all households who have residential houses in Addis Ababa. In order to ensure representative sample for survey questionnaire, the study employed cluster sampling technique to select the households. Accordingly, three sub-cites, namely *Bole*, *Addis Ketama* and *Gulelie* were randomly selected from 10 sub-cities of AACA. From each of the three randomly selected sub-cites, three *Woredas*/districts/ were selected randomly. These *Woredas* were W[1]10, W8 and W3 from *Bole* sub-city, W8, W2 and W1 from *Addis Ketam* sub-city and W4, W6 and W1 from *Gulelie* sub-city. Following this, 100 households were selected from each of the nine selected '*Woredas*/districts/ using systematic sampling technique in which the survey was conducted every 10th interval of residential houses in each *Woreda*. In total, 900 households constituted sample size from which primary data were collected through survey questionnaire.

In addition to questionnaire, 10 key informant interviews and one Focus Group Discussion (FGD) comprising 10 members were used to collect data from some representatives of the media, political parties and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). From the Media industry, Ethiopian Television (government owned) and OMN, and Nahoo TV (privately owned) took part in providing information. From political parties, EPRDF (the ruling party), and *Medrek* and Blue-party (opposition political parties) were also study participants. Furthermore, youth association, election board, House of People's Representatives, and Consortium of Christian Relief and Development Association (*CCRDA*)-a civil society umbrella organization participated in the interview and FGD.

3.3. Data collection instruments and procedures

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected mainly from primary sources. The data were collected in the period between 21February 2019 and 21March 2019. First, survey was conducted on 900 randomly selected household heads in Addis Ababa city administration. For this purpose, structured questionnaire having six parts was prepared. Part one of the questionnaire consists of items to assess citizens' perception towards deepening democracy. Part two seeks to get information on the roles played by political actors in deepening democracy. Part three addresses issues about barriers to deepening democracy.

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[1] W is to mean '*Woreda*' which is the lowest level of city administration

Parts four and five comprise question items on democracy satisfaction and public trust in government institutions respectively. The last part is about demographic information of the respondents. Detailed contents of the questionnaire are available in Appendix C.

Second, semi-structured interviews were undertaken by the researchers targeting technocrats, politicians, officials and commentators [journalists and media representatives] who have direct and indirect responsibility on democratization process in the country. In addition, one focus group discussion was conducted with purposively selected representatives of political parties, the media and CSOs.

Third, a national level workshop was undertaken to validate the findings of the study and the entire process of the research project. In this validation workshop, 46 participants representing the relevant stakeholders from various government and non- government institutions, CSOs, senior electoral experts, technocrats and politicians were selected to enrich and qualify the study findings and the ways forward to deepening democracy in Ethiopia. Feedback in the forms of comments, questions and suggestions from the workshop were very valuable and considered as inputs in this draft report of the research project.

3.4. Methods of data analysis

This study employed mixed data analysis methods comprising quantitative and qualitative data analysis procedures. From quantitative data analysis techniques, both descriptive and inferential data analysis methods were used.

Descriptive analysis provides the realities as they exist using frequency table and descriptive values such as mean and standard deviations (SD). In this regard, the responses for each item of the main constructs of the study were transformed from five points Likert scale to three or two Likert scale to make the analysis process very simple and understandable. For example, response options comprising (1. Strongly disagree, 2. Disagree, 3. Slightly agree, 4. Agree, and 5. Strongly agree) were transformed to 'disagree' and 'agree' in such a way that responses of strongly disagree and disagree were aggregated to disagree and responses of slightly agree, agree and strongly agree were aggregated to agree. Thereby, simple table was used to present frequency and % of respondents who replied (strongly disagree and disagree) as 'disagree', and frequency and % of respondents who replied (Slightly agree, 4. Agree, and 5. Strongly agree) as 'agree'. In addition to using frequency and percentage (%), the

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composite mean was used for each of the main constructs to show the overall findings in quantitatively.

From inferential statistics techniques, the study employed correlation analysis, paired samples t-test, multiple regression and mediation analysis. Correlation analysis is used to describe and measure the degree or association (or relationship) between two or more variables or sets of scores (Field, 2009). Accordingly, correlation analysis was undertaken to describe the relationship between public trust (the dependent variable in this study) and the independent variables of the study. Independent sample t-test, Paired samples t-test and ANOVA were employed to examine the level of statistical significance in mean pubic trust and democracy satisfaction between different groups such as demographic variables and institutions. Multiple regression analysis was also performed to test the effect of procedural and contents dimensions of democracy on public trust (our first hypothesis).

For hypothesis 2 that states democracy satisfaction would mediate the effect of composite dimensions of democracy on public trust in government institutions, the study employed mediation analysis. Mediation analysis requires that four classical conditions must be satisfied (Baron & Kenny, 1986). First, the independent variable, composite of democracy satisfaction in this case, must be associated with the outcome, public trust in government. Second, the independent variable must be significantly related with the mediator, democracy satisfaction. Third, there must be a significant relationship between the mediator and outcome. Finally, the effect of the independent variable on the outcome must be significantly reduced for partial mediation or to zero for full mediation when the mediator is entered. For dimensions of democracy, we employed an index variable consisting of all items from rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity. As responses to these questions are internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha 0.934, see Table 3.1), it appears justifiable to create a scale variable out of the five constructs.

In addition, the qualitative data collected through interviewees, and focus group discussants were analyzed thematically in different phases. First, the collected data from interviewees and FG discussants were transcribed. In order to transcribe and make sense of the qualitative data, the researchers have changed the recorded audio data into written form and translated the text data from Amharic into English. Second, the data were coded on the basis of themes of the basic research questions such as Perception of democracy process in Ethiopia, Roles played

by the different stakeholders (the media, political parties, CSOs, individual citizens), barriers to democratic deepening, and the ways-forward to ensure deepening democracy. In the process of coding both inductive and deductive approaches were employed. Third, organization and synthesis of the data were undertaken one after the other. Finally, the organized information was integrated with the quantitative data in the summary of findings section.

In addition, a short movie (film) was produced on the basis of the key findings and recommendations of the study as one of dissemination mechanisms.

3.5. Reliability and validity tests

Reliability test shows the internal consistency of items which make up a given construct whereas validity test confirms the accuracy of measurements. Reliability of the study constructs was tested by using Cronbach's alpha. Following the recommendations by Sekaran and Bougie (2016), the analyses of internal homogeneity showed acceptable results as presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3. 1: Number of items, Cronbach's alpha, means & SDs

Construct	Number of items	Cronbach's alpha	Mean	SD
Composite dimensions of democracy	40	.934	2.7	.64
• Rule of law	6	.890	2.49	.92
• Social accountability	6	.757	3.13	.88
• Election	9	.693	2.78	.80
• human rights	10	.902	2.74	.93
• Economic equity	9	.926	2.37	.93
Democracy satisfaction	4	.885	2.3990	.99
Public trust	9	.896	2.48	.90

Source: Computed from *Field survey*

Besides to reliability test, pilot test was conducted by targeting respondents who had similar behaviours with the main target respondents. This was mainly to improve the validity of the survey questionnaire.

3.6. Ethical considerations

The process of research to be ethical, the research participants should agree on the basis of a fully informed and voluntary decision (Israel & Hay, 2006). Thereby, the researchers considered important principles of research ethics at various stages of the study. At the design stage, the objectives of the study and issues of confidentiality and anonymity were properly explained in the data collection instruments. Before commencement of qualitative data collection, Ethiopian Management Institute (EMI) invited officially all selected organizations to take part in the interview and FGD. At the time of collection, data through survey, interview and FGD were collected from the participants on a voluntary basis and after getting their consents. In the analysis phase, individual responses were held in the strictest confidence and information provided by study participants were used only in aggregated form.

Chapter Four

Results and Discussion: Quantitative Perspective

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and discussions of data collected using survey questionnaire, interview and focus group discussions from respondents of different categories such as residents, media, political parties, election board, and civil society organizations. The chapter is categorized in to five main sections which include: the profile of respondents, the perception of citizens towards the current efforts in deepening democracy, the roles played by different political actors in deepening democracy, the trust of citizens on current democratization process, and the barriers that significantly influence deepening democracy.

4.2. Profile of the respondents

Out of 900 distributed questionnaires, 892 participants completed and returned back the survey. After eliminating responses with substantial missing data and 'do not know responses', we analyzed 842-892 completed responses, representing a usable response rate of more than 94% which is an acceptable rate.

In this study, 523 men (58.6 %) and 369 women (41.4 %) were participated in survey questionnaire. This shows that both men and women were fairly represented in the survey. In terms of types of employment, 254 (28.4%), 244 (27.4%), 137 (15.4%), 125 (14%), 57 (6.4%), 44 (4.9%), and 31 (3.5%) were government employees, private sector employees, self-employed, housewives, other categories, NGOs employees and retired people respectively. Regarding their highest level of education, 27.3 % of the respondents (n=242) had a first degree, 22.4% (n=199) had diploma, 18.6% (n=165) completed grade 8 or below grade eight, 13.8 (n=122) completed 9-12th grades, 4.5% (n=40) had a master's degree or above it.

With reference to religion of the respondents, 68.9% (n=612), 14% (n=124), 13.2% (n=117), 2.7% (n=24), and 1.2% (n= 11) were Orthodox-Tewahido, Muslim, Protestant, Catholic and other religion followers respectively. Regarding their political party's affiliation, 80.3% (n=704) were not members of any political parties, 15.8% (n=139) were members of the ruling party and the remaining 3.9% (n=34) were members of opposition parties. In terms of

ethnicity, 28.4% (n=247) of the respondents were *Amhara*, 19.5% (n=170) were *Oromo*, 13.8% (n=120) were *Guragie, and* 38.3% (n= 334) were from other ethnic groups. Overall, the sample constituted respondents from more than 15 different ethnic groups. Concerning age of the respondents, the participants were 39.9 years of old with a minimum of 20 and a maximum 90 years old.

The aforementioned profiles of the respondents reflect that almost all segments of the resident households of AACA were represented in our sample. Appendix A summarizes the demographics of our sample.

4.3. Citizens Perception towards the Current Efforts of Deepening Democracy

This section discusses the perception of resident citizens about the current efforts of deepening democracy in terms of the rule of law, social responsibility, national election, freedom and economic equity in Ethiopia.

4.3.1. Rule of Law

A principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. It requires as well measures to ensure adherence to the principles of supremacy of the law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision-making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness, and procedural and legal transparency (Morlino, 2009). In this regard, the study has examined the perception of citizens in regard to equality of citizens before law, freedom of courts and judges from the influence of politicians, and fairness of judiciary system in making decision. Accordingly, respondents were asked to report their perception as summarized and presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: The Perception of residents on practices of rule of law

S/N	Items	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Total (%)
1	The principle of 'every citizen is equal before law' has been assured in practice	48.9	51.1	100
2	Courts and judges are free from the influence of politicians	42	58.0	100
3	The judiciary system makes decision on a fairly basis	52.4	47.6	100
4	The judiciary system makes decision regardless of income differences of citizens.	47.0	53.0	100
5	Judiciary system makes decision regardless of social network differences.	47.1	52.9	100
6	Judiciary system makes decision regardless of the level of authority differences	41.5	58.5	100
	Composite mean		***2.49***	

Source: Field survey, 2019

In regard to the principle of 'every citizen is equal before law', Table 4.1 assures that majority of the respondents (51.1%) perceive as there is weakness in maintaining the rule of law which may deter the process of democratization. This can be reflected by the absence of freedom of courts and judges from the influence of politicians as perceived by respondents. However, some of the respondents (52.4%) perceive as the judiciary system makes decision fairly for the cases under investigation. Concerning the practices of judiciary system in making decision regardless of income difference of citizens, majority of the respondents (53%) perceived variations in decision making on the basis of their income differences which may favour for high income class that could be associated with corruption. In addition, the study found biasness in decision making on the basis of differences in networks and level of authority as perceived by 52.9 percent and 58.5 percent of the respondents respectively. In general, the composite average in regard to the rule of law is 2.49 (below the average) that clearly implies weakness in ensuring the rule of law which may constrain deepening democracy.

4.3.2. Social Accountability

Social accountability entails the ability of citizens to hold officeholders accountable and sanction government, either through the electoral process and civil society action (electoral/vertical accountability) or as part of a design of institutional checks and balances (institutional/horizontal accountability (Menocal, 2007). In this regard, this study assessed the views of respondents whether they exercise a power to make officials accountable for their actions. Subsequently, Table 4.2 summarizes and presents their perceptions towards efforts to ensure social accountability.

Table 4.2: The Perception of respondents on social accountability

S/N	Items	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)
1	The right to hold officials accountable	44.5	55.5
2	Actively participation in civic associations	58	42.0
3	Presence of space to criticize government actions	55.5	44.5
4	Active participation to hold public officials accountable	55	45.0
5	Respecting others right	84.1	15.9
6	Opposing illegal activities by any person or institution	82.8	17.2
	Composite average	*3.13*	

Source: Field Survey (2019)

Table 4.2 indicates that majority of the respondents or 55.5 percent perceived that they do not exercise right to hold officials accountable for their action sufficiently. This implies that citizens have no complete practice to influence government officials accountable for their action which may in its part restrict deepening democracy. The study also addressed whether citizens have the practice of actively participating in civic associations. In this regard, the study found that majority of the respondents (58%) showed agreement in their practice of participating in civic associations. In regard to the presence of space to criticize government actions, 55.5percent of the respondents assured that there is space to do so. This could be because of the change of current political system which gave opportunities for individuals to freely reflect their views using different media. In addition, 55 percent of the respondents perceived that they have practices of active participation to hold public officials accountable. In regard to respecting others rights and opposing illegal activities by any person or institution, majority of the respondents 84.1percent and 82.8percent respectively assured that they respect others rights and opposing illegal activities. In general, the composite mean for

social accountability computed as 3.13, which closes to the average, implies that the practice in social accountability perceived by participants positively. This would have promise to the process of democratization in the future.

4.3.3. National Election

Elections are the indispensable root of democracy. Elections and the consolidation of democratic institutions are considered to be key components in the promotion and maintenance of peace and stability of the country (Höglund & Jarstad, 2010; UNDPKO, 2008). Elections have become part of the international peace-building strategy, which strongly links peace to the development of democracy (Höglund, 2009; Reilly, 2002). In this regard, Table 4.3 summarizes and presents the views of respondents.

Table 4.3: The perception of citizens on national election practice

S/N	Items	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)
1	Votes are counted fairly	34.9	65.1
2	Opposition candidates are prevented from running	67.5	32.5
3	Media news favors the governing party	47.3	52.7
4	Voters are bribed	55.2	44.8
5	Journalists provide fair coverage of elections	39.6	60.4
6	Election officials are fair	41.3	58.7
7	The ruling party frauds elections	54.4	45.6
8	Voters are threatened with violence at the polls	65.4	34.6
9	Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections	63.7	36.3
Composite average		*2.78*	

Source: Field Survey (2019)

Table 4.3 clearly presents the practices of past national elections in the country. In this regard, majority of the respondents assured that votes were not fairly counted, voters bribed and opposition parties were deliberately influenced by government. Moreover, it was noticed that journalists provided unfair coverage of election, and the elections were characterized by unfairness of election officials, fraud by the ruling party, and violence on voters at the polls. However, it was found that voters were offered a genuine choice in the elections and media news did not favour the ruling party. Overall, the composite average for the practice of election computed as 2.78 which is below the average, implying that the practice of election held in the country was not in position to deepen democracy.

4.3.4. Human Rights

Human rights are related to personal dignity (right to life, prohibition of torture and slavery); civil rights (habeas corpus; freedoms of religion, expression, association; and personal liberty and security); and political rights to vote and be elected (Forje, 2011; Giebler & Merkel, 2016). In regard to the efforts made to ensure human rights, Table 4.4 summarizes and presents the views of respondents.

Table 4. 4: The Perception of Respondents on Practices of Human Rights

S/N	Items	High (%)	Medium (%)	Low (%)	Total (%)
1	Rights to life	35.8	30.3	33.9	100
2	Prohibition of torture and slavery	25.9	27.2	46.9	100
3	Freedom of religion	49.3	32.2	18.5	100
4	Freedom of expressions	29.4	30.0	40.6	100
5	Freedom of associations	26.7	30.2	43.1	100
6	Personal liberty	26.2	31.5	42.3	100
7	Personal security	22.5	31.4	46.1	100
8	Participation in the decisions made by government policy-makers	16.8	23.6	59.6	100
9	Allowed to control the decisions made by government policy-makers	13.9	21.5	64.6	100
10	The right of freedom of movement within a country	28.3	26.3	45.4	100
	Composite Average		*2.74*		

Source: Field Survey, 2019

As it can be seen from Table 4.4, majority of the respondents (64.2%) feel that rights to life is medium and below though the remaining 35.2 percent perceive it as high. This could indicate the strength of security to ensure individual's right to life is relatively weak in the country. As indicator for the freedom, the study also used whether there is "prohibition of torture and slavery" for which 74.1 percent of the respondents perceived medium and low. In regard to freedom of religion, though 49.3 percent perceived as high, still 50.7percent felt that it is medium and low. However, in practice now a day there is relatively freedom for citizens to follow any religion which they prefer and it was also guaranteed in 1995 Ethiopian constitution as "state and religion are separate". This indicates that there is no legal intervention of the government in religion which assures the freedom of citizens to follow any religion they prefer in the country. Concerning to freedom of expressions and associations, over 70 percent of respondents perceived medium and low which depicts the

gap that can deter deepening of democracy. It was also found that there is medium and low perception of respondents in regard to personal liberty and personal security for citizens to ensure their freedom. Moreover, over 80 percent of the respondents felt medium and low in relation to their experience of participation in the decisions made by policy-makers, and controlling its execution. Furthermore, the respondents were asked to show their perception towards the right of freedom of movement within a country to which majority of the respondents (71.7 percent) perceived medium and low. In general, the composite average in practice of freedom has been computed as 2.74 which is below the average (Mean = 3.00) that shows the gaps in ensuring protection of human rights which can deter the progress of deepening democracy in the country.

4.3.5. Economic Equity

Equity relates to the extent to which the efforts of a government contribute towards narrowing income differences, alleviating poverty, and addressing widespread discrimination in distribution of resources. Equality can be measured by poverty indicators and income differentials (Forje, 2011). Accordingly, this study addressed equality in terms of the efforts of government to ensure economic equality among citizens. In this regard, the views of respondents has been summarized and presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4. 5: The Perception of Respondents towards Ensuring Economic Equity

S/N	Items	High (%)	Medium (%)	Low (%)	Total (%)
1	Efforts of a government to narrowing income differences	12.3	18.8	68.9	100
2	Efforts of the government to reduce regional imbalance	11.4	24.2	64.4	100
3	Efforts of a government to alleviating poverty	21.3	26.5	52.3	100
4	Efforts of a government to addressing widespread discrimination	19.5	23.2	57.3	100
5	Widening the basis of political participation	25.3	25.7	49.0	100
6	Safeguarding pluralism at various levels	22.9	28.7	48.4	100
7	Facilitating problem-orientated grass roots approaches	14.4	25.9	59.7	100
8	Widening citizens involvement in all business activities with no discrimination	12.6	20.6	66.8	100
9	Efforts of the government to fairly distribute country's resources	14.5	20.1	65.4	100
	Composite average	2.37			

Source: *Field Survey (2019)*

Table 4.5 deals with the perception of respondents towards the efforts of government to ensure economic equity among citizens. In this regard, respondents were asked to share their views for the efforts of government in narrowing income differences, reducing regional imbalance, alleviating poverty, addressing widespread discrimination, and fairly distributing country's resources for ensuring equitable benefits of citizens. In all these aspects, the majority of respondents reported the efforts of government as low. In addition, respondents indicated medium and low practices of widening the basis of political participation, citizens' involvement in all business activities without discrimination and safeguarding pluralism at various levels. The practice of facilitating problem-orientated approaches to enhance economic equity at grass root level has been perceived as low by 59.7 percent of the respondents. Overall, the composite average for the practice of ensuring economic equity has been computed as 2.37 which is far from the average and shows the perceived gap in efforts of the government exerted to ensure economic equity. This could be a big challenge for deepening democracy as economic inequity can deteriorate citizens' contribution to democratization process.

4.4. Perception on the process of democracy: Efforts of deepening democracy

The level of deepening democracy can be measured by the practices of such democracy dimensions as social accountability, election, human rights, rule of law and economic equity. Table 4.6 shows descriptive statistics for the dimensions of deepening democracy.

Table 4. 6: Descriptive statistics for the dimensions of deepening democracy

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Social Accountability	896	1.00	5.00	3.1264	.87968
Past National Election	876	1.00	5.00	2.7795	.80378
Freedom rights	895	1.00	5.00	2.7425	.93144
Rule of Law	884	1.00	5.00	2.4904	.91823
Equity to economic resources	889	1.00	5.00	2.3727	.94887
Composite mean for all dimensions	855	1.03	5.00	2.7055	.64328

Source: Field Survey (2019)

The results in Table 4.6 indicate that the composite perceived level of effort on deepening democracy was found to be 2.7 points from a five point Likert scale. Social accountability

was relatively rated average (3.1) and economic equity had the least performance level (2.3). These findings show that democratization process in Ethiopia is characterized by a low degree of rule of law, weak social accountability, lack of fair and meaningful elections though there had been periodic elections. Weak social accountability and illegitimate election in turn erodes the checks and balances in government system. Furthermore, low status of election shows that there is a weak vertical accountability which hampers the ability of citizens to hold government and political elites accountable for their use of power.

4.5. The outcomes of deepening democracy

This section presents the level of democracy satisfaction and public trust which are the outcomes of deepening democracy efforts.

4.5.1. Democracy satisfaction level

Perceived public satisfaction with democracy is indispensible to assessing government legitimacy and the performance of democracy in a particular country (Fails & Pierce, 2010). Table 4.7 reports the level of public satisfaction with democracy.

Table 4. 7: Descriptive Statistics for public satisfaction with democracy

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Satisfaction with free, fair and periodic election	829	1.00	5.00	2.5621	1.19684
Satisfaction with human rights protection	854	1.00	5.00	2.3724	1.13950
Satisfaction with ensuring economic equity	859	1.00	5.00	2.2678	1.10118
Satisfaction with the way democracy works in the country	852	1.00	5.00	2.4061	1.18624
Overall Satisfaction level (composite mean)	**877**	**1.00**	**5.00**	**2.3990**	**.99610**

Source: *Field Survey (2019)*

As presented in Table 4.7, the mean satisfaction levels with the contents and procedural dimensions of democracy such as protecting human rights, ensuring economic equity and holding free, fair & periodic elections range from 2.26 to 2.56 points out of a five point scale. In terms of percentage, the overall satisfaction with democracy is about only 48%[2]. These

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[2] This is calculated as (2.399/5)*100

results show that residents[3] in Addis Ababa City Administration had low democracy satisfaction level. In other words, the study findings indicate that most respondents have been unhappy with the actual functioning of Ethiopian democracy.

4.5.2. Public trust in government

The focus of 'deepening democracy' is the variations within democracies instead of classifying countries as democratic and non-democratic. It emphasizes on promotion of democratic values such as participation and deliberation which requires opening political system to the mass public (Harbers, 2007). In this study, deepening democracy is operationalized by the level of public trust in government institutions. Grönlund and Setälä (2007) define trust in the government institutions based on the perception that these institutions fulfil certain normative expectations.

The core national institutions representing the three branches of government (parliament, executive & judiciary) were considered to assess the public trust for each main apparatus of the government and the composite mean public trust. Table 4.8 depicts information on mean values of public trust in government.

Table 4. 8: Descriptive Statistics of the means of public trust in government

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
The armed forces	824	1.00	5.00	3.2330	1.30950
Federal government	782	1.00	5.00	2.6893	1.23929
The Civil service system	756	1.00	5.00	2.6098	1.12520
The police	833	1.00	5.00	2.5378	1.14094
Federal Parliament	773	1.00	5.00	2.5097	1.24425
The courts	816	1.00	5.00	2.4571	1.09684
Supreme audit general	643	1.00	5.00	2.4090	1.13389
Ombudsman office	733	1.00	5.00	2.2742	1.14274
Anti-corruption Commission	785	1.00	5.00	2.2662	1.19915
Composite mean public trust in government	877	1.00	5.00	2.4827	.90614

Source: *Field Survey (2019)*

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[3] The level of democracy satisfaction is not statistically different by profiles of respondents such as gender, education level, political party affiliation, religion.

Table 4.8 shows that the mean public trust in key institutions of the government ranges from 2.26 to 3.23 from a five point Likert scale with the composite mean public trust in government of 2.48 point. The mean trust in the institutions in a descending order: the armed forces (3.2), the federal government (2.7), the civil service system (2.6), the police (2.53), the federal parliament (2.5), the courts (2.46), supreme audit general (2.4), ombudsman office (2.27), anti-corruption commission (2.26). This shows that the trust in democratic institutions such as the courts, supreme audit general, ombudsman office and anti-corruption commission was found to be the least trustworthy. The overall finding reveals that the composite public trust in government is 49.6%[4]. This result shows that the level of public trust in government is low which would be one of the threats to participatory political culture without which deepening democracy is unthinkable.

The surprising finding about public trust is that the composite mean public trust in Ethiopian government institutions is significantly lower than public trust in EU/AU *(t = 9.640, df= 698, p = .000)* as confirmed by the paired sample test. The findings from the paired samples test are indicated in Appendix B.

4.5.3. Correlation analysis

The correlation test examines the associations among the variables. Table 4.9 depicts the correlations between variables.

Table 4. 9: Correlations of the study variables

	Public trust	Democracy Satisfaction	Rule of Law	Social Accountability	Election	Freedo m rights	Economic equity
Public trust	1						
Democracy Satisfaction	.562**	1					
Rule of Law	.433**	.373**	1				
Social Accountability	.336**	.279**	.422**	1			
Election	.285**	.284**	.306**	.093**	1		
Freedom rights	.487**	.469**	.448**	.313**	.415**	1	
Economic equity	.514**	.513**	.450**	.354**	.350**	.614**	1

Note: **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Source: *Field Survey (2019)*

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[4] This is computed as (2.48/5)*100

Table 4.9 reveals that all main constructs of study, namely rule of law, social accountability, election, freedom rights, and economic equity have positive significant correlations with public trust. This shows that contents and procedural dimensions of democracy would contribute to maximize public trust which is a proxy measure of deepening democracy in this study. Furthermore, democracy satisfaction is positively correlated with public trust.

4.5.4. The effects democracy dimensions on public trust

This part presents results of multiple regression analysis that examines the effect of dimensions of democracy on public trust. The independent variables are dimensions of democracy which constitute rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity. The dependent variable is public trust as a proxy measure of deepening democracy. Table 4.10 shows results from multiple regression analysis.

Table 4. 10: Regression analysis of the effect of dimensions of democracy on public trust

	Public trust
Rule of law	0.168^{***}
	(0.0339)
Social accountability	0.123^{***}
	(0.0327)
Election	0.0495
	(0.0356)
Human rights	0.194^{***}
	(0.0372)
Economic Equity	0.242^{***}
	(0.0356)
_cons	0.436^{***}
	(0.124)
N	842
R^2	0.354

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; $^{*}\,p < 0.05$, $^{**}\,p < 0.01$, $^{***}\,p < 0.001$
Source: *Field Survey (2019)*

The results in Table 4.10 reveal that rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity collectively explain 35.4% of variation in public trust. The following few paragraphs present the unique contributions of each variable in explaining the change in level of public trust.

Rule of law: As depicted in Table 4.10, rule of law is significantly related to public trust (β= 0.168, P<0.001). The very purpose of the rule of law is establishing formal rules and regulations so as to order political interactions and make politics more transparent and predictable. Such rules of game are endangered in situations where formal and informal institutions coexist in antagonistic manner instead of complementing one another. This means that the equality of citizens before the law cannot be guaranteed which would in turn result in further de-institutionalization of fragile democratic structures and ongoing deterioration (Rakner, Menocal, & Fritz, 2007).

Social accountability: It reflects the extent to which citizens hold officeholders accountable and sanction government, either through the electoral process and civil society action. This is mainly realized by civic engagement (Menocal, 2007). Like rule of law, social accountability has a positive significant effect on public trust (β= 0.123, P<0.001).

Election: Contrary to our expectation and the work by Bjornlund and Bjornlund (2004), election has no significant effect (β= 0.0495, P>0.05) on public trust. This could be because holding of elections per se does not necessarily suffice to promote outcome form of democratization process in our case public trust (Blind, 2007; Rakner et al., 2007).

Human rights: These are concerned with personal dignity (right to life, prohibition of torture and slavery). The extent to which human rights are protected and guaranteed has a significant positive effect on public trust (β= 0.194, P<0.001).

Equity: This assesses the extent to which government allocates scare resources and distributes benefits within societies (Wong, 2003). As presented in Table 4.10, equity significantly explains public trust (β=0.242, P<0.001). This finding is in line with Anderson (1998) who found that there is a strong association between economic equity and the outcomes of democracy (such as satisfaction with democracy and public trust). Similarly, Uslaner and Brown (2005) state that societies with a more equal distribution of resources have a high level of public trust.

4.5.5. The mediation effect of democracy satisfaction in the relationship between democracy dimensions and public trust

The proposition that democracy satisfaction mediates the relationship between composite of democracy dimensions (which is interchangeably used with procedural/contents of democracy) and public trust (Hypothesis 2) was tested by meditation analysis techniques developed by Baron and Kenny (1986). Accordingly, Table 4.11 shows the series of regression analyses performed to test Hypothesis 2. In model 1, the result indicates that the composite procedural/contents dimensions of democracy has a positive significant effect on the dependent variable, public trust ($\beta = 0.824$, P< .001). Thereby, step 1 of the mediation analysis is fulfilled.

Step 2 of the mediation analysis involves providing evidence for a significant relationship between the independent variable and the mediator variable. The result of model 2 in Table 4.11 shows that composite of democracy dimensions has a significant positive effect with democracy satisfaction ($\beta = 0.848$, P< .001), showing that step 2 of the mediation analysis is also satisfied.

Table 4. 11: Regression statistics for the effect of democracy satisfaction as a mediator between composite dimensions of democracy and public trust

	Model 1 (Path c)	Model 2 (Path a)	Model 3 (Path b &c')
	Public trust	Democracy satisfaction	Public trust
Composite dimensions of democracy	0.824***	0.848***	0.550***
	(0.0388)	(0.0441)	(0.0436)
Democracy satisfaction			0.317***
			(0.0281)
_cons	0.255*	0.105	0.240*
	(0.108)	(0.123)	(0.102)
N	877	877	864
R^2	0.340	0.297	0.423

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Model 3 in Table 4.11 entails performing step 3 and step 4 of the mediation analysis simultaneously. Step 3 confirms that democracy satisfaction, the mediator variable, is significantly related to public trust ($\beta = 0.317$, P<.001). Once democracy satisfaction is

entered into the regression, the effect of composite of democracy dimensions on public trust is reduced from $\beta = 0.824$ to $\beta = .550$, which is step 4 of the mediation analysis. This represents a 33.3% reduction. Figure 4.2 presents a summary of the results from the mediation analysis in Table 4.11 by taking the raw (unstandardized) regression coefficients and the corresponding standard errors for paths c, a, b, and c′.
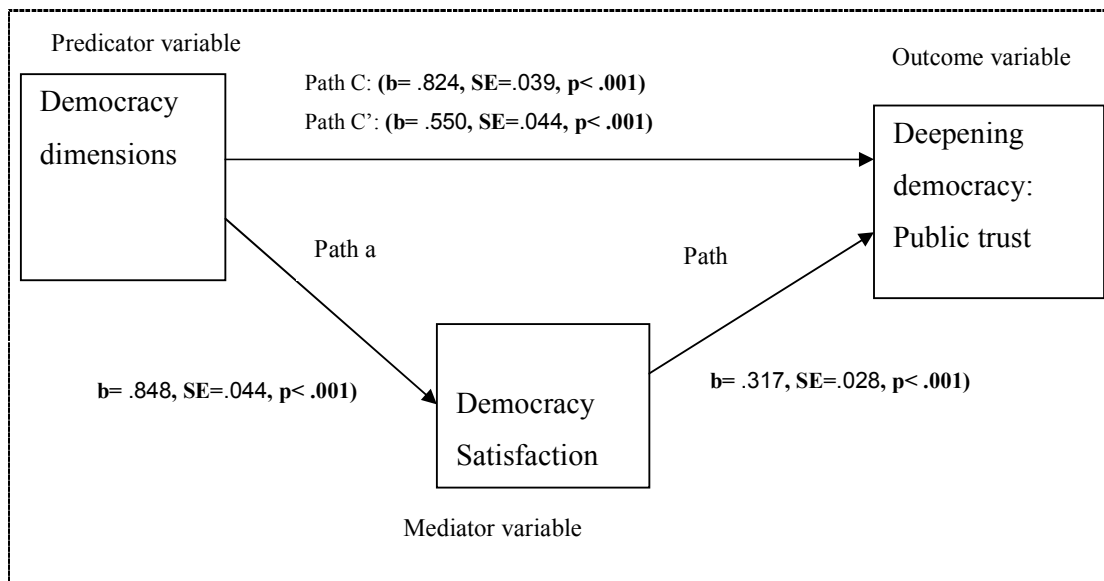
Figure 4. 1: Unstandardized beta weights and standard errors representing the mediated relationship between composite of democracy dimensions and public trust via democracy satisfaction.

Source: computed from *Field Survey (2019)*

A Sobel's test was further undertaken to examine the significance of the indirect effect of the composite dimensions of democracy by taking the raw (unstandardized) regression coefficients and the corresponding standard errors for path a and path b. The result (Sobel's test statistic= 9.76174919, SE= 0.02753769, P<0.001) confirms the significance of the indirect effect of composite dimensions of democracy on public trust through its positive relationship with democracy satisfaction. Hence, democracy satisfaction partially mediates the relationship between dimensions of democratization efforts and public trust.

4.6. The Roles of Political Actors in Deepening Democracy

Deepening democracy requires the diverse role of political actors such as media, political parties, civil societies and citizens. Hence, this section presents the role of each actor in contributing to deepen democracy in the country.

4.6.1. Media

In principle, the media (print, television, radio, and internet) should keep citizens informed, educated and mobilized which in turn contribute to deepen democracy. In many fledgling democracies, the media have been able to assert their role in buttressing and deepening democracy. Investigative reporting, which in some cases leads to the ouster of officials and the fall of corrupt governments, makes the media an effective and credible watchdog and boosted its credibility among the public (Holmes, 1990). Table 4.12 presents the views of respondents on roles of media in deepening democracy.

Table 4. 12: Perception of respondents on roles of media in deepening democracy

S/N	Items	Not often (%)	Fairly often (%)	Often (%)
1	Catalyzing effective implementation of democracy values and principles	49.3	36.0	14.7
2	Providing information to the citizens and building awareness	48.9	34.0	16.1
3	Building peace and social consensus	45.4	32.9	21.7
4	Promoting tolerance among various social groups	45.4	32.0	22.6
5	Giving voice to the citizens including the poor	56.0	26.2	17.8
6	Acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens	55.0	28.1	16.9
7	Ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable	58.2	24.9	16.9
8	Educating voters	43.5	30.6	25.9
9	Protecting human rights	51.5	28.7	19.8
10	Building a civic culture	44.8	30.2	25.0
11	Building a tradition of discussion and debate	46.1	28.7	25.2
	Composite average	*2.58*		

Source: Field survey, 2019

Table 4.12 depicts the perception of respondents towards the roles played by media to deepen democracy in the country. Respondents perceived that the practice is yet low though media is expected to often play the role of catalyzing effective implementation of democracy values

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and principles, providing information to the citizens for awareness creation. Besides most of the respondents perceived the roles of media in building peace and social consensus, promoting tolerance, building civic culture, and tradition of discussion and debate were not often. In addition, the role of media in giving voice to the citizens including the poor, acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens, and ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable has been perceived by majority of the respondents as not often. Generally, the composite average on roles of media has been computed as 2.58 which is below the average which shows that roles played by media to deepen democracy is not yet as expected in principle.

4.6.2. Political Parties

In democratic theory, political parties are considered as voluntary organizations supposed to promote democracy through organizing campaigns, recruiting candidates and mobilizing the political community (Holmes, 1990). Accordingly, Table 4.13 summarizes and presents views of respondents.

Table 4. 13: Perception of respondents on roles of political parties in deepening democracy

S/N	Items	Not Often (%)	Fairly often (%)	Often (%)
1	Catalyzing effective implementation of democracy values and principles	48.7	34.0	17.3
2	Providing information to the citizens and building awareness	49.6	32.5	17.9
3	Building peace and social consensus	48.6	32.7	18.7
4	Promoting tolerance among various social groups	48.5	29.4	22.1
5	Giving voice to the citizens including the poor	54.0	28.0	18.0
6	Acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens	53.2	28.3	18.5
7	Ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable	50.8	28.6	20.6
8	Educating voters	39.6	31.3	29.1
9	Protecting human rights	47.4	28.2	23.4
10	Building a civic culture	49.6	29.1	21.3
11	Building a tradition of discussion and debate	48.4	28.6	22.9
	Composite average	*2.63*		

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Political parties are expected to play immense role for deepening democracy. In relation to the efforts exerted by these actors, the study used different dimensions in order to examine the perception of citizens. Accordingly, the role played by political parties in catalyzing effective implementation of democracy values and principles perceived by 48.7percent and 34percent of the respondents as not often and fairly often respectively which shows the gap in actual practice. In addition, their roles in providing information to the citizens, building awareness and social consensus as well as promoting tolerance among various social groups have been found as not often in the way to significantly contribute for deepening democracy.

The study also examined the roles of political parties in terms of building a civic culture and a tradition of discussion and debate. For all these aspects, the majority of respondents perceived not often and fairly often practices. Moreover, the role of political parties in giving voice to the citizens including the poor, acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens, and ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable has been perceived as not often. Overall, the composite average on roles of political parties in deepening democracy has been computed as 2.63which is below the average scale of fairly often (Mean=3.00). This thus indicates that the political parties are yet at infant stage to contribute for deepening democracy in the country.

4.6.3. Civil Society Organizations

The comprehensive political reform requires a leading role for civil society. Civil society advocates of reform must be prepared to forge alliances with political parties and leaders, or else to form their own alternative associations to deepen democracy (Diamond, 2001). In this regard, Table 4.14 summarizes and presents the views of respondents in roles which civil society organizations are playing to deepen democracy.

Table 4. 14: Perception of respondents on roles of civil society organizations

S/N	Items	Not Often (%)	Fairly often (%)	Often (%)
1	Catalyzing effective implementation of democracy values and principles	49.8	31.1	19.1
2	Providing information to the citizens and building awareness	46.5	33.8	19.7
3	Building peace and social consensus	46.7	29.3	24.0
4	Promoting tolerance among various social groups	44.2	30.4	25.4
5	Giving voice to the citizens including the poor	51.6	28.8	19.6
6	Acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens	51.7	30.6	17.7
7	Ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable	54.3	28.0	16.8
8	Educating voters	46.8	33.7	19.5
9	Protecting human rights	49.9	29.6	20.7
10	Building a civic culture	49.2	30.0	20.9
11	Building a tradition of discussion and debate	48.3	31.2	20.5
Composite average		*2.61*		

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Civil society organizations are the most important mechanisms for protecting the rights of the underprivileged classes in political system of governments. Thus, civil society organizations should facilitate the development of democracy by creating favourable conditions for the classes previously excluded from the political arena to organize for collective action for deepening democracy (Rueschemeyer, Stephens, & Stephens, 1992). In this regard, this study examined the perception of respondents in relation to the roles that civil society organizations played in Ethiopia to contribute for the process of democratization. Accordingly, Table 4.14 shows that the majority of the respondents perceived not often roles of civil society organizations in catalyzing effective implementation of democracy, creating awareness, building peace and social consensus. In addition, their roles in promoting tolerance among various social groups, building a civic culture and a tradition of discussion and debate was not often which assures the gap in actual practice.

The study also addressed the roles of civil society organizations in terms of giving voice to the citizens including the poor, acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens, and ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable to which majority of respondents perceived not often practices. To sum up, the composite average in regard to the roles of civil society organizations in deepening democracy has been computed as 2.61which is below the average

scale of fairly often (Mean=3.00). This therefore indicates that the civil society organizations are not yet contributing plentifully for deepening democracy in the country.

4.6.4. Individual Citizens

Individual citizen's role in deepening democracy should go beyond regular elections and take further steps in strengthening citizenship and democratizing the state. Strengthening citizenship entails transforming residents from passive subjects in dependent relationships with particular politicians or parties into active citizens, who know that they have political rights, can legitimately make demands on the government for public services, and can make their voices heard in political debates (Goldfrank, 2007). In this regard, Table 4.15 summarizes and presents how citizens perceive their role in deepening democracy in the country.

Table 4. 15: Views of respondents on their roles in deepening democracy

S/N	Items	Not often (%)	Fairly often (%)	Often (%)
1	Experience to hold government officials and political elites accountable for their use of power	59.3	23.3	17.4
2	Struggle to ensure equal rights and entitlements stated in the 1995 Ethiopian constitution	51.2	26.5	22.3
3	Experience of disclosing unethical actions of politicians to Ethics and anti-corruption commission	60.8	20.9	18.3
4	Experience of appealing maladministration of local government to ombudsman	63.8	18.7	17.5
5	Experience to express your concern to politicians who are exercising government power	61.4	23.7	24.8
6	Struggle to control over or oppose decisions of government officials which can negatively affect your life	45.7	24.6	29.7
7	Showing interest to form neighbourhood association to protect the interest of yourself and your association members	44.7	26.5	28.8
8	Voluntarily participation in election of representatives during all election campaigns held in the country	31.0	22.2	46.8
9	Showing interest to elect the political party which is believed to represent the interest of citizens	33.0	19.2	47.8
10	Active participation in more direct and popular forms of participation at the local level through village assemblies.	35.9	26.3	37.8
11	Experience to speak self and community concern using official meetings and media.	57.7	19.8	22.5
12	Struggle to oppose discrimination by local politician in the process of local service delivery	45.6	25.7	28.7
	Composite Average		*2.69*	

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Democracy is the result of righteous conduct of its citizens. In this regard, "effective citizenship requires the capacity to participate autonomously in politics and to take propositional action which actually shapes state decisions and enforces state accountability"(Fox, 1990, p. 8). Accordingly, this study addressed the roles citizens are playing to contribute for deepening democracy in the country. Inline to this, Table 4.15 depicts that majority of the respondents (59.3%) confirmed that they do not often hold government officials and political elites accountable for their use of power. Also they were asked to assure whether they play the role of struggling to ensure equal rights and entitlements stated in the 1995 Ethiopian constitution to which 51.2percent and 26.5percentof respondents replied not often and fairly often respectively.

The above findings clearly imply that citizens are not sensitive to claim for their rights stated in the constitution which can also limit the progress of democratization. They were again requested to share their experience of disclosing unethical actions of politicians to Ethics and anti-corruption commission to which majority of the respondents (60.8%) confirmed that they did not often practice to do so. The study also found that citizens do not have experience of appealing maladministration of local government to ombudsman and expressing their concern to politicians who are exercising government power as confirmed by majority of them. Besides, respondents were asked to inform their views in regard to their experiences in struggling to oppose decisions of government officials which can negatively affect their life. Subsequently, 29.7percent of the respondents assured as they have experience. However, majority of the them or 45.7percent and 24.6percent confirmed that they exercise not often and fairly often respectively which shows still the gap in capacity of citizens to play the role they are expected to do so.

Respondents also replied whether they showed interest to form neighbourhood association to protect their interest and their association members in the political system of the country to which few of them reported that they often do it. Nevertheless, the majority or 44.7percent and 26.5percent reported that they do it not often and fairly often respectively. In regard to voluntarily participation in election of representatives during all election campaigns held in the country, 46.8 percent of the respondents assured that they have experience of voluntarily participation in it. This could indicate that citizens have awareness on importance of election to deepen democracy though some citizens have still low level of practices. In addition, the respondents were asked whether they show interest to elect the political party which is

believed to represent the interest of citizens. Consequently, 47.8 percent of them reported that they have had interest to elect the political party which was believed to represent the interest of citizens that need to be built in to the future to exercise right to deepen democracy. On the other hand, 33 percent and 19.2 percent of them argued that they exercise it not often and fairly often respectively which entails that the interest of some citizens is not yet developed to exercise their right.

Concerning active participation in more direct and popular forms at the local level through village assemblies, 35.9 percent and 26.3 percent replied that their participation was not often and fairly often respectively though the remaining 37.8 percent perceived the practice as often. This implies that though some citizens have experience of participating in more direct or popular form at the local level through village assemblies to exercise their right, still the culture of participation has not yet been well developed in the way to deepen democracy.

It is believed that deepening democracy requires the contribution of individual citizens to freely speak their own and community concerns using different means of communication channels in which it will be shared to others to defend wrong actions coming from others. However, majority of the respondents perceived not often experience to do so using official meetings and media. Furthermore, respondents were asked to reply whether they have experience of struggling to oppose discrimination by local politician in the process of local service delivery. Consequently, most of them confirmed that their experience in this regard is not often and fairly often. Generally, the composite average in regard to the roles of individual citizens in deepening democracy has been computed as 2.69 which is below the average scale of fairly often (Mean=3.00). This assures that individual citizens are not playing substantial roles in the way to deepen democracy in the country.

4.7. Challenges to democratic deepening

Democratization processes encounter a number challenges, especially for incipient democratic regimes (Rakner et al., 2007). This section presents structure of the state, administrative incapacity, limited local trust to local government, and subject political culture as challenges to democratization processes in Ethiopia.

4.7.1. Structure of the state as a challenge to deepening democracy

Structure of a given state often specifies about the government system that ensures state-building and promotes democracy. Some studies show that finding the optimal mix of state-building and democracy is very important because they have inherent tensions. On one hand, state-building requires the strengthening of state institutions and centralization of state power, on the other hand, democracy promotion calls for the substantial diffusion and redistribution of state power (Levitsky & Way, 2005; Rakner et al., 2007). Other work by Fukuyama (2005) also indicates that state-building entails creation of military and police forces while democratic deepening creates a system that is subject to public accountability and popular consent.

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia follows a parliamentarian form of government whereby executive and legislative organs are systematically fused. This approach reduces the quality of checks and balances among the branches of government. The 1995 Ethiopian constitution stipulates that the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia consists of federal government and nine regional states of government. Each regional state of government has discretional power to advance self-administration (FDRE, 1995). The following section presents state structure-related challenges to democratic deepening.

Table 4. 16: Structure of the state as a challenge

Items	Disagree		Agree	
	Count	%	Count	%
1. There is no a unified administrative structure of government in the country	236	30.3%	544	69.7%
2. There is unfair resource allocation	241	29.2%	583	70.8%
3. The local government has no discretionary power to decide on the matters of their contexts	237	29.9%	555	70.1%
4. Delegation of authority is not given at different levels of government	194	24.7%	593	75.3%
5. The local government officials are not accessible to serve the local community	211	24.9%	638	75.1%

Source: Field Survey, 2019

In connection with structure of the state, Table 4.16 shows that majority of the respondents witnessed that there are flaws in fulfilling some preconditions of democracy at local government level. As evidenced in the Table 4.16, majority of the respondents (about 70%) agreed that there is no a unified administrative form in the country. This creates loopholes to

formulate and implement policy in a uniform and fair manner; wide variations in the quality and quantity of services delivered to citizens across the country (Tapscott, 2008).

In the same vein, most of the people (70.8%) were in agreement that there is unfair resource allocation among state jurisdictions at different levels. The other challenge to democratization process is local governments had no discretionary power or delegated power to decide on the matters of their constituencies as confirmed by more than 70% of the respondents. Similarly, a large portion of the respondents (75.1%) replied that the government officials were not accessible to serve the community.

4.7.2. Administrative incapacity at a local level

Local governments, key providers of services to the community, are the foundation of democracy. But, good leadership and well-functioning bureaucracy are of paramount importance in delivering services to the public in efficient and effective manner (Peters, 2010). For instance, the bureaucracy system in South Korea follows merit principles which contributes to the country's remarkable growth (Ha & Kang, 2011). Items in Table 4.17 show administrative incapacity at local government levels as a critical challenge to deepening democracy in Ethiopia.

Table 4. 17: Administration incapacity as a challenge

Items	Disagree		Agree	
	Count	%	Count	%
1. Local government officials have no capacity to implement government policies from which the local community to be benefited	209	24.9%	631	75.1%
2. Local government officials have no sufficient knowledge and skills to manage their responsibilities and meet the interest of local people.	201	23.8%	645	76.2%
3. Local government officials do not specify their responsibilities to local community in a transparent manner.	197	23.3%	650	76.7%
4. Local government officials do not have integrity to serve local community	210	24.7%	641	75.3%
5. Local government officials do not show commitment to serve local community that impress you to pay tax and other obligations	183	21.6%	665	78.4%
6. Local government officials do not meet your expectation in delivery of the required social services	182	21.2%	678	78.8%

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Table 4.17 presents perception of the respondents towards the administration capacity of local government. Accordingly, almost more than 75% of the respondents agreed that local government officials had deficiencies in many ways. In this regard, the majority of respondents replied that local government officials did not have adequate capacity, knowledge and skills to implement the policies effectively. Besides, the respondents complained that local government officials failed to exhibit important pillars of democracy such as commitment, integrity and transparency. As a result, 78.8% replied that the officials did not satisfy the expectations of local community in delivery of the required social services.

According to Rakner et al. (2007), institutional and administrative incapacity of the state is overwhelmed by high levels of popular expectations from government. Such circumstance creates disillusionment with government which is a barrier to sustainability of democratic systems. A work by Pfiffner (1987) indicates that administrative incapacity is an outcome of the increasing number of political appointees in the executive organ of government without the merit principle. This leads to politicization of the public sector which is counterproductive to effective government.

4.7.3. Limited local trust to local government

One way to boost public trust in government is by strengthening political legitimacy through local government that makes government closer to the people and vice-versa. Effective local governance system would ensure for the realization of a well known definition of democracy that states as a government of the people, by the people, and for the people (Blind, 2007). Table 4.18 presents some manifestations for low level of local trust to local government in the country.

Table 4. 18: Limited local trust to local government as a challenge

Items	Disagree		Agree	
	Count	%	Count	%
1. I have no trust in the workings of local government	234	27.1%	631	72.9%
2. Local government in your jurisdiction do not have popular support and legitimacy	198	23.8%	635	76.2%
3. Local politicians do not properly use public funds to deliver public services as they commit corruption	181	22.0%	641	78.0%
4. Many of the local government officials have no popular mandate	243	28.8%	602	71.2%
5. Local government officials are not accountable to the local community for their actions	217	25.9%	621	74.1%

Source: Field Survey, 2019

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One of the challenges to democratization process is lack of public confidence in the systems and workings of the local government. In this regard, most of the respondents (72.9%) did not have trust in the workings of local government. Some of the reasons could be due to local government officials were corrupt and unaccountable to the local community, had no popular mandate and did not have popular support as confirmed by a large portion of the respondents (more than 70%).

4.7.4. Subject political culture as a challenge

The essence of democracy is to let people actively participate in the political processes including local governance affairs. This is determined by political culture in a country among other factors. Subject political culture is a situation whereby there is a divide between the government and the citizens. Most of the political leaders aspire to satisfy their selfish and personal goals at the expense of broader national interests while the public at a large has negative perception about the government in subject political culture. This obviously hampers participation in the input/output processes of the political system (Almond & Verba, 1989; Omodia, 2011).

As a part of political culture, failure to uphold democratic principles and democratic consolidation is a big problem of deepening democracy. Democratic consolidation is a state of affairs 'in which none of the major political actors, parties, or organized interests, forces, or institutions consider that there is any alternative to democratic processes to gain power' (Schedler, 1998). This means a democratic regime whereby a return to non-democratic system is no longer likely. But, attitude against democratic consolidation is one of threatening factors of democratic deepening (Gasiorowski & Power, 1998; Omodia, 2011). Items in Table 4.19 indicate that political culture in Ethiopia tends to exhibit some features of subject culture.

Table 4. 19: Subject political culture as a challenge

Items	Disagree		Agree	
	Count	%	Count	%
1. Tasks undertaken by local politicians are not known by the community	252	29.8%	594	70.2%
2. Information is not given to the community about the working systems and procedures of local government	219	25.4%	644	74.6%
3. There is no a formal government system that allows you and your community members to actively participate in the process of local governance	213	25.8%	612	74.2%
4. There is no formally established and communicated legal procedure that allows local participation in the community affairs	231	28.3%	584	71.7%
5. You do not actively participate in the decision-making process at the local level	209	24.8%	635	75.2%

Source: Field Survey, 2019

As depicted in Table 4.19, a large number of the respondents (70%) indicated that the community did not have information about the tasks undertaken by the local governments. The big challenge at the local level is most people (74% of the respondents) perceived that the local government has no formal procedure and system that allows the public mass to involve in local governance affairs. This would result in low community participation in their respective local governments as confirmed by the majority of the respondents (75%) who also replied that they did not actively participate in the decision-making process at their local contexts. This shows that the grass roots democracy exercised by local governments was characterized by low level of participation as there were opaque decision-making processes.

Low level of public participation in decision-making process at local level in turn becomes a critical challenge to deepening democracy. For Rakner et al. (2007), low political participation and weak governmental accountability lead to a sense of collective public frustration about what democracy can deliver and what can be achieved through formal political institutions. This would require integrative political participation in which both the elites and the masses collaboratively participate in the political, socio-economic activities (Omodia, 2011).

Chapter Five

Results and Discussion: Qualitative Perspective

5.1. Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to assess the level of deepening democracy in Ethiopia from a qualitative perspective using the qualitative data collected through key informants interview and focus group discussion. The chapter is, therefore, organized under four sections. The first section presents the perceptions on the efforts of deepening democracy in Ethiopia from election, human rights and economic equity perspective. The second section deals with the role of political actors (media, political parties, and civil society organization and individual citizens) in deepening democracy in Ethiopia. The third section presents the major barriers to deepening democracy in Ethiopia. The final section contains the way forward in deepening democracy as suggested by key informants and focus group participants.

5.2. Perceptions on the efforts of deepening democracy in Ethiopia

The first section presents the perceptions of key informants and focus group participants on the efforts made by the government and other stakeholders in deepening democracy in Ethiopia. The first part of this section presents the efforts made on election. The second part focuses on human rights protection and the final part of this section discusses economic equity.

5.2.1. Election

Election makes a fundamental contribution to deepening democracy. The nature of democracy is that elected officials are accountable to the people, and there must be regular election by the voters to take office. For that reason most democratic constitutions provide that elections are held at fixed regular intervals. Both key informants and Focus group discussants perceived that election has long history in Ethiopia. One of the key informants (Interviewee_01) argued that:

> *During the imperial era there was regular election every four years for members of the House of People's Representatives. The election was fair though there were no political parties and the government was guided by one party system. During the Derg regime, there was no election at all and the regime was guided by one party system and communism ideology. In the EPRDF*

period, however, the concepts of multiparty system and electoral democracy have been introduced to widen the level of democracy in the country. In practice, however, there was a single ruling party dominance and election was not free and fair. The ruling party was dictator that maintains a master-slave relationship between government and the public. Besides, political elites lack tolerance for one another. Currently the democratization process looks like promising following the reform program by the new prime minster.

Other key informant interviewees (KII) and Focus group discussion (FGD) participants also agreed that the electoral system has been started since the imperial era. However, there was no multi-party system and the electoral process was pseudo and dominated by one party system based on centralized approach up to the down fall of the Derg regime.

All the participants agreed that Ethiopia started multi-party system and electoral democracy since the approval of the 1995 national constitution by EPRDF. The constitution clearly states that government power should be taken through election and it also clearly stipulates that individuals can be organized in groups (political parties) to compete for government power through election.

According to key informant interviewees (KII) and Focus group discussion (FGD) participants, Ethiopia held five national parliamentary elections since the approval of 1995 constitution. The election process had many bottlenecks starting from party registration and voter registration to Election Day. Some of the bottlenecks include lack of voters' awareness, difficulty of differentiating between political parties' manifestos and unclear objectives of political parties, and ballot thefts by the ruling party.

Both KII and FGD participants argued that the only election that was free and democratic was conducted in 2005. During this national election, the election process was relatively good in terms of participation of voters, media coverage and electoral system and it was one of the landmarks in Ethiopian election history. The process of election was relatively participatory, fair and transparent in which many political parties were actively competed to win election. It was the first time to see the practice of multi-party system in the country and the media coverage in propagation of election has been seen as wider. For instance, 2005 election of the country seems democratic in which active participation of opposition political parties was

observed, civil society organizations played the role of watchdog and citizens were able to elect the political party which prefer and able to exercise their citizenship right.

The majority of participants, however, argued that the final result of the election was twisted by the ruling party. This time was remarked as aborted political system in the country that creates poles between the ruling party and the opposition parties, and as well as the government and citizens. From this time onwards, the country's politics passed through the era of darkness where the participation of political parties was very minimal. Any political parties or media can be banned by the government by tagging terrorist name and labelling them as they contradicted to national interest, endangered national security and opponents of the government policies.

Most of the KII and FGD participants confirmed that since 2005 election, the democratization process completely declined. The ruling party narrowed the chance of opposition political parties and started to take over the full advantage in order to sustain its power. In order to block the possibility of political parties to freely oppose the action of government, it started to ratify different laws like terrorist (*Anti-Terrorism Proclamation No.652/2009*) and Civil Society and Charities proclamation (*Proclamation 621/2009*) which shrank the contribution of opposition parties in the election process. In addition, citizens are influenced to be organized by 1-to-5 teams (change army) and used to be registered for election and forced to elect the ruling party.

In the election process there was intimidation by the ruling party. Since citizens come to poll by pressure of the cadre of ruling party, mostly they perceive that their vote is valueless. Because of this, they put the sign of insult on the voting sheet. In addition, the observers' from opposition parties were not allowed to stay till the vote count is over. Moreover, key informants interview participant (Interviewee_04) argued that "the minimal role of legal institutions, civil society organizations and other institutions in the election process led to the electoral fraud and manipulation by the ruling party". Besides, it is very common to see some limitations in its process whereby opposition parties are not given equal media coverage to promote their agendas, and limited roles of civil society organizations to act as watchdog of election process.

In the process of election, starting from date of registration to voting, it is very common for political parties to be given different forms of warning, tearing their pamphlets and

brochures, and taking away ballot before counting the vote. In general, it is the ruling party that regulates the process of election and finally counting the vote without any independent observing body. There was a situation where the supporters of opposition parties were killed and hurt because of struggling for illegal handling of election ballot. All these actions of the ruling party in election contributed for abortion of democracy in this country.

Currently, however, there is an ongoing reform in the restructuring of the electoral board and electoral law in the country via active participation of political parties and citizens. Though there are reform programs going on by the ruling party, most of the key informants and FGD participants mentioned some challenges related to the systems on how political parties function such as the large number of political parties (about 107)[5] formally registered, ethnic based party formation, individuals influence and internal conflict of interests in political parties. In addition, political parties do not have clear national alternatives competitive to the ruling party and they are not transparent to their followers and do not serve the public interest.

5.2.2. Human Rights

Most of the participants argued that in principle, Ethiopia signed international human rights conventions and incorporated them in the constitution. The constitution clearly states how the citizens' human rights to be ensured. However, both FGD and KII participants believed that the ruling party failed to respect human rights by putting innocent people into jail, torturing the political prisoners and journalists, killing people only because of their political opinion. In addition, physical and mental attacks, lack of freedom to speech and write, lack of justice are some of human rights violations. Moreover, human rights were violated because of ethnic conflicts, mass displacement and killings via mob mentality.

One of the KII participants (Interviewee_05) stated that "people in Ethiopia hardly differentiate political rights and human rights. Other countries started protecting the rights of animals but we are not yet protecting the rights of our citizens". This is to mean that people have the right to live. But because of political ideology, which is political right, citizens have been killed and torched and this is due to weak institutions, the justice system and moral crisis in the society.

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[5] This number rises to more than 165 after our data collection period.

Interviewee_05 argued that:

Violating human rights starts from home. We violate the rights of individuals. We are not respecting the law. Institutions violate the law. Individuals violate the law. The government is not respecting the law. Unless we believe in the supremacy of the law, it is very difficult to protect human rights.

Most agreed that the persistent injustice system and human rights violation mainly due to political ideology difference lead the country to crisis and the country was in the black list by the international human rights organizations.

Most believed that security forces are not free from the ruling party influence. They simply receive direction from the ruling party and arrest, torch and kill citizens because of their ideological difference. Interveiwee_07 argued that the ruling party ideology of individuals and group rights is one challenge to protect human rights. This is because the ruling party gives more emphasis to group rights than individual rights.

In contrary to the past practices, the KII and FGD participants believed that the current reform in human rights is promising because many political prisoners are now released free and political parties levelled as terrorists living abroad are now in the country to peacefully compete in the political process. But still building institutions for better human rights protection has become a tough assignment for the current government.

5.2.3. Economic equity

Most of the KII and FGD participants believed that the country has registered better economic growth in the last 10 years or so. Though some believed that the government was trying to distribute resources in the form of development projects and poverty reduction programs, almost all participants argued that there is little success in ensuring equitable distribution of resources in the country. Particularly, the youth and unemployed do not properly get benefits from the economic growth. Some also argued that the ruling party deliberately arranged a number of subsidies and duty free programs for some people without creating fair and equal opportunities for the citizens. This resulted in big income differences between the rich and the poor.

In general there is inequality among regions and citizens in terms of getting access to infrastructure, industries, businesses and other economic resources. Resources allocated based on political interest rather than carefully planned development programs which mean that those who have attachment with ruling party benefited more than others.

The government had the largest economic share in the country which mostly allowed those in power to enjoy economic resources at the expense of the poor. There are instances that being affiliated to the ruling party is the requirement to engage in any business activity or to participate in micro and small enterprises. In addition, due to absence of strong regulatory system, the resources are on hands of few elites which have relationship with the government officials that lead to unfair distribution of economic resources in the country. For instance, some merchants who import commodities from abroad are deliberately exempted from custom duty due to which they get an opportunity to import in bulk of goods and inject to the market. On the contrary, others are subjected to pay custom duty from commodities which they are importing due to which they cannot compete in the market with those who trade free of custom duty. This clearly shows that the government has paralyzed the regulatory mechanism of the trading system that weakens fair competition in the market. More specifically, one interview participant (coded as Interviewee_ 03) argued that:

> *The political system was restrictive for the majority of the people to involve in productive sectors. It deliberately benefited very few people who had connections and networks with the ruling party. Though the country registered a fast economic growth for more than seven consecutive years, it does not trickle down to the poor. This was mainly attributable to huge public investment projects which were financed by debts in foreign currency. Majority of these projects, however, failed to meet their obligations to pay interest expenses let alone the capital expenditures. Furthermore, the economic system in the country was controlled by few individuals and groups who had the upper hand in the political system. Thereby, the economic equity dimension of democracy is rated as unsatisfactory. Such situation would be a threat for political stability of the country.*

Regarding fair use of resources, almost all participants argued that the country has a budget formula to distribute national resources to regions. However, resource distribution in the form of projects does not consider population and pastoral areas in to account. KII and FGD participants argued that resource allocation lack transparency and infrastructures in urban and rural areas are not fairly distributed. Contrary to this idea, Interviewee_10 stated that the current government system created opportunity for citizens to create wealth. For citizens who

have commitment to economically develop, the current system gives chance to them. The current government has built infrastructure facilities such as schools, health institutions, electricity, telecommunication, safe drinking water and road across the country.

Interviewee_05 stated that the current ruling party has established endowments to rehabilitate the areas that were affected by the civil war in the 1980s. According to Interviewee_05, these endowments are public resources but the problem is that they are managed by party members and people considered them as party resources. But some other FGD and KII participants argued that the members of the ruling party particularly TPLF owned major endowments (over50 companies) and benefited those who support the party ideology. This has created big inequality between regions and among individuals. Some linked the establishment of endowments with ethnic federalism that the country follows.

Interviewee_ 08 argued that due to lack of fair and rational intervention of government, the distribution of available resources to citizens is not even. The country in general is on the way of creating economic wealth, but the largest proportion of wealth was owned by few elite groups so that the distribution to poor and citizens at grass root level became not fair. For instance, some merchants who import commodities from abroad are deliberately exempted from custom duty due to which they get an opportunity to import in bulk and inject to the market. On the contrary, others are subjected to pay custom duty from commodities which they are importing due to which they cannot compete in the market with those who trade free of custom duty. This clearly shows that the government has weakness in regulating the distribution of resources which contributed for such unfair distribution of resources to take place among citizens. The potential resources of the country are hands of few individuals who have intimacy with government officials so that no one is in position for making the distribution of resources fair to citizens. In government media and on documents it was regularly discussed for fair distribution of resources, but no one gives attention to make it practical.

5.3. Role of political actors in deepening democracy in Ethiopia

Most of the participants in interview and focus group discussion seem to agree that the roles played by the media, political parties, CSOs and individual citizens were relatively visible starting from the down fall of the Derg regime up to 2005 national election and deteriorated

afterwards. However, the role of these political actors is promising since April 2018 due to the reform movement within EPRDF and the pressure from the general public. This section presents the perceptions of key informants and focus group participants on the role of political actors in deepening democracy in Ethiopia. The first part of this section presents the role of media in deepening democracy. The second part focuses the role of political parties. The third part discusses the role of civil society organizations and the final part of this section presents individual citizens.

5.3.1. Media

Both KII and FGD participants believed that media has a significant role in deepening democracy by providing citizens with relevant and timely information via print, television, radio and internet on social, political and economic activities happening in the country. However, participants argued that media was under the strict control of the ruling party. For participants, the ultimate goal of media is to serve the public interest. But public media was satisfying the interest of the ruling party and even a specific group within the ruling party. On the other hand, private media was extremely opposing the ruling party (those functioning outside the country) or focusing on sport news and unnecessary movies (those functioning inside the country) which do not have values to citizens.

Almost the majority of KII and FGD participants argued that media was relatively performing well during the 2005 national election. During this time, the government was kin to encourage media for successful election. Interevwee_03 argued that both public and private media were very active in the election process by providing information and creating awareness to citizens regarding the programs of political parties. Following the election, however, media space was narrowed by the ruling party and most journalists were either arrested or migrated to other countries as they were labelled as terrorists or opponents of the development agenda of the ruling party.

All participants acknowledged the benefits of social media as it is fast, cheap and accessible given that the users are responsible and used it for constructive purpose (such as advertisement, investment, and social communication). In practice, however, participants argued that the risks and adverse effects of social media (particularly face book and YouTube) outweigh its benefits. For example, Interviewee_02 argued that social media via

internet source played a more destructive role in Ethiopian democracy by disseminating false information, fake news and hate-speeches. Similarly, other participants also argued that most media users such as journalists and activists are unprofessional and they give emphasis for their racism campaign instead of providing balanced information about the social, economic and political situation of the country.

Following the current reform initiative, however, almost all participants seem to agree that the media has become independent and free from the influence of the ruling party. But some participants worried about the extreme views of some private media such as OMN and ESAT. According to the participants, these two media promoted the two extreme views (identify-based politics & versus geography-based/ 'Ethiopianism' based politics) with no efforts made to bring these two views in one table. After the reform, most of the media are very busy of criticizing the government and aggravating the differences among the ethnic-groups in the country. Some participants, therefore, suggest censorship or full closure of internet (face book and you tube) unless media users learn how to use it ethically and professionally.

5.3.2. Political parties

Political parties are considered to be the main actors in deepening democracy through preparing policy alternatives, educating the ideals of democracy, pushing government to follow the principles of good governance, and acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens. However, most of the participants agreed that political parties have not made enough contributions to the process of deepening democracy as they lack clear ideology, follow ethnic lines, lack clear vision, and are not strong and free from the influence of ruling party.

Although the constitution encourages multi-party electoral democracy, the majority of participants argued that the ruling party interest was to establish one dominant party in the country by intentionally discouraging other political parties. As discouragement mechanisms, most of the political party leaders were arrested and torched by labelling them as terrorists or anti-developmental actors.

Interviewee_03 argued that some political parties genuinely struggle for democracy in the country. For example, they forced government to undergo reform program at different echelons from local to federal levels. On the contrary, other KII and FGD participants argued

that many political parties are not independent and their existence is known to the public at the time of election campaign. They argue that some political parties do not have clear alternative strategies and policies to attract the attention of citizens than simply opposing the ruling party. Some political parties established unnecessary relationship with ruling party to get some benefits to meet their self-interest rather than working for public and struggling to deepen democracy. The ruling party also needs to manipulate the opposition political parties by providing benefits to systematically influence them to promote the interest of the government. Though some political parties established nationally, their members are families, networks and acquaintance and similarities by birth place or ethnicity. Intervewiee-07 revealed that political parties do not have internal democracy and they do not show commitment of working together with others. In the same vein, Interviewee_04 stated that:

> *Most of the political parties in the country do not have a base in the public including the ruling party. There is no internal democracy among political party leaders. There is always conflict among political party leaders within their party and with other parties. Most of the political parties do not have capacity to participate in election and create awareness in the community. Their number is extremely increasing from time to time. Many of the political parties were established for leaders or members own personal interest. They do not have clear vision and goals on how to transform our country if they win election.*

FGD participants perceived that all political parties wish to be a king at the expense of the public interests. Some FGD participants also argued that many opposition political parties were commissioned by the ruling party as mere attendants to make the election campaign 'colorful'. For instance, the ruling party gives adequate finance for those who have good relationship and ignore or give small amount for those with no relationship.

Following the current initiative, participants perceived positively that the ruling party showed interest to exercise multi-party and electoral democracy in the country. According to the participants, many political parties within and outside the country have got the chance to freely organize themselves and compete for political power. Those who were labelled as terrorists are allowed to come to the country and open their offices. Interevwee_06 argued that currently the working environment is good and political parties are working with the ruling party to revise laws and policies related to multi-party electoral system. He argued that about seven political parties are merged together to establish one party based on nation

centred ideology as opposed to nationalities based parties based on bottom-up approach to reach the mass at lower level.

Despite the new initiative by the government, the participants worried about the ever increasing number of formally registered political parties in the country. So far the number reached 107. According to the participants, this large number clearly shows the existence of big differences among political parties instead of shared values in the country. Participants perceived that still political parties do not have alternatives and they simply consider as their business regardless of the interest of the public and most ignore national interest and follow identify- based politics.

Though the current effort of the government is promising, Interviewee_09 argued that in general political parties are still at infant stage in Ethiopia. They lack political maturity and they do not represent the public interest. They lack rationality in their political thinking. Taking this reality in to account, Interevwee_06 argued that establishing the capacity institutions (political, social and economic) is very crucial for better performance of political parties.

5.3.3. Civil Society Organizations

The civil society sector is important for democratization due to its contribution in lobbying and pressuring the government for policy changes. Most of the participants in both KII and FGD agreed that CSOs can play a role in deepening democracy through reducing political corruption and force the government to be more accountable, transparent, and responsive to the public. Cognizant to this, participants argued that CSOs played an indispensible role in building democracy through voter education and engaging in advocacy works.

According to the participants, the role of CSOs during the 2005 election was significant. During that time, the government interest was to be seen by externals as democratic nation by conducting successful election. From the beginning the ruling party was sure to win the election but the ruling party faced high competition and lost the election in many places. The active involvement of the civil society organizations in this election worried the ruling party and led to the formulation of civil society and charities proclamation 621/2009 to intentionally paralyze their work. This proclamation does not allow many categories of CSOs to engage in advocacy activities that promote democracy and human rights. In connection

with this, Interevwee_05 argued that most CSOs established after 2005 election are not independent from government influence. Most of the CSOs such as women league, youth league were established and served the ruling party interest instead of serving the public interest. In principle, opposition political parties can be strong and the ruling party will be fair only if CSOs are self-autonomous and independent which in turn serve as a watch dog since they have the base in the community.

5.3.4. Individual Citizens

Citizens play an important role in deepening democracy. In theory, there would probably be no democracy without active role of citizens. Both FGD and KII participants agreed that citizens must be aware of their rights and responsibilities and play an active role in deepening democracy by electing their representatives, take control of democratic institutions and influence the government about their demands, concerns and expectations. However, participants agreed that the role of individual citizens in deepening democracy is minimal in practice though there are some extraordinary citizens who are struggling for the freedom of their community.

Some interviewees and FGD participants indicated that low awareness of citizens, lack of interest to take responsibility, fear of the adverse effect of politics and tendency to choose status-quo are some of the responsible factors that obstruct role of individual citizens in deepening democracy. Similarly FGD participants argued that people have bad image towards politics which reduce their level of participation in election and other democracy related issues. This is mainly due to hangover from deep-rooted bad political culture in the country where one forcefully takes-over government position; the governments are mainly dictators. In connection with this, many people have not developed a culture of tolerance whereby only winning idea prevails over the other. Thus, the role of individual citizens in deepening democracy is almost non-existence. In this regard, Interviewee_03 specifically argued that:

Individual citizens equate politics with 'fire' which is harmful whenever approaches it. Such wrong perceptions emerged as a result of long-time suppression of people by Ethiopian politicians. For this reason, individual citizens have no room and motive to participate in the politics and democracy. This is mainly true for educated people who run out of political environment.

Most of the FGD and KII participants believed that schools, religious institutions and the family should work hard to create a responsible citizen. For the participants, now a days, most citizens particularly the youth do not have jobs. They spend their time browsing internet mainly Facebook and YouTube. This situation together with the political crises in the country created irresponsible youth groups in various names such as '*Kerro*' in *Oromia*, '*Fano*' in *Amhara*, '*Zerma*' in *Guragie*, '*Ejeto*' in *Sidama, and 'Baladera'* group in Addis Ababa. These informal groups within the community are becoming a challenge to deepen democracy in the country.

Interviewee_05 strongly argued that change starts from individual level. Therefore, if individual citizens develop positive attitude, they can change themselves first and then contribute to the change in their community and country. But, selfishness is increasing and the 'my' mentality as opposed to 'we' mentality is growing from time to time in the country. This creates more division than unity among different ethnic groups.

Interviewee_06 argued that even if the constitution clearly states that everybody has the right to live, own resource and enjoy human rights in the country; individuals living in various regions do not have equal rights as locally considered as indigenous ethnic groups. For example, some regional constitutions give recognition for indigenous ethnic groups and excluded others even if they live for centuries in the region. This is the main source of conflict, displacement and killings in some areas of the country which is a big challenge in deepening democracy.

5.4. Barriers to Deepening Democracy in Ethiopia

This section presents the major barriers to deepening democracy in Ethiopia based on qualitative information collected from key informants interview and focus group participants.

- **Lack of clear shared political ideology**

Both KII and FGD participants argue that in Ethiopia there are two dominant political ideologies. The first is ethnic politics and the second one is citizenship politics. But the big challenge is the fact that the promoters of these two ideologies do not come together and discuss the ideologies, their advantages and disadvantages taking the situation of Ethiopia in to account. In addition to these two political ideological dichotomies, religious extremism and 'Stalinism' thinking obstruct the solidarity and brotherhood of Ethiopians.

- **Subject political culture**

There was no active participation of political actors such as political parties, civil society organizations, media and citizens in the last 27 years in Ethiopia. The political culture was mainly characterized by widening differences instead of building shared values. There exists deep rooted elite-dominated and parochial political culture that does not entertain the mass interests in Ethiopia.

- **A moral crisis of the people**

There is a tendency that the person, particularly, the young generation faces a moral crisis whereby it becomes difficult to differentiate between the good and bad intentions, decision and actions. Citizens do not listen others views /ideas and do not respect to each other. Now a day the wait given to the rule of law is biased. Citizens' attitude is becoming bad and the country has failed to build the ethics of teenagers at schools. No critical analysis and balancing information. The law is violated by community unnecessarily. Failure to

- **Violation of rule of law and disagreement in the constitution**

Nowadays, it seems difficult for government to uphold the principles of rule of law in action because some people have a great desire to fulfil their rights but they are not much interested to discharge their obligations. Most do not have agreement on each and every articles of the constitution. Legal reforms must be carried out. Our election must be supported by technology. We need to employee professionals for better performance.

- **Emphasizing diversity instead of unity**

A nation that gives too much emphasis to diversity on the basis of ethnicity or religious instead of unity could cause chaos and which would in turn hamper the efforts of deepening democracy. Because of strong emphasis on diversity, ethnic clashes, violence and political instability persist. Deaths of hundreds of civilians and the displacement are common throughout the country. There is no consensus on national language, national flag, national song and other common national values that bring unity as citizens of one country that struggles to build democracy. So, identity-based federalism is a big challenge to deepen democracy.

- **Failure in managing expectation of the youth**

The antigovernment protests that led to the current government change in Ethiopia were primarily organized and led by youth. This reform triggers high expectations among the youth and could lead to resentment and unrest if left unmet and managed in a systematic and strategic way.

- **Poverty**

There is a linkage between level of poverty and level of democracy. Countries and people with extreme poverty are not democrat showing that poverty has an adverse effect on deepening democracy though the issue is debatable.

- **Fragmented political parties**

Opposition political parties are not in a position to come up with new ideas that could serve as alternative directions and options compared with the ruling party. Their establishments follow ethnic lines in specific geographic areas. Political parties do not have country vision and mission. Their focus is personal or group interest. Their number is extremely increasing from time to time. This shows that establishing political parties is becoming a business for some parties. There is no cooperation/integration among political parties even if there is pressure from the ruling party leaders' side to unite based on their ideology similarity.

- **Lack of free and fair election**

There was no free and fair election. Election board members and electoral process was under the influence of the ruling party. Election board has no good leadership and not institutionalized. Thereby, election was fake and conducted to be seen as a democratic country for the external world. The new reform is promising to make the next elections free and fair but the government has not yet rolled out its roadmap for electoral reforms. Although the constitution requires census every 10 years ahead of the election cycle, it was not done in 2019 because of security reasons.

- **Herd or mob mentality**

It is a situation whereby people are influenced by their peers to adopt certain behaviours on a largely emotional, rather than rational, basis. Under such circumstances, people may make different decisions than they would have individually. Herd mobility becomes very common in Ethiopia which jeopardizes democratic deepening. Extreme thinking towards only ethnic

or only 'Ethiopianism': Such two extreme poles create divergence among different segments of the people such as politicians, ethnic groups and individuals. No one is listening and compromising based on win-win approach. Everybody wanted to win and others to loss.

- **Lack of independent media and professional journalists**

Overall the participants agree that media was not independent and ethical as well as professional. Public media was highly controlled by the ruling party and private media was manipulated by individual owners and shaped by personal and group interest than national interest.

- **Human rights violation**

It is agreed by the majority that the ruling party in Ethiopia has failed to respect human rights. People were arrested, tortured and killed only because they differ in their political ideology. Some were physically and mentally attacked, some lack their freedom to speech, write, etc.

- **Lack of leadership and institutional capacity**

In both institutional and country level, we lack leadership and institutional capacity. Although democracy promotes professionalism and integration from various actors, in reality we do not have strong and merit based institutions. Most of the economic and service sectors do not have the required capacity. Democratic institutions such as Ombudsman, human rights commission, election board, justice, media, etc. are very weak. That is the reason why universities and schools are becoming source of conflict because of ethnicity instead of being source of new ideas for change. Generally we do not have sustained institutions.

- **Corruption, inefficiency and lack of public trust**

The political leaders, officers, tend to be corrupt, dishonest and inefficient. This results in lack of trust of the citizens. There is no balance between legislative, executive and judiciary bodies. Three machineries of the government fail to have check and balance system for proper accomplishments of their respective responsibilities. The problem of patronage and absence of distinction between government and political parties as well as lack of commitment by government, political parties and individual citizens, the weakness of government higher officials in giving freedom to citizen to freely exercise their rights, unfair

distribution and use of available resources and prevalence of rent seeking behaviour among government officials leads to public distrust and lack of sustained democracy.

- **Growing economic inequalities among groups and individual citizens**

Economic inequality is prominent in Ethiopia and it becomes the source of conflict. Some groups those who are close to the ruling party benefited more than others.

Chapter Six

Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter has three parts. The first part presents and discusses the summary of findings that integrates quantitative and qualitative discussions of the analysis section in condensed manner. The second part of the section addresses conclusions made on the basis of the findings and objectives of the study. The third section deals with the possible recommendations forwarded for further improvement of the issue under investigation.

6.1. Summary of Findings

The summary of findings focuses on major results found by integrating the qualitative and quantitative analyses on the basis of the research questions of the study and presented as follows:

6.1.1. Citizens' Perception towards the Current Efforts of Deepening Democracy

This section deals with the major findings in relation to the perception of different political actors (individual citizens, media, political parties, and civil society organizations) about the current efforts of deepening democracy in terms of the rule of law, social responsibility, election, human rights and economic equity in Ethiopia.

I) Rule of law

The study addressed whether the current effort in the country promotes the rule of law in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are equally enforced and independently adjudicated. In line to this, the quantitative results confirmed that the average current effort of ensuring the rule is 2.49 (below the average) and indicates the gap which may constrain deepening democracy. This has been supported by qualitative results from focus group discussion and interview which assured that the rule of law was hardly respected due to lack of government commitment to uphold the principles of rule of law in to action. The qualitative result also assures that even if the constitution granted equal rights for every citizen to live in everywhere, own resource and enjoy human rights in the country, individuals living in various regions practically do not have equal rights with indigenous ethnic groups. It was also emphasized that the justice system was not practically reformed and not autonomously functioning to ensure the rule of

law which requires the country to work hard on undertaking real reforms in its justice systems, and security institutions to enhance the respect for rule of law as it is endanger.

II) Social Accountability

Social accountability entails the ability of citizens to exercise their right of holding officeholders accountable and sanction government, either through the electoral process and civil society action or as part of a design of institutional checks and balances. To this end, the quantitative result shows relatively better efforts of individuals as confirmed with average effort of 3.13, which closes to the average that can be considered as promising for future if nurtured well. However, the qualitative results confirmed that selfishness of individuals is increasing and some people have intention to fulfil their rights and interests regardless to discharge their obligations and respecting the rights of others. In addition, the qualitative result indicates that citizens have low awareness, lack of interest to take responsibility, fear of the adverse effect of politics and tendency to choose status-quo due to which they are not discharging their social responsibility in the way to contribute democratization process.

III) Election

Fair and free election can be considered to be key components in the promotion and deepening of democracy. In line with this, the result of quantitative analysis shows 2.78 average effort of deepening democracy which is below the optimal average (3.00). This is characterized by absence of autonomous election board, unfairly counted and bribed votes, deliberate influence of ruling part on other opposition political parties, unfair media coverage for election campaign and violence on voters at the polls. This finding is also confirmed by the qualitative analysis that though Ethiopia has undertaken five national parliamentary elections, the election process had many bottlenecks starting from party registration and voter registration to Election Day. Some of the bottlenecks include lack of voters' awareness, difficulty of differentiating between political parties' manifestos and unclear objectives of political parties, and ballot manipulation by the ruling party. Moreover, the result confirmed that since 2005 election, the democratization process of the country was completely declined because of the effort of the ruling party to take over the full advantage with aim to sustain its power. Furthermore, the result reveals that civil society organization have very limited roles to act as watchdog of election process in the country. These all can obviously give a fertile ground for creation of dictator leadership that deters the process of democratization in the country.

IV) Human Rights

In regard to efforts exerted to ensure human rights in terms of right to life, prohibition of torture and slavery, civil rights, freedoms of religion, expression, association; and personal liberty and security; and political rights to vote and be elected the quantitative result indicates the average effort as 2.74 which is below the average (Mean = 3.00). This clearly shows the gaps in ensuring protection of human rights which can deter the progress of deepening democracy in the country. The findings from qualitative analysis also confirmed very low effort in protection of human rights in the country as the ruling party failed to respect human rights by putting innocent people into jail, torturing the political prisoners and journalists, and killing citizens because of their ideological difference without any court decision. The analysis also reveals that the country was in the black list by the international human rights organization. On the other hand, it was found that the current reform in human rights is promising because many political prisoners were released free and political parties who were living abroad allowed to peacefully compete in the political system of the country which can be considered as new political reform in this country. However, still building institutions for better human rights protection for future has become a tough assignment for the current government.

V) Economic equity

The quantitative analysis has found that the average effort of government for enhancing economic equity as 2.37 which is far from the optimal average (3.00). This clearly confirms that the efforts of the government for narrowing income differences, reducing regional imbalance, alleviating poverty, addressing widespread discrimination, equal involvement of citizens in income generating business activities, and fairly distributing country's resources for ensuring equitable benefits of citizens very low. This finding also concurs with the findings from qualitative analysis which assures that there is little success in ensuring equitable distribution of resources in the country. The result also approves that the ruling party favours in employment, organization of unemployment people in micro and small enterprises, imposing tax like exempting import from custom duty for some importers, ruling party ownership of public endowments, deliberate expansion of contraband trading by selected groups. This obviously noticed as creating a loophole for wider economic inequity which could be a big challenge for deepening democracy since economic inequity restricts individuals' ability to contribute for democratization process.

6.1.2. The Roles of Political Actors in Deepening Democracy

This section presents the main findings in relation to the contribution of different political actors in order to deepen the practice of democracy in the country. It discusses the role which media, political parties, civil society organizations and individual citizens are playing to the process of democratization.

I). Media

The quantitative result shows that the role of media is yet little which is rated as average effort of 2.58 which is below the optimal level (3.00). This clearly shows that roles played by media to deepen democracy in terms of catalyzing effective implementation of democracy values and principles, providing information to the citizens for awareness creation, building peace and social consensus, promoting tolerance, building the tradition of discussions and debates, and acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens remains little. This finding concurs with the result of qualitative analysis which confirms that public media was under the strict control of the ruling party to satisfy its interest and specific group within the ruling party. The result also conveys that the establishment of some public media is ethnic based that propagates only the case a particular ethnic group without any national affair. On the other hand, the private media, were extremely opposing the function of ruling party and instead of acting as an independent actor to focus on issues that give value to citizens. The finding assures that media was relatively played the right role during the 2005 national election until its manipulation by ruling party latter. In general, the finding confirms the role media is playing to deepen democracy in the country is very limited except the current efforts due to political reform which made media to become independent and free from the influence of the ruling party to contribute its part for democratization.

II). Political Parties

The quantitative result indicates that the political parties are yet at infant stage to contribute for deepening democracy in the country for which the aggregate average was computed as 2.63 which is below the optimal scale (Mean=3.00). This has been found due to limited efforts exerted for catalyzing effective implementation of democracy values and principles, providing information to the citizens, building awareness and social consensus, promoting tolerance among various social groups, building civic culture and a tradition of discussion and debate as well as acting as watchdog. This also concurs with findings from the qualitative

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result which assures that that political parties in the country have not made sufficient contributions to the process of deepening democracy as they lack clear ideology, follow ethnic lines, lack clear vision, and are not strong and free from the influence of ruling party. In addition, it was realized that some political parties do not have clear alternative strategies and policies as well as national agenda to attract the attention of citizens than simply opposing the ruling party. Some other political parties were established to meet their self-interest by creating unnecessary relationship with ruling party to get some benefits than working for public and struggling to deepen democracy.

III). Civil Society Organizations

The quantitative analysis has found that civil society organizations in the country are not yet contributing plentifully for deepening democracy in the country in which their aggregate average role was computed as 2.61, i.e. below the optimal average level (Mean=3.00). This is due to their minimal role in acting as watch dog on behalf of the citizens, catalyzing effective implementation of democracy, creating awareness, building peace and social consensus, promoting tolerance among various social groups, building a civic culture and a tradition of discussion and debate. This result also corresponds to the qualitative finding which confirms that the level of roles played by civil society organizations remains minimal. The result also conveys that the formulation of civil society and charities proclamation 621/2009 paralyzed many civil society organizations to not function in the way to contribute for deepening democracy by blocking them to not engage in advocacy activities that promote democracy and human rights protection. Even though many CSOs such as women league, youth league were established after 2005 election in the country with the assumption to engage in advocacy activities and human rights campaign, they left to serve the interest of ruling party instead of serving the public interest. These all confirm that the role of civil society organizations to deepen democracy was not yet matured in the country.

VI). Individual Citizens

The quantitative analysis found that the roles individuals are playing to deepen democracy in the country is not substantial roles in the country with aggregate average role of 2.69 which is below the optimal average (Mean=3.00). This is due to limited efforts exerted by individual citizens to influence the government officials and political elites accountable for their use of power, struggling to ensure equal rights and entitlements stated in the constitution, disclosing unethical actions of politicians, appealing maladministration of local

government. In addition, their roles were found very minimal in struggling to oppose decisions of government officials which can negatively affect their life, opposing discrimination by local politician in the process of local service delivery, participation in more direct and popular forms at the local level through village assemblies. Moreover, it was found that citizen do not show interest to freely speaking their own and community concerns using different means of communication channels in which it will be shared to others to defend wrong actions coming from others.

These findings also correspond to the results of qualitative analysis which confirms that that the role of individual citizens in deepening democracy is minimal in practice though there are some extraordinary citizens who are struggling for the freedom of their community. Their minimal role is attributed to low awareness, lack of interest to take responsibility, fear of the adverse effect of politics, tendency to choose status-quo and selfishness. In addition, the absence of job opportunity and the current political atmosphere led most citizens particularly the youth to spend their time browsing internet mainly Facebook and YouTube. This situation created irresponsible and informal youth groups in various names such as '*Kerro*' in *Oromia*, '*Fano*' in *Amhara*, '*Zerma*' in *Guragie*, '*Ejeto*' in *Sidama*, '*Baladera*' group in Addis Ababa and the like informal institutions within the community. These become a challenge to deepen democracy in the country even for future unless efforts made to transform them into formal status.

6.1.3. The Outcomes of Deepening Democracy: Satisfaction with democracy and Public Trust

This finding in regard to the level of democracy satisfaction and public trust shows that the overall satisfaction with democracy is only 48% and 49.6% respectively. This shows that residents in Addis Ababa City Administration had low level of democracy satisfaction level and public trust without which deepening democracy is not expected.

6.1.4. The Effect of Dimensions of Democracy on Public Trust

In regard to the effects of dimensions of democracy on public trust, it was found that the rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity collectively explain 35.4% of variation in public trust in which the rule of law, social accountability, human rights and economic equity significantly affect public trust (deepening democracy) at 5% significance level. However, the national election was found not significantly affect public

trust which could be due to belief of the voters as the election is only for sake. In addition, it was found that democracy satisfaction partially mediates the relationship between composite of democracy dimensions and public trust that shows bringing democracy satisfaction to citizens has paramount importance in order to build public trust.

6.1.5. Barriers to Deepening Democracy in Ethiopia

This section summarizes the findings related to barriers in deepening democracy in the country from both quantitative and qualitative analyses. To this end, it was found that deepening democracy is challenged by barriers among others such as structure of the state, administration incapacity, lack of public trust, subject political culture. Moreover, lack of clear shared political ideology, emphasizing diversity instead of unity, fragmented political parties, poverty (growing economic inequality), herd or mob mentality, human rights violation, lack of independent media and professional journalists, lack of free and fair election, lack of tolerance culture among citizens were also found to influence the democratization process.

6.2. Conclusion

This study addressed the practices of deepening democracy through citizens' participation in Ethiopia. To this end, the study focused on realizing the objectives of examining the extent of current efforts in enhancing deepening democracy; the roles played by different political actors to deepen democracy; and the prevailing barriers that deter the process of deepening democracy in the country. In regard to the extent of current efforts to enhance deepening democracy, no sufficient efforts exerted in the way to deepen democracy in terms of respecting the rule of law, social accountability that every citizen is expected to contribute, ensuring human rights as per the law of the country, national election to bring the political party to the position of government by the interest of people, and economic equity. Unless substantial efforts made by all bodies concerned, these bottlenecks highly deter the progress of deepening democracy in the country.

The study also addressed the roles played by different political actors without which deepening democracy is not expectable. Accordingly, the roles which media, political parties, civil society organizations and individual citizens play have not yet been developed in the way to accelerate deepening democracy. As a result, democracy satisfaction of citizens and

public trust remain minimal that could deter the process of democratization. In regard to the factors that affect the level of public trust, the practices of rule of law, social accountability, human rights protection and economic equity have statistically significant effect on public trust that calls for due attention to exert substantial efforts to improve these dimensions without which expectation of deepening democracy cannot be realized. Finally, the structure of the state, administration incapacity, lack of public trust subject political culture, lack of clear shared political ideology, emphasizing diversity instead of unity, fragmented political parties are found as barriers that limit deepening democracy. Furthermore, growing economic inequality, mob mentality, human rights violation, lack of independent media, election for sake, absence of tolerance culture among citizens are other barriers to influence the democratization process. The persistence of these barriers may lead citizens to a sense of collective public frustration which can restrict their contributions for deepening democracy in the country.

6.3. Recommendations

In light of the summary of findings and conclusion, the following recommendations are forwarded to enhance the level of deepening democracy which can be applied to Addis Ababa city administration in particular and Ethiopia in general. The recommendations are organized as follows. The first part recommends on the dimensions of democracy (rule of law, social accountability, election, human rights and economic equity). The second part contains recommendations on the role of political actors (Media, political parties, civil society organization, and individual citizens) in deepening democracy. The third part focuses on recommendations regarding the barriers towards deepening democracy. Finally, recommendation is forwarded regarding the effects of democracy dimensions on public trust.

6.3.1. Recommendations on the dimensions of democracy

a) Rule of law

- The federal government, Addis Ababa City administration and regional governments together with citizens and other stakeholders need to reinforce the rule of law and reform the justice sector as the country is facing a challenge in protecting citizens' rights. Reforming the justice sector (in terms of promoting democratic values, developing the capacity of justice sector, reducing corruption, merit based assignment of courts and judges, establishing independent courts and judges) will build an effective

and efficient justice system capable of ensuring the rule of law and making courts and judges free from the influence of politicians. This will protect the rights of citizens with no discrimination based on ethnicity, religion and social class.

- Legal reform activities currently undertaken by EPRDF should be inclusive and the revised restrictive laws such as the Anti-terrorists law, Civil Societies and Charities Proclamation should be implemented in the way that the rule of law is respected. In connection with this, government bodies at federal and local level should take responsibility and be accountable for the real implementation of the rule of law and ensure equality of citizens before law.

b) *Social accountability*

- It is recommended that citizens should be empowered (in terms of awareness creation in their rights, active political participation in local government, decision, getting access to information and other resources) to hold public officials, politicians and service providers accountable to their actions and performances in delivering services, improving citizens' livelihoods and protecting citizens' rights through the electoral process, civil society action or checks and balances. This will deepen democracy in the city in particular and in the country in general.

c) *Election*

- The federal government in collaboration with other stakeholders should undertake workable reforms on national election laws to make the multi-party electoral democracy effective and ensure free and fair election.
- The government and other stakeholders should uphold democratic consolidation through voters' education, citizens' awareness and information access about political parties programs and democratic values.
- The federal government, Addis Ababa city administration and regional governments should pursue reforms that guarantee the independence of key democratic institutions including the judiciary (justice system), Ombudsman, Human Rights Commission, Anti-corruption commission, security offices, the National Electoral Board and the security offices to bring significant change and sustainable democracy via free, fair and periodic election in the country.

- The federal government should provide financial and technical support (including the use of modern technology) and build the capacity of national election board to improve the electoral process and conduct free, fair, transparent and inclusive election in the country.

d) *Human rights*

- The federal government, Addis Ababa City administration and regional governments together with citizens and other stakeholders need to protect human rights such as citizen's personal dignity (right to life, prohibition of torture and slavery); their civil rights (freedoms of religion, expression, association; and personal liberty and security); and their political rights to vote and be elected in their community. Moreover, individual citizens right to live, own and use resources and active participation in economic and political decisions must be protected throughout the country.

- The federal government, regional governments and Addis Ababa city administration should give priority for human rights protection and confirm that citizens are protected from any displacement, killings, and mob attack by informal groups such as *Kero*, *Fano*, *Ejeto*, *Zerma*, *Baladera* and others. It is recommended that these informal institutions should be formally structured in the way that they take responsibility and accountability for their action.

- The EPRDF government gives more emphasis to group rights as compared to individual rights. Hence, the federal government, Addis Ababa city administration, regional governments and other stakeholders should work together to further strengthen its system to ensure that both group rights and individual rights are respected.

- The city administration and the federal government have to organize periodical city or national level campaign to overcome 'herd or mob mentality' in the names of ethnicity or religion or villages and protect citizens' human rights.

e) *Economic equity*

- The federal and regional governments as well as Addis Ababa city administration should design a strategy in addressing widespread discrimination in distribution of resources in the regions and among individual citizens in the country.

- The city government and the federal government in collaboration with other stakeholders should undertake pro-poor policies and strategies such as creating jobs and providing education opportunities that allow youth and marginalized groups an outlet for their ambitions and opportunities for their future. In addition, private sectors and individuals should have the opportunity to engage in various business activities based on transparent and fair manner.

- The federal government, Addis Ababa city administration and regional governments should carry out nationwide economic reform in the country as the economy is dominated by government owned enterprises and party-affiliated endowments. Thereby, the ownership of endowments must be transferred to the public.

- The federal government and policy makers should reform the economic and political policies for better distribution of economic resources and political power so as to help citizens' benefits equality throughout the country. The federal government budget allocation and national projects distribution should be fair and transparent taking the regional differences in to account.

- The federal government, Addis Ababa city administration and regional and local governments should focus on sustained and strong public institutions and develop their capacity in terms of leadership and management. These institutions should implement merit based employment and assignment of strong and committed people in key positions, should independently work in line with their objectives, should serve the public interest and be governed by the rule of the game in all perspectives that cover politics, economy and social activities so as to benefit every citizen equally.

6.3.2. Recommendations on the role of political actors

1. *Media*

- The federal government and other stakeholders should strengthen and promote independent and professional media and journalists to share timely information, balance discussions during election and serve the government, political parties and citizens fairly.

- The federal government together with other stakeholders should reform the media sector and laws related to the sector so as to disseminate well established and mature ideas instead of presenting sensitive and controversial ideas that breed intolerance and extreme divisiveness among the citizens in the country. It is also recommended that

journalists working in media should be guided by media ethics and knowledge with no influence from the ruling party.

- The federal government, Addis Ababa City Administration and regional governments need to protect journalists' rights, enhance media accountability, build media capacity and provide access to information to the journalists and to the public for better democratization and human rights protection.

- The federal government, Addis Ababa City Administration and regional governments together with other stakeholders need to revise the system of establishing media in the country. Media should be established based on national interest taking multi ethnic and multi lingual situation in to account.

2. *Political parties*

- The federal government should implement the real multi-party electoral system and political parties should compete for power with the ruling party based on clearly defined visions and alternative strategies and clear political ideology to bring democracy in the country.

- Political parties should work for the public and their country not for their personal and group interests. They should revise their structures by focusing on national issues and agendas rather than ethnicity and specific locations.

- The federal government should revise the rule on the establishment of political parties in terms of members' size, nationwide coverage (membership should be from different regions and ethnic groups) and national alternative strategies they have to compete for power. Ultimately, only few parties having strong public support will be functional in the country.

3. *Civil society organizations*

- The federal government should revise anti-terrorists and civil society and charities laws that impede their freedom of expression, association and assembly to enable them play their critical role in deepening democracy via engaging in the national election process for better administration of fair election and sustainably protecting citizens' rights and make officials accountable to their action. In addition, CSOs should serve the public interest instead of their personal or group interest.

- The federal government and Addis Ababa city administration should support and create an enabling environment for civil society organizations to be independent and professional so that they can serve as a watch dog and create awareness as well as disclose human rights violation.

4. *Individual citizens*

- The federal government, Addis Ababa city administration and the regional governments should promote active citizen participation not only in voting their representatives during election but also in influencing and making leaders and policy implementers accountable to their actions. The current effort by the federal government to uphold tolerance and civilized dialogue political culture should be strengthened and institutionalized as a system throughout the country.
- The federal and local government together with other stakeholders should work on the mindset of the citizens starting from kindergarten to university level to bring national unity and inculcate a culture of tolerance (respecting the rights of others), open dialogue and positive thinking and other democratic values.

6.3.3. Recommendations on the barriers towards deepening democracy

- The government of Ethiopia should implement presidential system for better check and balance as well as for better electoral democracy. In the current parliamentary federal system, there is no clear check and balance between the three branches of government (legislatives, executives and judiciary bodies whereby executive and legislative organs are systematically fused and power shared following ethnic based regional states.
- The federal and local government should reform state structure to unify the administrative system, to formulate and implement policy in a uniform and fair manner, to minimize unfair allocation of resources, to discretionary power or delegated power to decide on the matters of their constituencies and to make government officials accessible to the community.
- The federal in collaboration with regional governments need to devolve some federal institutions to regional cities on the basis of the relevance and potential of the sector in order to promote national building and democracy in a balanced way.

- The federal and regional governments in collaboration with citizens and other stakeholders should revise the current federal system in such a way that the two extreme ideologies (identity-based federalism and geography-based federalism) are reconciled.

- The federal government, Addis Ababa city administration, regional governments and other stakeholders should strengthen secularization in universities and other federal and local level service providing institutions. Schools starting from kindergarten need to work hard to create responsible and democratic citizens. Ethical and civic education should be provided focusing on knowing and appreciating history, appreciating values, national unity and integrity.

- The current reform effort by the government on the vision of unity and inclusion *('መደመር'* in Amharic) should be transformed into concrete strategies aimed at fostering social cohesion by responding to longstanding grievances of ethnic communities. As a nation there must be national consensus through discussion on national languages, national flag, national song, and other common values. This is highly needed for better democracy and national unity in the country.

- The federal government, regional governments and other stakeholders should find a mechanism to solve unnecessary internal power struggle within EPRDF and between political parties before the next national election in 2012 Ethiopian calendar. In addition, the distinction between the government and the ruling party must be clear and excessive politicization of the civil service should be reduced for successful democratization.

- The federal government together with other stakeholders should promote active public participation in the political decision making process. This would require integrative political participation in which both the elites and the masses collaboratively participate in the political, socio-economic activities and reduce subject political culture in the country.

- Overall, the federal government together with other stakeholders should work on enhancing rule of law, social accountability, human rights and economic equity as they determine both satisfaction in democracy and public trust. This will create public confidence and public trust via minimizing corruption and creating accountability to the local community.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: profile of the respondents

Variables	Categories	Frequency	Valid percent (%)	
Gender	Male	523	58.6	
	Female	369	41.4	
	Total	892	100.0	
Types of employment	Government employee	253	28.4	
	Private sector employee	244	27.4	
	Self-employed	137	15.4	
	Housewife	125	14.0	
	Other	57	6.4	
	NGOs employee	44	4.9	
	Retired	31	3.5	
	Total	891	100.0	
Educational level	First Degree	242	27.3	
	Diploma	199	22.4	
	Grade 8 completed or below	165	18.6	
	9-11th grade	122	13.8	
	Grade 12th grade	119	13.4	
	Master's degree & above	40	4.5	
	Total	887	100.0	
Religion	Orthodox-Tewahido	612	68.9	
	Muslim	124	14.0	
	Protestant	117	13.2	
	Catholic	24	2.7	
	Other	11	1.2	
	Total	888	100.0	
Political party affiliation	Not a member of any political party	704	80.3	
	A member of the ruling party	139	15.8	
	A member of opposition party	34	3.9	
	Total	877	100.0	
Ethnic group	Amhara	247	28.4	
	Oromo	170	19.5	
	Other	155	17.8	
	Guragie	120	13.8	
	Gamo	79	9.1	
	Tigray	56	6.4	
	Wolayita	21	2.4	
	Hadiya	10	1.1	
	Sidama	7	0.8	
	Somali	5	0.6	
	Afar	1	0.1	
	Total	871	100.0	
		Minimum	**Maximum**	**Mean**
Age of the respondents (years)		20	90	39.9

Notes: Sample size (N) =900 households but missing values are excluded from the table.

Appendix B: Paired samples test between means of public trust in AU/UN and Ethiopian government

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Overall trust in AU & UN	2.8984	699	1.25410	.04743
	Public trust in Ethiopian Government	2.4881	699	.90513	.03424

Paired Samples Correlations

		N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1	Overall trust in AU & UN - Public trust in Ethiopian government	699	.496	.000

Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences					
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	Overall trust in AU & UN - Public trust in Ethiopian government	.41030	1.12532	.04256	9.640	698	.000

Appendix C: Questionnaire Survey

Deepening Democracy through Political Actors' Empowerment in Ethiopia

Serial number of the questionnaire_____

Enumerator's Name _____ signature _____

Dear Respondent,

We are currently doing a research on "deepening democracy through citizen participation in Ethiopia". The purpose of the research is to assess the current practices of deepening democracy in Ethiopia with three specific objectives: 1) to describe perception of citizens towards deepening democracy; 2) to examine the roles played by the citizens in deepening democracy and 3) to explore the barriers to deepening democracy in the country. All the information collected through this questionnaire will, therefore, be used for the research purpose only and treated with at most confidentiality. It has no any administrative values and/ or will not be used for decisions that might affect your personal life. Therefore, your genuine, honest and prompt response is a valuable input for the quality and successful completion of this research project.Hence, we really appreciate your participation in this study and thank you for all the time and effort.

Thank you in advance!

Part I: Citizens Perception towards Deepening Democracy

Indicate the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with the following statements using the scale of 1–5 (1 = 'strongly disagree' 2= 'Disagree' 3= 'Slightly agree' 4 = 'Agree' 5 = 'Strongly agree' 00= 'don't know') by encircling the appropriate scale.

1. Rule of law	Please encircle your answer!					
1.1. The principle of 'every citizen is equal before law' has been assured in practice.	1	2	3	4	5	00
1.2. Courts and judges are free from the influence of politicians	1	2	3	4	5	00
1.3. The judiciary system makes decision on a fairly basis.	1	2	3	4	5	00
1.4. The judiciary system makes decision regardless of differences by the level of income.	1	2	3	4	5	00
1.5. Judiciary system makes decision regardless of differences by social network.	1	2	3	4	5	00
1.6. Judiciary system makes decision regardless of differences by level of authority.	1	2	3	4	5	00
2. Social Accountability	Please encircle your answer!					
2.1. You have the right to hold officials accountable	1	2	3	4	5	00
2.2. You actively participate in civic associations	1	2	3	4	5	00
2.3. You and your civic associations have space to criticize government	1	2	3	4	5	00
2.4. Through civic associations, you actively participate to hold public officials accountable	1	2	3	4	5	00
2.5. You respect others right as yours	1	2	3	4	5	00
2.6. You oppose illegal activities by any person or institution	1	2	3	4	5	00

3. Election: *Referring to the past national election,*	Please encircle your answer!					
3.1. Votes are counted fairly	1	2	3	4	5	00
3.2. Opposition candidates are prevented from running…R	1	2	3	4	5	00
3.3. Media news favors the governing party……R	1	2	3	4	5	00
3.4. Voters are bribed……………………………R	1	2	3	4	5	00
3.5. Journalists provide fair coverage of elections	1	2	3	4	5	00
3.6. Election officials are fair	1	2	3	4	5	00
3.7. The ruling party frauds elections………………R	1	2	3	4	5	00
3.8. Voters are threatened with violence at the polls……R	1	2	3	4	5	00
3.9. Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections	1	2	3	4	5	00

Indicate the degree to which you personally rate the rights of individuals using the scale of 1–5 (1 = 'very low' 2= 'low' 3= 'medium' 4 = 'high', 5 = 'very high' 00= 'don't know') by encircling the appropriate scale.

4. Freedom	Please encircle your answer!					
4.1. Rights to life	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.2. Prohibition of torture and slavery	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.3. Freedom of religion	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.4. Freedom of expressions	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.5. Freedom of associations	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.6. Personal liberty	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.7. Personal security	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.8. Participation in the decisions made by government policy-makers.	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.9. Allowed to control the decisions made by government policy-makers	1	2	3	4	5	00
4.10. The *right* to freedom of movement within a country						
5. Equity	Please encircle your answer!					
5.1. Efforts of a government to narrowing income differences.	1	2	3	4	5	00
5.2. Efforts of the government to reduce regional imbalance	1	2	3	4	5	00
5.3. Efforts of a government to alleviating poverty	1	2	3	4	5	00
5.4. Efforts of a government to addressing widespread discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5	00
5.5. Widening the basis of political participation	1	2	3	4	5	00
5.6. Safeguarding pluralism at various levels	1	2	3	4	5	00
5.7. Facilitating problem-orientated grass roots approaches	1	2	3	4	5	00
5.8. Widening citizens involvement in all business activities with no discrimination	1	2	3	4	5	00
5.9. Efforts of the government to fairly distribute country's resources	1	2	3	4	5	00

Part II: Roles Played by Citizens in Deepening Democracy

The extent to which the Media performs the following oversight functions: *Use* the scale of 1–5 (1 = 'Not at all' 2= 'Not often' 3= 'fairly often' 4= 'often' 5= 'very often 00= 'don't know') by encircling the appropriate scale.

6. Media	Please encircle your answer!					
6.1. Catalyzing effective implementation of democracy values and principles	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.2. Providing information to the citizens and building awareness	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.3. Building peace and social consensus	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.4. Promoting tolerance among various social groups	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.5. Giving voice to the citizens including the poor	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.6. Acting as a watchdog on behalf of the citizens	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.7. Ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable.	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.8. Educating voters	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.9. Protecting human rights	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.10. Building a civic culture	1	2	3	4	5	00
6.11. Building a tradition of discussion and debate	1	2	3	4	5	00

7. Political parties	Please encircle your answer!					
7.1. Catalyzing Effective Implementation of democracy values and principles	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.2. Providing Information to the Citizens and Building Awareness	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.3. building peace and social consensus	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.4. promoting tolerance among various social groups	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.5. Giving Voice to the Citizens including the poor	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.6. Acting as a Watchdog on behalf of the Citizens	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.7. Ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable.	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.8. Educating voters	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.9. protecting human rights	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.10. building a civic culture	1	2	3	4	5	00
7.11. building a tradition of discussion and debate	1	2	3	4	5	00

8. Civic society organizations	Please encircle your answer!					
8.1. Catalyzing Effective Implementation of democracy values and principles	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.2. Providing Information to the Citizens and Building Awareness	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.3. building peace and social consensus	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.4. promoting tolerance among various social groups	1	2	3	4	5	00

8.5. Giving Voice to the Citizens including the poor	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.6. Acting as a Watchdog on behalf of the Citizens	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.7. Ensuring that governments are transparent and accountable.	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.8. Educating voters	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.9. protecting human rights	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.10. building a civic culture	1	2	3	4	5	00
8.11. building a tradition of discussion and debate	1	2	3	4	5	00

The extent to which residents performs the following oversight functions: *Use* the scale of 1–5 (1 = 'Not at all' 2= 'Not often' 3= 'fairly often' 4= 'often' 5= 'very often 00= 'don't know') by encircling the appropriate scale

9. Individual citizens	Please encircle your answer!					
9.1. You have an experience to hold government officials and political elites accountable for their use of power.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.2. You struggle to ensure equal rights and entitlements stated in the 1995 Ethiopian constitution.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.3. You have an experience of disclosing unethical actions of politicians to Ethics and anti-corruption commission	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.4. You have an experience of appealing maladministration of local government to ombudsman.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.5. You have experience to express your concern to politicians who are exercising government power.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.6. You struggle to control over or oppose decisions of government officials which can negatively affect your life.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.7. You showed interest to form neighborhood association to protect the interest of yourself and your association members.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.8. You voluntarily participated in election of your representatives during all election campaigns held in the country.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.9. You showed interest to elect the political party which you believed to represent your interest during the last elections held in the country.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.10. You actively participate in more direct and popular forms of participation at the local level through village assemblies.	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.11. You exercise to speak your own and your community concern using official meetings and media	1	2	3	4	5	00
9.12. You struggle to oppose discrimination by local politician in the process of local service delivery	1	2	3	4	5	00

Part III: Barriers to Deepening Democracy

The extent to which you agree or disagree on the following barriers: *Use* the scale of 1–5 (1 = 'Strongly Disagree' 2= 'Disagree' 3= 'Slightly Agree' 4= 'Agree' 5= 'Strongly Agree' 00= 'don't know') by encircling the appropriate scale.

10. Structure of the State	Please encircle your answer!					
10.1. There is no a unified administrative structure of government in the country	1	2	3	4	5	00
10.2. There is unfair resource allocation.	1	2	3	4	5	00
10.3. The local government has no discretionary power to decide on the matters of their contexts.	1	2	3	4	5	00
10.4. The local government officials are not accessible to serve the local community.	1	2	3	4	5	00
10.5. Delegation of authority is not given at different levels of government.	1	2	3	4	5	00
11. **Administrative Incapacity**	Please encircle your answer!					
11.1. Local government officials have no capacity to implement government policies from which the local community to be benefited.	1	2	3	4	5	00
11.2. Local government officials have no sufficient knowledge and skills to manage their responsibilities and meet the interest of local people.	1	2	3	4	5	00
11.3. Local government officials do not specify their responsibilities to local community in a transparent manner.	1	2	3	4	5	00
11.4. Local government officials do not have integrity to serve local community.	1	2	3	4	5	00
11.5. Local government officials do not meet your expectation in delivery of the required social services.	1	2	3	4	5	00
11.6. Local government officials do not show commitment to serve local community that impress you to pay tax and other obligations to the government	1	2	3	4	5	00
12. **Politics & public Trust**	Please encircle your answer!					
12.1. I have no trust in the workings of local government	1	2	3	4	5	00
12.2. Local government in your jurisdiction do not have popular support and legitimacy	1	2	3	4	5	00
12.3. Local politicians do not properly use public funds to deliver public services as they commit corruption.	1	2	3	4	5	00
12.4. Many of the local government officials are appointed without a broad popular mandate.	1	2	3	4	5	00
12.5. Local government officials are not accountable to the local community for their actions.	1	2	3	4	5	00
12.6. You do not actively participate in the decision-making process at the local level	1	2	3	4	5	00
13. **The Formalistic Dimensions of Participatory Democracy**	Please encircle your answer!					
13.1. Tasks undertaken by local politicians are not known by the community.	1	2	3	4	5	00
13.2. Information is not given to the community about the working systems and procedures of local government.	1	2	3	4	5	00
13.3. There is no formal government system that allows you and your community members to actively participate in the process of local	1	2	3	4	5	00

governance.						
13.4. There is no formally established and communicated legal procedure that allows local participation in the community affairs.	1	2	3	4	5	00

Part IV: Citizen Satisfaction regarding the democratic efforts of the government

The extent to which you satisfied or dissatisfied on the following issues: *Use* the scale of 1–5 (1 = 'Strongly Dissatisfied' 2= 'Dissatisfied' 3= 'Slightly Satisfied' 4= 'Satisfied' 5= 'Strongly Satisfied' 00= 'don't know') by encircling the appropriate scale.

14. Overall satisfaction	Please encircle your answer!					
14.1. With the way government works on human rights	1	2	3	4	5	00
14.2. With the policy of government to ensure economic equity	1	2	3	4	5	00
14.3. With the way government works to conduct free, fair and periodic election	1	2	3	4	5	00
14.4. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the country?	1	2	3	4	5	00

Part V: Public Trust in Government and Institution

To what extent do you have trust in them? (1=Not at all, 2= little, 3= Medium 4= a lot, 5= very much, 00= 'don't know')

15. **Public trust in government and institution**	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.1. The courts	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.2. Supreme audit general	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.3. Ombudsman office	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.4. The police	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.5. Anti-corruption Commission	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.6. The armed forces	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.7. The churches	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.8. The press	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.9. Radio and Television	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.10. Labor unions	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.11. Federal government	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.12. Opposition Political parties	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.13. Federal Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.14. The Civil service System	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.15. Universities (Academic Institutions)	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.16. Major Companies	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.17. Banks	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.18. Environmental organizations	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.19. Women's organizations	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.20. Charitable or humanitarian organizations	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.21. The African Union	1	2	3	4	5	00
15.22. The United Nations	1	2	3	4	5	00

Part VI: Demographic Information

This information, as with all information provided by you in this survey, will remain strictly confidential.

1. What is your gender?   Male ☐   Female ☐

2. What is your age? (in years): _____

3. What is your type of occupation?

   Government employee ☐   Self-employed ☐ ☐

   Private-sector employee ☐   Housewife

                                     Retired ☐

   NGO employee ☐   Other (please specify) ☐_____

4. What is your highest educational level?
   Grade 8 completed & below grade 8 ☐   Diploma ☐

   9-11th grade ☐   First Degree ☐

   Grade 12 completed ☐   Master's degree & above ☐

5. What is your Religion?
   Orthodox-Tewahido ☐   Protestant ☐
   Muslim ☐
                              Other ☐   Please specify: _____
   Catholic ☐

6. Your political party affiliation is:

   A member of opposition party ☐

   A member of the ruling party ☐

   Not a member of any political party ☐

7. What is your ethnic group?

Afan Oromo ☐

Amharic ☐

Somaligna ☐

Tigrigna ☐

Sidamigna ☐

Guragigna ☐

Welaitigna ☐

Hadiyagna ☐

Afarigna ☐

Gamogna ☐

Other   Please specify ☐ _____

Appendix D: Questions for interview & FGD

1. How do you evaluate/perceive the democratization process of the country? in terms of:
    i. Election process
    ii. Human rights
    iii. Equity
    iv. Other dimensions
2. What roles are the media playing to deepen democracy in the country?

3. What roles are political parties playing to deepening democracy in the country?

4. What roles are civil society organizations/NGOs playing to deepen democracy?

5. What roles are individual residents playing as citizen for deepening democracy?

6. What are the prevailing barriers against deepening democracy process in Ethiopia? From:

    i. Election process
    ii. Human rights
    iii. Equity
    iv. Other dimensions, please specify
7. What should be done to deepen democracy in Ethiopia by the following actors?

    i. The media
    ii. Political parties (the ruling versus opposition parties)
    iii. Civil Society organizations/NGO
    iv. Ordinary citizens
    v. Other main actor, if any