Full Length Research

Ethiopian opposition political parties in the post-2005: challenges and impacts on Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) and all Ethiopia Unity Party (AEUP)

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In a representative democracy political parties promote vital competition on different policy issues and play essential roles by offering ideological alternatives. They also give channels for citizens' participation in government decision-making processes and they are significant conduits and interpreters of information about government. This study attempts to examine the challenges and impacts of opposition political parties particularly in Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) and All Ethiopian Unity Party (AEUP) in post-2005 Ethiopian election. The study employed qualitative methodological approach. The study tried to describe on what are challenges that faced against Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) and All Ethiopia unity party (AEUP) political parties, this research found from the semi-structured interviewees revealed that EDP and AEUP do have internal challenges and external challenges. These internal and external challenges of parties according to the research findings have an impact on democratic process of the country. Some of these impacts are political violence's in the different part of the country, opposition parties do not able to get legislative representation, People becomes hopeless on peaceful transition of political power and legal opposition parties. However, as the trends shows that the challenges and impacts in political parties are unavoidable in the world especially in Africa

Key words*:* challenges, impacts, political party, opposition.

BACK GROUND OF THE STUDY

In democratic countries, government rotates among different political parties, and *"the minority could seek to persuade a majority of its point of view by peaceful, political means"* (Schmitz, 1988). In a liberal-democratic society, government should rest on the consent of the governed, and the minority accepts the rights of the majority (i.e. incumbents) to make decisions. At the same time, the majority respects the minority's right to dissent from the decision set by the incumbents (Schmitz, 1988). The role of an opposition party in a democracy is to criticize, check, offer alternative policies, and replace the incumbent party. In established democracies, opposition parties are "government-in-the waiting" or they (Bertha, 2001) are "alternative government" (CPA, 2007). Therefore, *"the notion of a loyal opposition is central to any democracy"* (Schmitz, 1988).

Political parties are organizations formed by individuals having roles of representation of the people (Shedler, 1998). In modern liberal democratic theory the electorate votes parties to represent them. According to wondosen (2009) political parties are crucial actors in bringing together diverse interests, recruiting and presenting candidates, and developing competing policy proposals that provide people with choices.

The relevance of political parties in a state is not a recent phenomenon, rather there   were political parties in the classical period of industrial revolution (Dauton, 1998). But the nature, forms and functions of political parties have continued to evolve in response to socio-economic and political changes in society and earlier conceptions of political parties have therefore demonstrably changed over time (IDEM, 2007). But the degree of opposition/political competition varies from country to country this is due to political conditions of a country, political culture of the people, political parties' coherence and democratic experience of the country (Wondosen, 2009). But Ethiopia has no tradition of organized political parties and it has never passed through the period of open politicization and party formation.

According to Bahiru (2002) during the reign of Haile Selassie there were no legitimate political parties in Ethiopia. During the Derg's rule (1975-1991) all types of ethnic parties, multiethnic parties, and non-ethnic parties were persecuted Andargachew (1993).

But armed struggle continued in the country against the Dergue in different fronts of the country on the immediate of the coming to power of the Dergue.

It was through armed struggle that the insurgents took power and claiming Federal democratic republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). It was following the fall of the dergue that multiparty system and their legal registration was proclaimed in the country (Wondosen, 2009). Though legal parties are large in number they did not equally compute in election with the ruling party up to the 2005 Ethiopian election.

The 2005 election results for the first time provided citizens with common knowledge about the local distribution of political preferences. But the May 2005 national election and its aftermath clearly show the wider implications of the ensuing crisis in the country's political system. For manageability of the study this article tries to assess two parties who are national in their establishment but having different experiences of political participation in the country. These two parties are selected based on 2015 General Election Political parties Candidatures. Among others, All Ethiopian unity party was a political party in Ethiopia. At the last legislative elections on 15 May 2005, the party was part of the Coalition for Unity and Democracy that won 109 out of 527 seats, In May 2019, the party was brought to an end when it merged with the Ethiopian Citizens for Social

Justice and EDP is the third in number of General election candidatures both to the regional and federal legislatures (Ethiopian National Board website on 2015 general election).

Besides to this parties selection, the period of the 2005 election results for the first time provided citizens with common knowledge about the local distribution of political preferences. following 2005 election different studies are conducted in Ethiopia concerning election, electoral violence's and parties' political participations. For instance Yohannes (2014) studied that electoral administration system (first past the post) in Ethiopia is main challenging condition for multiparty democracy. Yemane (2010) tried to study on impacts of pre-election politics on multi party political competition. At the same time Tensae (2012) studied on the May 2005 electoral violence.

All these previous scholarly works focus mainly on explaining the election itself, electoral violence and pre-electoral instabilities in Ethiopia. However, they did not describe the condition how political parties' internal and external challenges affect the political system, public political culture and post-2005 political environment and the impacts of this two particular political parties. EDP and AEUP were selected purposefully since they were active in Ethiopian politics of opposition as national parties. Moreover, the article wanted to study on gaps where and how opposition parties faced challenges, and its long term effects/ impacts in the politics of opposition.

METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of manageability the study is confined to assess the Politics of Opposition in post -2005 Ethiopia: Challenges and Impacts on Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) and All Ethiopian unity party (AEUP).

The study is done by targeting two national opposition parties having different experiences in the country i.e. EDP was established in 1998 by a group of young political activists disillusioned with the Marxist-Leninist narrative which has come to dominate Ethiopian politics. The party rejected the focus on ethnicity which came to define so many of its competitors and instead adopted a platform campaigning for individual and group rights. The party campaigns for a free market, private ownership of land, an independent judiciary, the observance of rule of law and human rights. It also actively supports the devolution of power to lower levels; however, advocates for Ethiopian regional government based on cultural rather than purely linguistic grounds.

For the 2005 elections, the EDP merged with Ethiopian Medhin Democratic Party and adopted a new name: Union of Ethiopian Democratic Party (UEDP-Medhin). This alliance worked to form a broader coalition with

three other parties, named Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) or Kinijit, which eventually won 108 parliamentary seats. Therefore, EDP has relatively good experience in opposition, coalition and fragmentation. Therefore, EDP has relatively good experience in opposition, coalition and fragmentation. While the All Ethiopian Unity Party (AEUP) was formerly known as the All-Amhara People's Organization (AAPO). AEUP Established in 1991, the AAPO was created to "defend the rights of the Amhara people". In 2002, the party changed its name to the All Ethiopian Unity Party (AEUP) in order to resolve this issue and to reach out to "'all Ethiopians'". In 2004, the AEUP merged with the Ethiopian Democratic League (EDL), the Ethiopian Democratic Unity Party-Medhin (EDUP-M), and the Rainbow Alliance/Movement for Democracy and Social Justice in order to form the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD). The Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD), along with the United Ethiopian Democratic Forces (UEDF) coalition, make up the country's main opposition. Since the country's last elections in May 2005, the CUD holds 109 of the 546 seats in the House of People's Representatives and is considered Ethiopia's largest opposition group.

The researcher make interpretations based on objective and subjective analysis of different reports, recorded communications such as newspapers, books and seminars about the challenges and impact of legal opposition political parties in post-2005 Ethiopian election.

In this study qualitative approach is appropriate to explore the challenges and impacts for the purposes of attaining the perspectives of the participants and their diversity Flick (2002). Hence the researcher employs a qualitative research design and the data be analyzed qualitatively. The researcher employed a case study design. This design enables the researcher to explore in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process or one or more individuals. The cases are bounded in time and activity (Creswell, 2003).

The researcher used both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected from party leaders, political experts and political activists by rising semi structured interviews. Interview is the key technique and the most commonly used in qualitative research. According to Gilbert (1993) qualitative interviewing is a kind of guided conversation in which there is careful listening so as to hear the meaning of what is being convey. It allows the researcher to produce a rich, depth and varied data set in an informal setting. In semi-structured interview (interview which use the predetermined categories of a responses), the researcher used a set of predetermined questions which are short and clearly worded. The study also employed secondary data source which includes published and unpublished documents. The researcher tried to use works of various

authors and other published and unpublished documents such as books, articles, and journals were used for this study. Finally, the researcher employed thematic analysis to analyses different sets of data collected from various sources.

Theoretical Frameworks

In this section, for studying the challenges and impacts of opposition political parties in the post-2005 of Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) and All Ethiopia Unity Party (AEUP) the study presents three theoretical perspectives namely democratic theory, competition theory and party system theory in order to integrating and synthesized the research findings.

Democratic theory

In democratic theory, political parties are *voluntary* organizations that are supposed to promote democracy. Whereas the judiciary, the legislature and the judiciary promote horizontal accountability, *vertical* accountability is promoted by political parties, which link the people and government. Parties organize campaigns, recruit candidates and mobilize the political community to participate in the selection of office bearers. The goal of party activism is to build institutions and shape public politics, policies and laws that impact the rights and welfare of the political community. In competitive multi-party politics, the party that is elected to form government seeks to enact into law a number of policies and programs (oftentimes consistent with their election manifesto). Opposition parties are free to criticize the ruling party's policies, ideas and programs *and* offer alternatives. Democratic parties recognize and respect the authority of the elected government even when their party leaders are not in power. This is possible because democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation and compromise (Dahl, 1971; UNDP, 2002). Democracies recognize that consensus building requires compromise and tolerance. As Mahatma Gandhi famously argued, "Intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit" (cf. UNDP, 2002). The notion of a loyal opposition is central to any democracy. It means that all sides in the political debate, however deep their differences share the fundamental democratic values of freedom of speech, the rule of law and equal protection under the law. Parties that lose elections become the opposition. The opposition, then, is essentially a "government-in the- waiting." For a culture of democracy to take hold, opposition parties need to have the confidence that the political system will guarantee their right to organize, speak, dissent and/or criticize the party

in power. Opposition parties also need to be assured that in due course, they will have a chance to campaign and re-seek the peoples mandate in and through regular, free and fair elections.

It follows, therefore, that the culture of democracy rests on the principle of majority rule, coupled with tolerance of dissenting views. Democracy also calls for the zealous protection of the fundamental rights of individuals, disadvantaged groups and minorities, even when disagree with the ideology, policies and programs of the ruling party. This suggests that *non-majoritarian* governance is possible or even desirable. By "non-majoritarian" governance is meant a system of rule that strikes an acceptable balance between the rights of the majority (expressed through free and fair elections) and the duty of the polity to accommodate the rights of minorities and marginalized social groups (such as women and the "differently abled" people). Non-majoritarian governance is critical of the "winner-take sit-all" ideology of Western liberal democracy. It is driven by the logic of inclusive politics and sharing power among rival claimants to scarce public resources such as power or official jobs.

Competition Theory

According to competition theory the formation of political opinion in pluralistic society is achieved through an open process of competition between heterogeneous interests (Hofmeister and Grabow, 2011).

Due to diversity of opinions and social conflicts there is no perfect solution to problems. Decisions have to be made on the basis of consent and approval of majority of the citizens. According to this theory multiparty system, free and fair elections are constitutive elements of democracy. Competitive theory opposed the vision of homogeneity, which supposes a uniformity of the will of the people. This homogeneity theory denies legitimacy of conflicts and non-plurality of political parties (Hofmeister and Grabow, 2011). This homogeneity theory does not support diversified interest of people and multiparty system. But competitive theory supported the existence of multi political parties to represent diversity of interests of people within the political system (Strom, 1990). According to this theory, political parties should get the attentions of the mass of the people and their electoral competition is on how to address the diverse interests of people. This theory is relevant in which politics of opposition be peaceful, competitive and political parties should come with alternative policies and programs to get public willingness. But Ethiopian opposition parties are established based on interest of elites, dissatisfied groups or to represent some ethnic identities and they are dependent of Diaspora community (Asnake, 2011). 'Multi-party politics' in Ethiopia has structurally and

ideologically limited and it is too closely supervised by the party in power (Abbink, 2006).

Party system Theory

The conduct of political parties influences the performance of the state institutions including the legislatures since government is constructed by political parties. They can either limit or enhance the powers and operations of the state institutions (Busse, 2003). According to party system theory, absence of healthy political competition among political parties results into ineffective and inefficient state institutions evident in poor institutional quality or performance thus allowing a governing party or parties to dispense political patronage via state jobs (Porta, 2004). Clientelism' and 'patron-client' politics occur in contexts where strong personal relationships between politicians and their followers shape political decisions on the basis of mutual gain. This political patronage in turn leads to corruption and poor governance (Kopecky, 2011). Generally, competition, and party system theories are purposively selected for the study in order to relate roles of parties, how they root to the society and importance of competition in political process of the country.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section analyzes and discusses the data. In a way, it answers the research questions of challenges and impacts of All Ethiopian unity party and Ethiopian Democratic Party based on the data collected in the field for this study. The first part will deal with the internal and external challenges of EDP and AEUP in post-2005. The second section will deal about the impacts of the EDP and AEUP in post-2005 in the process of opposing the governing party. Based on the results from the semi-structured interview questions, the findings are summarized and discussed in to two sections.

Internal and external challenges of EDP and AEUP

Internal challenges of EDP and AEUP

A.   Weak Party Institutionalization

The institutionalization of the political parties can be evaluated with respect to organization, discipline, internal democracy, and cohesion (Omotola, 2010). As the study finding discussed the following are weakness of in level of institutionalization of EDP and AEUP. Both EDP and AEUP have lacked autonomy in two levels. At the leadership level, they are normally centered on a

dominant personality, family but devoid of organizational extension and structure, they have low level of organization and complexity. Opposition parties are not as such territorially comprehensive. They failed to penetrate outside the center. They don't have branches across all regions and most towns of the country. This is because they are relatively new and their activities are focused primarily in the urban areas, but in rural areas, they are less effective in mobilizing public opinion. In the case of coalition and fragmentation, Political parties made coalition for reasons of finance or to be competitive in the election system. At the same time parties could face fragmentations as a result of personal party leaders' disagreement, umbrage politics (offensive politics) among members or intra party conflicts. Particularly, EDP and AEUP do have problems of coalition and fragmentation. This is because of their coalitions is sudden and unstudied. They do not have clear political goals and objectives, they have short period of alliance that is done only for time of election and be easily fragmented. Most political parties in Africa particularly in Ethiopia established around individual personalities. Opposition parties, which usually rely on "the charismatic appeal of single individual" lack structures extending beyond the national executive and decision making is highly centralized and made by few party members and leaders. Most opposition parties in Ethiopia do not have legal restrictions on powers of party leaders. EDP when it is compared with AEUP has time limit on party leaders.

B.   Lack of political experience

Most of the political parties are short-lived and do not have long history and experience. Therefore, the voters do not get a chance to evaluate opposition parties' achievements over time. Parties are formed and fragmented by different names. Baldez (2003) argues that in Africa, relatively speaking, the only opposition parties that have real chance to compete for power are "movement parties" that emerged from the wombs of the social movements. According to many informants of this paper "opposition parties in Ethiopia do not have long history of opposition and experience." In relative term EDP has long political experience in getting representative setting than AEUP. AEUP established in post 2012 and it tried to mobilize young Ethiopian's in different anti-government demonstrations. But both EDP and AEUP faced the same challenges of fragmentation, intra-party conflict and not able to reach opinions of the mass people. There for, multi-party politics and democracy in Ethiopia has a short history as a result EDP and AEUP experiences fragmentation, intra-party conflict, fluctuation of party members and weak political performance.

C.   Fear of persecution of party members

Fear of politics on the part of citizens refers to the political apathy and withdrawal from the political process. It is dictated by the 'often-heard expression in Amharic 'polteicka na korenti béruku' (ፖለቲካና ኮረንቲ በሩቁ) or keep far away from politics and electricity. Meaning don't go too close to politics, it will only stun and hurt you. It is characterized by passive citizenship, the fear of criticism, self-censorship, a fear of contesting authority. Interviewee1 supported this idea: Both EDP and AEUP faced challenges of low level of membership and mass based support because they fear of persecution from the ruling party and its supporters.

According to informants of this paper replied that, in regions of Oromia, Amhara, SNNP and Addis Ababa their large number of party members are highly imprisoned and their party's office is closed. In other regional states EPRDF's affiliated parties do not allow opposition parties to open offices and to mobilize party members. In post 2005 election many opposition party members are either tried to shift their member ship to EPRDF or became politically passive citizens because of fear of persecution and imprisonment.

D.   Political parties' weak source of finance

Political parties finance is the use of funds for legitimate, irregular, or illicit political activities; use of state resources for political purposes; and media coverage during the campaign. According to Salih (2007) the main sources of political party funding is coming from public funding and minimal membership fees. They are obliged to have membership registration cards and in some constituencies are expected to participate in the meetings of the party, to express freely their view and comments, to vote and to elect or to be elected. According to the study finding both EDP and AEUP do not have large number of party members. They faced serious financial challenges to run their own political activities. It is clear that the secret behind the success of every political party is strong financial base. The inequality with the ruling party in this regard is huge. Informants underlined that opposition parties are financially fragile; and there is a chronic shortage of funds needed to finance their operations. Their funding is precarious because of the widespread poverty among the population, the political fear and apathy on their members and supporters. The opposition parties are even unable to pay for office rents. On the contrary ruling party used government and party resources for doing its party role throughout the country. As Johnston (2005,) said, "Governing parties can tap into 'administrative resources'

state powers and funds not available to the opposition which are very useful in rewarding friends and punishing enemies." As the Political finance Proclamations in Ethiopia (Article 28) states, the sources of finance for political parties are membership dues collected from members, subsidy and grants from the government, and donations from others. However, as interviewed parties' leaders remarked, almost every political party relies exclusively on membership fees and donations from party members for funding.

E.   Lack of commitment of party members

Party membership refers to the formal and informal membership of political parties. Members identified are those registered who may pay membership dues periodically to the political party in accordance with the by-laws of the political party or they make contributions and donations to upkeep of their parties. As Sachikonye (2006) point out 'the strength and vibrancy of parties depends on the quantity and quality of their membership. On the contrary, informants of this paper stated on the issue of party membership argued that the practical reality in Ethiopian opposition parties is that they lack mass membership. They indicated that, in the opposition camp of Ethiopia, among other challenges, membership recruitment and retention is one of the main challenges they face. The status of opposition party membership in Ethiopia does not maintain reliable membership records. In post 2005 elections party members number become declined this is clearly seen in EDP. According to informants from EDP party members' fluctuation is common to all opposition parties in Ethiopia. AEUP members before 2012 were from the member of All-Ethiopia Unity Organization (AEUO), EDP and former CUD. According to informants of this paper, from AEUP and 10 from AEUO parties, party member ship fluctuation is because of repressive actions of the existing government on parties and party members. For instance following 2015 national election and 2016 mass based opposition, AEUP and other political party members' imprisonment and desertion increased. As a result getting new party membership and their contributions becomes difficult.

F.   Absence of ethnic, religious and sex based representation from opposition parties

According to informants ethnic, religious and sex based representation from national based opposition parties are insignificant. EDP and AEUP parties are national opposition parties, but their ethnic, religious and gender representations is the same as other parties. These two parties have different political experiences, EDP has 17

years of political participation in the country while AEUP party has 14 years experiences but their ethnic and religious composition makes them be similar. In these two parties there are critics of mass representation. Therefore former politically marginalized women, ethnic and religious groups are not well represented in both EDP and AEUP parties. Even largest ethnic groups of Oromo's, the Afar, Somali's, Gumuz, and other minorities are not well represented by EDP and AEUP. These national parties do their actions by targeting the urban people and the rural populations do not have significant representations.

External challenges of EDP and AEUP

A.   Political repression by government

The arbitrarily arrest and detention, harassment and torture and other ill-treatment of police, military, and other members of the security forces to punish a spectrum of perceived dissenters, including university students, members of the political opposition and their supporters, and alleged supporters of insurgent groups, as well as alleged terrorist suspects. It also includes systematically repression of failing to provide police and security protection when citizens requested, not allowing them to exercises their right of peaceful demonstration as well as non-inclusion of opposition parties in representative institutions of the country. Informants supported the idea of political repression by government:

The ruling party EPRDF has applied different forms of violence against oppositions during and after elections of 2005, 2010 and 2015 such as intimidation, arbitrary arrest and extra judicial killings on opposition party leaders, supporters, private media journalists, bloggers and civil society activists during the complaint investigation process in the post-election periods. This political repression leads people to be hopeless on peaceful means of political struggle. Some groups of people tried to support armed resistance as a means to "liberate the country from EPRDF."

B.   Inter party relations

According to Lotshwao (2007), for the existence of internal democracy, a culture of tolerance of debate and dissenting opinion by the party leadership is a necessary precondition. The researcher used the term inter-party relations to represent the interrelationships between the ruling party and opposition parties on the one hand, and among opposition parties in the other. The way political parties interact between and among themselves around issues of common interest, and how they work together and engage one another on national and public policy

matters. Informants forwarded their views on inter party relations as follow as: In Ethiopia, inter-party conflicts not only further fragmented opposition parties, but also greatly damaged their image, and frustrated the hopes of millions of people who overwhelmingly voted them.

In post 2005 national election inter- party relationship is full of machination, disliking and scuttle of one opposition political party against another. Major national opposition parties like EDP, AEUP, MEDREK, Blue party, UJD(Unity for Justice and Democracy) and others are engaged themselves in very destructive inter-party conflicts that threatened their own survival. The ruling party at the same time does not want to deal and take positive ideas from opposition parties and to improve existing conditions of the country. At the same time opposition parties are busy in criticizing and opposing every actions of the ruling party. The government and opposition do not see each other as political competitors, but enemies. The researcher during the interview understood thus abnormal/ poor political culture and politics of enmity among opposition parties themselves on one hand and opposition and ruling in the other.

C.   Weak political culture of the people and the ruling party

Political culture is attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system (Almond and Verba, 1963). Political culture also means historically evolved style of governance, a repertoire of power symbolism, and a body of dominant values and commitments regarding the political process (Abbink, 2006). Political culture in Ethiopia is marked by an entrenched hierarchical-authoritarian style of governance (top- down) or elite insights into the needs of the country and a structural neglect by power holders of oppositional views and of public opinions. Informants of this paper aptly explained Ethiopian political culture as follow as: In Ethiopian history political power is gained through the means of gun. Such violence means of power created a tendency of reliance on force as the principal instrument for political power. Such a tendency of heavy reliance on force caused bloody conflicts among those groups struggling for state power in the history of the country. According to my interviewees such forceful means of securing political power and systematic suppression of political parties contributed for weak democratic political culture of people. On the other hand absence of civic societies in the country, absence of neutral democratic institutions and absence of national consensus among political elites contribute for weak political culture in the country. On the other hand most people like to see political changes in the country, but do not want to invest their time, money and resources on the political process of the country.

D.   Absence of neutral democratic institutions

The development of a democratic system of any country is primarily founded on the neutral democratic institutions. Democratic institutions in Ethiopia are not well established and they are not neutral to serve all parties. For example informants tried to give their arguments on different institutions such as the Ethiopian National Electoral Board. The National Electoral Board of Ethiopia, which is theoretically supposed to be an autonomous and independent body, has been accused of being the mouthpiece of the ruling party. The Board is not strong enough to ensure transparency in its functions. The Board has problems of transparency in allocation of funds to political parties, allocation of air time for campaigning, and post-election complaint handling procedures. According to many of the informants of this paper, almost all public institutions such as, the security apparatus, media, electoral organs, and administrative structures are under the control of the ruling party in Ethiopia. On the other hand Medias are not well organized; they are not accessible to the mass and are not neutral. According to interviewees2, 6and 7, absence of independent media outlets, it is almost impossible to hold free and fair elections. At the same time, they concluded that it is difficult to find a single independent, non-state affiliated media outlet in Ethiopia today. The majority of newspapers and radio and television stations are state controlled or state affiliated. According to informants Medias are busy day and night in magnifying EPRDF's role in the country. Some Diaspora based free Medias, which are transmitted from USA, Europe or other parts of the world to Ethiopia faced systematic repression or can be jammed by the government. Especially after the Anti-Terrorist Proclamation of 2009, independent media have been subjected to intimidation, harassment, can be jammed and in most cases, exile. The military, like other institutions lacks neutrality in the country. The ruling party continuously uses the military for spying, intimidating and arresting opposition party individuals, journalists, bloggers and opposition individuals. Again informants concluding that Government intentionally arrested suspected opposition party members, bloggers, journalists and civic organizations who are doing their activities neutrally. The rate of imprisonment is high during and after elections. Thousands of these groups of people are imprisoned following summer, 2016 'mass opposition' from Amhara, Oromia, Addis Ababa, and South Nation Nationality (SNNP).

E.   Legal   and   Administrative   Measures: contracting political space

The FDRE constitution contains a vigorous article of political rights which guarantees the right to assembly

and the right to organize at any level and in any form, the right to strike in accordance with the law, and the right to express one's opposition (FDRE constitution, 1995 article, 29-30). The 2009 anti-terrorist law, the country's electoral law and laws related to civil organizations highly restricted opposition political parties and their supporters' activity in the country. Opposition political parties also faced challenges from federal and local governments. These two government units in post 2005 election tried to establish different administrative rules and laws which highly restrict parties' activity and contracting political space. According to informants agreed on narrow political space in post 2005 national election is clearly seen in areas such as opposition political parties are not allowed to rent offices from private owners, party members are forced to live out of their official works and there are 1 to 5 arrangements which are targeted to evaluate political opinions and positions of civil servants.

These legal systems and administrative measures of ruling party affect national opposition political parties not to reach and mobilize people for political change. The Constitution and the Press Law provides for freedom of speech and of the press. However the Government uses legal and other means to limit these rights in practice. As a result people today highly depend on Diaspora based Medias and social Medias.

Post-2005 election and its impact in the political atmosphere of the country, EDP and AEUP and to the people

Positive impacts in the political process of the country

People are aware of multiparty competition and election which was unknown in the country's history, political parties influence people to raise different political questions.

And oppositions tried to get representation in HPR. Though their representation becomes null in 2015 national election.

Negative impacts in the political process of the country

People become hope less on peaceful political struggle in post-2005 national election. Different violence's have been seen in Oromia, Amhara, SNNP and other parts of the country, Political enmity between ruling party and oppositions increased from post-2005 national election on wards, Political parties fragmentation, intra party conflict and political violence's increased from time to time in the country, representatives of Opposition parties in HPR reduced from time to time and become null in

2015 National election, political parties fragmentation increased from time to time, peaceful political debates and discussions are insignificant in post-2005 and patron-client relationship becomes strong and strong.

CONCLUSION

Ethiopia's democratization and party development have passed three main stages: the no-party parliamentary elections of the imperial period, the one-party parliamentary election of the *Derg* military government, and the multi-party parliamentary elections of the EPRDF administration. From 1995 to 2004, despite the mushrooming of political parties in the country, the freedom of opposition parties to operate had been so circumscribed that none of them even had the slightest chance of competing with the EPRDF. In the 2005 parliamentary election, however, for the first time, the ruling party opened the political space in the country allowing opposition parties to freely campaign and compete for political power. In this election opposition parties openly challenged the incumbent party and scored high electoral results specially the EDP and AEUP. Alarmed by the election results and the success of the opposition parties, the incumbent party flexed its military muscle to squash the opposition electoral victories. After crushing the pro-democracy movement that engulfed the country by killing, arresting and intimidating many opposition leaders and their supporters, the government deliberately narrowed the political space. At present, almost all opposition parties are unable to conduct their activities even if they are legally registered parties. For all practical purposes, contemporary Ethiopia can be accurately described as a one party dominated state.

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