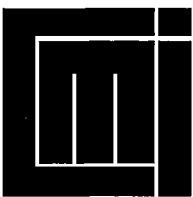


Eneweyay (Let's Discuss)

Report from a training programme
for democracy in rural Ethiopia

Siegfried Pausewang

WP 1996: 8



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Summary:

Report of a project to teach principles of democracy in a "down-to-earth" way, through discussions with rural and urban people in Ethiopia. The "Ecumenical Training Initiative for Democracy" developed before the elections of 1995 out of an attempt of European church aid organisations to contribute to confidence building through voter training and election monitoring. Responding to felt needs, it developed a unique teaching material, and started to train trainers in different rural areas, who continue to go to the villages and urban neighbourhoods, to engage people in discussions about the ways how they make decisions in their everyday life and who is participating, and how they safeguard the rights of social minorities and of the underprivileged among themselves.

Sammendrag:

Arbeidsnotatet presenterer en rapport fra et prosjekt som underviser i demokratiets elementære spilleregler gjennom diskusjoner med folk i bygd og by i Etiopia. Forut for valgene i 1995 oppsto et "økumenisk utdannings-initiativ for demokrati". Flere europeiske kirkelige nødhjelpsorganisasjoner ønsket å bidra til å bygge tillit gjennom valgobservasjon og velgerutdanning. Som svar på lokale behov ble et nytt undervisningsopplegg utviklet, og et treningsprogram begynte å utdanne lokale veiledere. Disse fortsetter nå å gå ut til landsbyer og nabolag i byene, for å diskutere med folk hvordan de kommer fram til avgjørelser, hvem som har mulighet til å delta, og hvordan rettighetene til sosiale minoriteter og de underprivilegerte er sikret i lokalsamfunnet.

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Eneweyay **(Let's discuss)**

This title was the motto of the first teaching material we developed in January 1995 in Addis Ababa, when starting a programme for voter training and election observation. This motto has followed us almost like a name for the programme since of a programme which has gone through considerable change since then.

Today we are in the process of trying to establish it as an Ethiopian non-profit organisation concerned with teaching democratic values and procedures throughout the country, through public discussions based on the same teaching material. This programme has attracted considerable attention, not only in Ethiopia, and received an overwhelmingly positive response in the rural (and urban) communities wherever our trainers come with their message.

The following programme report is self explanatory, giving the history of the programme and explaining the problems encountered on the way. It also has three different evaluation documents attached. We direct the reader's attention especially to the reproduction of the teaching materials attached - the first teaching unit, "*Eneweyay*", and a second one explaining the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of the UN, through a set of questions to each article.

After one and a half years of experimentation, the programme is these days seeking funds to be extended for a longer period. We hope it will succeed in attracting the necessary funds to continue for a few years, until Ethiopian institutions are ready to take over the professional and financial responsibility.

Bergen, September 2, 1996

Siegfried Pausewang

Report from a training programme for democracy in rural Ethiopia

July 1995/updated August 1996

Siegfried Pausewang

In January 1995 a group of European church aid organisations in Denmark, Germany, Norway and Sweden started working on a voter training programme in Ethiopia. The initiative came from Ethiopian partners, through a coordinating group of church aid agencies working in the Horn of Africa. It was intended as a contribution to maintain peace and to create a "space of confidence" between ethnic and religious groups. It was to encourage a democratic culture, empowering voters and offering fair chances for all parties. This should allow the different ethnically based political movements a participation in the May parliamentary elections under reasonably equal and secure conditions. Voter training and election observation were seen as means to assure these groups that such conditions would be surveilled.

The programme was until March 1996 directed by Dr. Yakob Haile-Mariam, until Dec. 1994 director of the Ad Hoc Peace Committee in Addis Ababa. Since July 1995, Ato Sahlemariam Yirga is its administrative director. From Europe, it is coordinated, on behalf of the Church NGO's, by the Chr. Michelsen Institute in Bergen, Norway; with Siegfried Pausewang responsible for the overall running of the programme.

This report on the activities was written in July 1995, after the election had been held without participation of major opposition parties. On the basis of this report it was decided to continue the teaching programme after the election, and try to develop it into an Ethiopian democracy training organisation. In August 1996, after a year of experimenting, the report was updated and amended.

Background

All major opposition groups in Ethiopia boycotted the 1994 elections, as they had done in 1992. When the EPRDF, the Tigre-dominated coalition of anti-Mengistu forces, took over power in 1991, they promised a new policy of democratic development, and offered the different ethnic resistance movements against the

Mengistu regime, both within and outside their coalition, a federation of new, ethnically defined regions with local autonomy and self-determination of "nationalities" within their territory. But the opposition groups soon claimed that this promise was only valid on paper, while EPRDF was actively undermining any political movement that did not subordinate itself to EPRDF leadership. The election observation in 1992, and even more in 1994, confirmed that opposition groups never got a fair chance to register their candidates, or even organise party activities on local level all over the country: local authorities, put in place by EPRDF and supported by their military, put up all kinds of obstacles, arrested candidates under constructed pretexts, closed offices, or threatened voters. While the opposition saw a clear pattern of coordinated obstruction, the Government argued that it could not easily protect unpopular opposition parties against local popular anger.

The church NGO initiative

Some European Church aid agencies were approached in 1994 to organise a voter training and election observation effort following the model of the one organised by the Kenya Council of Churches before the Kenyan elections in 1992. Norwegian, Danish, Swedish and German Church aid agencies joined in such an effort. Knowing my election observation report of 1994, they approached me to coordinate their joint effort in Ethiopia. The idea was to bring the opposition back into the election process by offering them a base for confidence and security: it was expected that the promise of a neutral and informed observation could allow an agreement between government and opposition on election participation, based on the expectation that any breach of the agreement from either side would not go unobserved and could not be covered up. Following the Kenyan example, it was planned to organise an election observation and voter training programme.

For two reasons, the programme did not materialise as envisaged. First, the negotiations between government and opposition failed. Negotiations were held in Washington in the beginning of February, but in the meantime the opposition had experienced new obstruction and arbitrary arrests on local level, and did not trust any arrangement. While the Government in official statements invited any party to participate on a free and equal base, the opposition never seriously considered to compete, but insisted that participation would be tantamount to legitimising an election that was manipulated from the outset.

Nor did the election observation take place. We had intended to bring a few foreign observers into the country already during the period of candidate registration, some two months before the elections, because it was at this stage problems for the opposition arose in the 1992 elections. While the election commission assured us we could bring any observer into the country at any time,

when it came to the test we were informed that only observers nominated by the invited embassies would be accredited.

The programme thus ended up being an educational effort dealing with election procedures and democratic principles.

Social and political background

The election report of 1994 described a society torn by conflicts, with very little willingness to understand each other. One part of the opposition accused the government of a hidden agenda, trying to exploit and ultimately to dismantle the rest of Ethiopia to the advantage of the Tigre region. These groups conceived the ethnic policies of the government as a scheme to incite conflict. The Tigreans, a small minority in the population, could only hope to govern Ethiopia as long as hostility continued to split the country. As long as such conflict allowed Tigray to withdraw the resources from all other regions, these groups claimed, they would use all possible tricks to remain in power. Should they face too strong resistance, they were prepared to withdraw to Tigray and let the rest of the country succumb in civil war.

Another line of oppositional prejudices interpreted EPRDF motivations as consumed by the desire to take revenge against the Amhara. Therefore persons of Amhara origin were thrown out of official positions and offices, and even clerical and other jobs. The most extreme proponents of this argument maintained that EPRDF was bent to destroy the Amhara, and with them Ethiopian unity, and to withdraw to Tigray when that job was done.

Another part of the opposition conceived of the present situation as a continuation of colonialism of northern, "abyssinian" groups over the Southern peoples. Whether the Amhara or the Tigre dominated them was immaterial, they insisted, as long as they remained colonised, materially exploited and culturally suppressed. Therefore, only a consequently continued anti-colonial struggle could liberate the Southern groups, particularly the Oromo.

The government, on the other hand, claimed to have instituted a democratic state, against the obstruction of an opposition which had no support in the population, but was only interested in establishing a new dictatorial rule. It claimed to offer the opposition free participation in democratic elections, but the opposition parties used all possible excuses to justify their boycott, knowing that they could never win any election for lack of genuine popular support. Thus the government claimed that the opposition used clandestine or open violence to create instability, fear and distrust against the government.

There was virtually no communication between the different groups: as others were suspected of a "hidden agenda" and of manipulating public opinion, there was little room for argument and discussion. Distrust and uncompromising confrontation dominated.

The training programme

In this situation, I was asked to coordinate a political education programme which introduced people to a democratic structure with an open dialogue, refraining from violent forms of political conflict. Dr. Yakob Haile Mariam, until december 1994 director of the Ad Hoc Peace Committee, was engaged as the executive director of the programme in Addis Ababa.

We oriented our first approach at the model developed by the Kenyan Council of Churches which organised an election observation and voter training programme in advance of the 1992 elections in Kenya. But we soon realised that Ethiopian conditions demanded different accents and approaches. In addition, Kenya had two years to prepare voters, while we started in Addis Ababa only in January 1995, four months before the scheduled election.

Already in the planning stage of voter training, we realised that election organisation and the conduct of voting and of observation were not a sufficient content for our courses. Fourteen years of military dictatorship controlling every part of life in every corner of the country had left people disillusioned, sceptical and frightened, and not easily willing to get involved in anything political. We had to concentrate on explaining what democracy means for each individual, and how it can help to solve differences and problems on local and wider level. We used as a model a flip-chart which the NGO *ABuGiDa (Congress for democracy)* was using in their courses, under the title "*Democracy mindenow?*" (*What is democracy?*). However, we felt several changes necessary, compared to *ABuGiDa's* courses. In *content*, *ABuGiDa's* approach appeared to us to use too abstract a concept of democracy. We felt it was necessary to start where the people are, to engage their experience and to activate their rich traditions of democratic structures in local decision making. In *approach*, we decided to build on discussion: To force trainers not to lecture but to discuss, we put all our messages in the form of questions. In *structure*, we preferred to build our teaching on community involvement, which we hoped the churches would help us to organise. In the *selection of trainers*, we hoped to train persons delegated by the communities, who would after training return to teach in the responsibility of their home community.

A new teaching material was developed under the title "*ENEWEYAY*" (*Let's discuss*). In intensive discussions, mainly between Yakob Haile Mariam and Siegfried Pausewang, and at a later stage including Kebede Dejele from *AGuGiDa*,

as well as newly recruited staff members, four sections were designed. A team of arts students was engaged to draw simple pictures to the different topics. It began with questions like: How are decisions made in your family? Who participates, who does not? Why not?? - Which organisations exist in your community? How do they make decisions? How are conflicts resolved? Who participates, who does not? Which rules are accepted, which limitations imposed? Who is responsible for decisions made?

The second part generalises the emerging understanding of decision making processes: How can decisions be organised democratically in larger units? How can popular participation work in a state? How can government power rest on the will of the people? How can a majority decide, yet a minority be protected against arbitrariness? How can democracy secure individual rights? How can it guarantee equality of religions, races, gender, social groups?

The third part elaborates individual rights and responsibilities: How can you exercise your democratic rights responsibly? Where do you get the necessary information? How can democracy guarantee the equality of chances and the rights of opposition? What can you do to defend your rights? Do you have a responsibility to defend the rights of others?

The fourth (and tentatively last) part deals with elections: what must be guaranteed to make elections fair? How to secure the independent voting right for women? How to guarantee the equality of all votes? How is an election process working? Which rules must be observed to make it a free, equal, secret and fair election?

The teaching material was produced in two versions: a small booklet (in English; Oromifa translation is being printed; an Amharic version in preparation) and a flip-chart in A 1 format (ca. 85 x 60 cm) (so far in Amharigna and English). The flip-chart is reproduced as blueprint - the only affordable technique for copies of this size in smaller numbers locally available.

At the end of 1995, we collected systematically the experience of the teaching staff with the teaching material. In group discussions we took it up picture by picture and question by question, asking: do the pictures fit to the text? Do people understand them? Which questions do they raise? Are they productive in stimulating discussions? Do the questions adequately cover the topics, do they provoke the discussions we want to lead? Could they be improved to better convey the message of democratic attitudes and behaviour? After that experience, the booklets and flip charts were revised, some new pictures drawn and several questions added or changed.

The religious communities

Already in December 1994, Dr. Yakob and myself took a first round of contacts to the religious leaders in Addis Ababa, together with representatives of the European church aid agencies. The intention was to engage the four major religious groups in Ethiopia - the Orthodox Church, the Moslem Community, the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus - in an ecumenical effort. A "Board of Directors" was to be formed, on which they would serve together with representatives of the Election Commission and independent civic and human rights groups in Ethiopia. In particular, we hoped to get access to local communities through the religious organisations, using their local networks and contacts to the "grassroots". The emerging cooperation, it was envisaged, should be responsible for building up an election observer group, which could later be strengthened by European observers, and for a voter training programme, comparable to Kenya's experience.

Unfortunately, we met some hesitation, if not resistance in some religious communities. The Ethiopian law gives the Churches freedom from state interference in religious issues, on the condition that they refrain from involvement in politics. This clause invites ambiguity: Is involvement in democratic education a civic responsibility of churches - or an illegal political activity? Uncertainty, probably, was the major reason for hesitation in the Catholic Church and with the Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and to some extent also in Mekane Yesus. In any case, the proposed "board of directors" never came together.

After the elections, more positive contacts were reached particularly with the Patriarch's Office. Dr. Yakob and myself had in February 1996 a meeting with the Cardinal for development. We were assured that the Cardinal supported our teaching initiative, and that in due time the Patriarch would delegate a person to represent him on our Board.

The election observation abandoned

In the first days of January, the director of ABuGiDa, Dr. Abraham, brought together the civic NGOs, and built a "consortium" for the preparation of election observation with Ethiopian observers. His "Election-95-Group" applied for and eventually received funds from the different embassies in Ethiopia for its election observation. ABuGiDa had relevant experience from the 1994 elections on which it had published a critical report.

In the beginning of March, when the candidate registration for the elections started, we intended to bring observers from Europe, to follow events and to document, if possible, whether opposition allegations of discrimination and obstacles against opposition candidates were justified or not. All the larger opposition parties had already announced they would boycott the elections,

claiming they were prevented from building up party structures and filing candidates in rural areas. The Government invited all political groups to participate and offered fair and equal conditions, provided that these organisations refrained from violence as a tool in political struggle. Opposition groups referred to the experience of 1992 and 94, and claimed fair conditions were not available for them, and the government did little to convince them that its promises were more trustworthy this time.

We had several times received assurance from the Election Commission that our observers were welcome any time. This was repeated on Feb. 27, when we presented a list of six observers to come. But the first one to apply for a visa in Stockholm was refused: the Ethiopian Embassy informed him they needed a letter from the Election Commission before being allowed to issue a visa for election observers. The Election Commission, contacted in Addis, referred to the Foreign Ministry, which demanded a letter from the Swedish Embassy. In a meeting between several embassies and the Election Commission the issue was clarified. We were informed that the new election law accepted only foreign observers invited through the embassies who had received an invitation to observe. Upon a direct question from the Swedish Embassy it was confirmed that the Ethiopian Government did not welcome foreign observers working for NGOs.

Observation had become less relevant for us as a tool for supporting confidence and peace, after the opposition's decision not to run. We expected no serious disturbance or rigging during voting day, since EPRDF faced no serious competition in the elections. So we decided to concentrate on the training programme and confidence building for voters, leaving observation to the Ethiopian observers in the Election 95 group organised by the efforts of ABuGiDa.

The permission for teaching

To be allowed to engage in voter training, we had to work under the guidance of the Election Commission. The Commission welcomed our initiative, and reacted very positively to our teaching material. We were encouraged to start teaching, as the election commission felt they should be doing such courses by themselves, but had too small resources to do so. We were advised to work under the responsibility of a registered civic non-governmental organisation. For our purposes, ABuGiDa was the most closely related NGO to work with. But ABuGiDa had not received its official registration with the Ministry of Interior at the time we started working. Our first training course in Addis Ababa started in February without formal permission, which was not strictly required. But once the trainers wanted to start teaching in their kebele, they were asked for permissions, and only few kebele leaders allowed them to teach without a document from a registered NGO. Thus it was difficult to find halls or school classes for teaching and to assemble people. Only a limited number of classes were taught.

Before we went to Butajira in March 1995, the Election Commission advised us to contact the Society for the Advancement of Human Rights Education (SAHRE) at the Ministry of Education, a registered organisation which would be interested in sponsoring our work. We invited their leaders to one of our classes in a kebele in Addis Ababa, and they participated enthusiastically in the discussions. We came to an agreement with SAHRE. However, its leaders appeared suspicious and unprofessional in their approach. When they understood that they could not expect financial subsidies from us, they oscillated between enthusiasm and tight control. They gave us permission to teach our course in Butajira, limited to one place and one week only, and later complained, accusing us of having cheated them, because we had returned to Butajira for supervision of our trainers after the week's permission was over.

In the meantime, however, ABuGiDa had received their formal recognition. Temporary distrust, when ABuGiDa suspected us of competing for funds, and therefore refused to know of us, were resolved and we got ABuGiDa's unlimited permission to teach democracy classes under their overall responsibility and based on their registration. From middle of April 1995, therefore, we continued our work with ABuGiDa's permission. In May 1995 we terminated our cooperation with SAHRE, at the request of their president.

The training courses and the teaching

On 24 February 1995 we started the first training course for trainers in Addis Ababa, teaching some 50 young people, with 12th grade secondary school or higher education. They were recruited through individual contacts, from church congregations, and through word of mouth propaganda, as we had not succeeded in using church networks. Only the Moslem Supreme Council promised to send ten to fifteen participants. But three days before we started, the violent clashes in the Anwar Mosque disturbed the Moslem community deeply and made their participation impossible.

In March, after ended training, the trainers contacted their kebele or community leaders. In many places they were invited to teach and allowed to use community halls or school classes. Their teaching was generally received with positive reactions both from authorities and from the public at large. But teaching was sporadic and limited because in many places trainers were asked for "permission". A small staff of teachers was built up in the course of the experience, while we started to train trainers also in rural communities. The attempt at recruiting them through responsible local non-governmental organisations and religious communities had only limited success. We were able to spread the information in this way, but were met with the task to select trainees from a huge number of school leavers who had heard of the programme and come in the hope to find a job. The idea that this teaching was not an employment to be done for money, but

a service to the community, was received but not necessarily accepted. Though we paid a rather low sum per class taught, for a school leaver any income is better than unemployment. So neither the low salary nor the moral and social demands would discourage anyone from trying to be accepted as trainer.

After about a week's training, the trainers were given practical experience through rehearsals and exercises under supervision of an experienced teacher, before they were equipped with a teaching kit and sent to teach in the kebele, in the villages and neighbourhoods. They had themselves to organise their teaching, get the necessary permissions, decide a place for teaching, and motivate people to attend their performances. While in the beginning we accepted all those taught, we later started to screen the applicants according to performance, and only sent out those who were considered well qualified for a responsible job.

Training courses for trainers were held in Butajira (March 31 to April 7), Debre Birhan (April 15 to 19), Wolkite (April 25 - May 2) and Gambela (May 3 to 9). After the elections, a combination of refresher and new training courses were held in Butajira/Silte, Ndeber and Guchirre, and in Addis Ababa. By July 1995, about 300 young people had been trained, and a majority of them had been equipped with a training kit and sent to their respective communities to teach. About 25 000 to 30 000 people had been attending the courses lasting about two hours, and consisting mainly of discussions related to democracy, inspired by the pictures and questions displayed in the teaching kit.

By August 1996, figures have increased considerably. We have trained about 600 trainers, and sent about 400 of them to teach. Many of the earlier trainees have later quit the teaching. But there are still some of the most motivated of the first recruits who continue teaching with good results. Our records show that by early August 1996, about 170 000 persons have been attending our classes. In many places we were asked to return and continue and expand teaching. The discussions in our "Eneweyay" classes were lively and people brought up interesting arguments and astonishing thoughts. There were also controversial discussions, which demanded skill and tact from the trainers conducting classes. All in all, the teaching met enthusiastic response in the public.

Some selected examples of issues and questions raised

The sessions took in average one and a half to two hours. Lively discussions developed, and a wealth of interesting, and sometimes strikingly clever, sometimes also amusing questions were asked. It was not always easy for a trainer to deal with all the issues raised. Most problematic was the situation when questions obviously sought to press the trainer to take a political position either against or for the government.

Some examples of questions raised are just listed below:

- * Can I decide on the religion of my wife?
- * Do we have to be tolerant also towards satanism - or to a politically discredited group, for example if Mengistu were to come back...?
- * Could a majority decide to expel a minority? If the majority decides, it must also be able to decide on getting rid of a minority...?
- * Am I allowed to insult another person? Is that part of my freedom of expression? Or is my freedom of speech limited?
- * is committing suicide a democratic right?
- * Is it a democratic right to urinate everywhere in town?
- * Do you really mean we should discuss also with our children? We should not punish them? - Do you want them to become destitutes??
- * Can my wife turn pentecostalist if I don't agree? Can I divorce her if she insists?
- * If women are free to go and discuss - who is going to do the cooking? Should I have to go hungry?
- * Do you think what you tell us fits with reality? Do you think the authorities will accept if we discuss and come with our demands and decisions?
- * Democracy is disgusting. We have seen it in practice...
- * On the picture with all the animals in the forest we see also a snake. There are also snakes in human society. Should also the snake be accepted?

The last three questions or statements were probably the most difficult to discuss. Upon the question about the snake, asked in a small village in Gurage area, an engaged discussion started. peasants argued for and against the snake, which bites people. Should it nevertheless be given a right to co- exist and participate? One woman concluded it by saying: Even the snake only bites if frightened or provoked. If we treat him with love and understanding, the snake will not bite...

Problems in the training

In our training of trainers we put some emphasis on neutrality: we insisted that classes had to take a strong position for democracy, for solving problems by peaceful discussion, and for human rights; but had to be strictly neutral between political factions, parties or groups and their positions, as well as towards government policies.

We were often confronted with questions like: "What you teach is theory. Do you think it describes our reality?" - "Do you think we really can express our views, take influence over government or administrative decisions? Do you think we have freedom of expression?" Obviously the conflict between democratic ideals and political practice was felt to be irreconcilable, and the participants were trying to force the trainers to take a clear position.

Such discussions were difficult to handle for young trainers. We encouraged them to explain that democracy is not a ready made standard, but a process which has to be actively developed, an understanding which may grow slowly. Important is not to judge whether democracy exists, but to work for improving it. Democracy is never finished. Even the oldest democratic states can not claim to have realised it in full, but have to work constantly to maintain and improve it.

Another reservation remained: many people feel that the word "democracy" is discredited by the way it was used in the past to justify any kind of unpopular measures, including enforced resettlements, compulsory contributions for the war, and especially the forced recruitment of soldiers from the peasant youth. Many people therefore remain sceptical, and trainers had a difficult task of overcoming their suspicious reservations.

All the more it was a shock for us to realise, after three weeks of teaching in Butajira and surroundings and positive response from the population, that a suspicion was spreading in town, indicating that a majority of our trainers were members of the locally ruling Gurage People's Democratic Front. A quick investigation confirmed that about three out of four trainers were in fact members. Not out of enthusiasm, we were explained, but because jobless school leavers felt they had no chance to get any employment unless they joined "the party". It happened just ten days before the elections, and we were afraid such a reputation would cast our neutrality in doubt. So we immediately stopped all teaching in Butajira, until a new training course could be held after the elections. We were advised we could and should continue teaching in spite of such rumours, but insisted that we could lose credibility. Public opinion is central in democracy. And a partisan reputation would spoil our chances to reach all parts of the population.

Other problems encountered in the teaching were time constraints which prevented many people from attending a class from beginning to end, or which made it difficult to find a time suitable for all people interested; constraints for the participation of women; and problems people have in understanding concepts which may appear complicated and abstract to them. These are dealt with in more detail in the pedagogical evaluation report.

A pedagogical evaluation

We felt the need to have an independent assessment of whether the teaching was pedagogically sound, and able to reach the ordinary people, often illiterate people without school education. Therefore we decided early in March 1995 to have a small evaluation done by qualified consultants, to tell us what needed to be improved, in order to better reach the local communities with a message which could be meaningfully applied by the people.

W/o (Mrs.) Zenash Goshu, a social worker with considerable experience both in administration and practical work in non-governmental organisations (Oxfam, Bethel Handicraft project, etc) and Mrs. Aase A. Pausewang, a Norwegian teacher experienced in special pedagogics, teaching adult students (from academically trained to illiterate immigrants) in a multicultural context, and studying conflicting cultural role expectations in Africa (Ethiopia and Zambia), took a short but intensive look at the teaching programme. For three weeks between April 10 and May 4, they attended a course for trainers, visited several teaching classes, and had extensive discussions with different resource persons as well as people who had attended "Eneweyay" classes in Debre Birhan, Addis Ababa and Butajira and surroundings.

The evaluation was expected to answer two major questions: Firstly, whether the teaching reached the communities, or what we could do to get better access to community structures and to integrate the courses so as to reach people within their familiar social context. Secondly, we wanted to know what could be done to make the message understood, adopted and mentally accepted by people from different social strata.

The reports from the two evaluators are available and need not be repeated here. One is mostly dealing with the pedagogical, the other with the social context. Together, they gave a set of important suggestions and recommendations for developing the programme. In particular, they stressed the need for further community integration and concern for adapting to the social needs of people in each locality; and they gave us valuable suggestions for improving the quality of teaching by intensifying the training. Beyond that, they advised us to expand the programme both in time and in content. They reminded us not to expect results in short term but to rely on a long term process of conscientisation, of awakening self consciousness, and of growing patterns of democratic discussion. And they judged one two-hours teaching session to be too short to have a reasonable impact, and suggested to repeat the teaching and widen its content, to familiarise people with the concepts, to let them experience democratic discussion and adopt participation into their cultural life, and to gain democratic self-confidence.

Widening the time frame

Originally the programme was planned to last for half a year - until the elections. However, with the delays encountered in the beginning, and with the changed emphasis from election observation to democracy teaching, this time frame proved by far too short. After all, the Kenyan Council of Churches had two years to organise a voter education programme; we could only get the first group of trainers trained ten weeks before the elections. Besides, our emphasis turned away from the elections because it proved more important to develop confidence in a democratic discussion, among a rural population used to being ordered and

coerced but not to having any influence whatsoever. It needs time to convince a population which expects from the authorities nothing but arbitrary interference and orders from above. They will not easily accept that participation can be a means to take political co-responsibility and to get influence on administrative decisions. Even worse, if local conditions are such that people experience in everyday practice local officials who consider attempts at democratic participation as uncontrollable and destructive interference with their authority.

As the evaluation team emphasized, such a programme can not expect short term measurable effects. More important than statistically measurable results is the long term effect of contributing to a change of attitudes, which possibly may bear fruit after a generation only.

A continuation of the programme after the initial period, which was to go far beyond the original emphasis on the May 1995 elections, was therefore taken up early. The evaluation team almost viewed the experience up to the election as a pilot project phase, and their task to advise on how to adjust the programme before starting the project proper. And also the initiators agreed that it would be a waste of effort to close down the programme after a good start. Therefore the donor organisations agreed to reschedule the project and to utilise the funds saved from those parts of the programme which were not implemented (such as sending foreign election observers to Ethiopia) to continued teaching.

A year of experimentation

With only marginal additional fund allocations, the programme could continue teaching in Ethiopia for one year. By August 1996, however, funds are exhausted. A definite decision has to be taken on the basis of the experience of the last year, whether to continue the programme. If so, new funds have to be committed for a more permanent establishment.

The last year has been a period of learning by "trial and error". Some adjustments in the programme proved to be necessary, and especially we felt the need for expanding the pedagogical content as well as the geographical extent of the teaching. An administrative leader was employed and a permanent accounting system established. The programme had to establish an own office in Addis Ababa. For one year we rented a house at the Entoto road, since summer 1996 we moved to a new and more permanent office near Mexico Square.

The programme also faced some change in the staff. One of the senior teachers left us in autumn 1995. In March 1996, Dr. Yakob left for Rwanda where he is now engaged as a prosecutor in the UN genocide tribunal. The administrative leader, Sahlemariam Yirga, took over his functions. And End of September, our first teacher Makonnen Gebre Egziabher is going to Holland for further studies,

leaving us with the need to recruit an experienced and well qualified teacher and programme officer.

The teaching programme has expanded to new areas, with courses for training new trainers in places like Awasa, Wolkite, Wolisso, Ambo, Nazaret, Wonji, indibir, Akaki and others. Also in Addis Ababa, new groups of trainers were trained and sent to the urban kebele to teach. In some places where teaching started early, we closed our operation after the region was basically covered and the interest faded. In one area, we closed down because of problems with trainers who tried to fake attendance lists.

The pedagogical content of the courses was widened and adjusted with experience. The teaching material was substantially improved through a systematic collection of experience and through a thorough discussion of each picture and question with the staff. We experimented with new forms of teaching, tried to use music and dance as a means to make the "Eneweyay" discussions create a more lasting impression. We also experimented with more role plays and other ways to integrate theory and practice, learning and fun. We attempted in any way to intensify the experience of cooperation and peaceful working together in the discussions of democratic culture.

A new second unit of teaching was developed trying to introduce people to the contents of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A new teaching material was designed, in which the Declaration is presented article by article, accompanied by a set of questions which involve the audience in a discussion of the text and its importance in everyday life.

An important issue of discussion in the staff was the question of establishing this programme as a more permanent institution in Ethiopia. Registration as an independent non-governmental organisation (NGO) was considered necessary if the programme was to be carried on over a longer period. However, some of the donor agencies preferred to re-integrate the programme into the Ad Hoc Peace Committee (renamed into Committee for Peace and Development). To get a better basis for an agreement and to find a suitable solution, professor Oyugi from Nairobi was sent to Addis Ababa to make a recommendation on how to organise the programme in the future. Meanwhile, negotiations with the Board of this committee, mostly situated in the US, did not come to any workable conclusions. The evaluation of Prof. Oyugi concluded that the programme gave an important service to the community and should be continued over a longer period as an independent institution for civic education. Since he saw the option of integrating it into AdHoc without losing independence as unlikely under given circumstances, he recommended registration as independent non-profit organisation.

Challenges ahead

For the remainder of 1996 and onward, the programme is facing a serious challenge.

We believe it has proven its right of life. It has received very positive response, both with those people who have attended our classes and with officials on local and central level. The interest among donors was also considerable, and we have so far received only positive response.

Consequently, we plan for a continued operation in Ethiopia. As we started with an ecumenical approach, it would be adequate and desirable to attempt an integration in an institution of cooperation between the religious communities in the country. In 1995 we believed that the Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA) or a similar institution could offer an adequate institutional frame. Another possible model was to revive the original idea of bringing together the representatives of religious communities, after the elections were over and the observation has not taken place. But throughout the year we have tried to take up such threads without much prospects of achieving a common initiative of all major religious communities. So we ended up suggesting to establish the programme as an independent NGO, with an ecumenical board of directors in which all religious communities are represented, and register it with the Ministry of Justice. To affiliate it with one of the churches alone, could easily narrow its reach. Being known as a protestant or a moslem programme, it would not be able to reach out to people belonging to different religious communities.

In addition to new funding, continuing the programme needs urgently an initiative to register as non-profit organisation in Ethiopia. Up to now, we could work without interference on the general agreement with ABuGiDa and on our own initiative, with positive response and support from government officials. But according to new government rules a registration with the Ministry of Justice is needed to operate legally. On August 3, 1996 the Ministry of Justice publicly urged non-profit agencies to register, announcing that any agency that was operating without registration would be sued. It was also said that 320 organisations had so far got their registration renewed and 12 new associations be registered; another 170 applications were being processed at present.

Even without this reminder, we knew that registration was a requirement we would have to achieve, in order to operate legally. The hope to return into the Ad Hoc Peace Committee seems not to be working out. So we will have to go for an own registration. With the help of Prof. Oyugi, a "Memorandum of Association" was drafted. It will have to be discussed with the donors and the staff, before being sent to the Ministry of Justice for registration.

But registration and operation on a long term basis requires also a budget offering at least a medium term commitment of funding. To recruit more staff with solid and flexible qualification, we need to be able to offer some more long-term prospects of employment. And even for establishing positive relations with authorities in new areas and for developing more teaching materials in a somewhat wider variety of topics of civic education, we need a longer commitment. With a prospect of operating one year at a time, living "from hand to mouth", it is not likely that we could attract a commitment from the most qualified resource persons whom we want to get involved in this effort.

A budget for a three years period is being prepared and will be sent to the previous and to some new donors. A memorandum of association is also being prepared. It is intending to develop the programme into a Centre for civic education, with the objectives to continue democracy education and to add other topics in civic, environmental, and social development issues. Harmful cultural practices, family planning and guidance, educational practices, environmental problems, but first of all ethnic harmony and lasting peace should be integrated as basic subjects of teaching. In addition, we are discussing the possibilities to develop a documentation facility on the same issues.

If the programme is to be continued, it will be important for the immediate future to identify the appropriate structure, and to prepare its transfer. Finance from outside may still be needed for several years. All Ethiopian institutions which could become involved, depend on assistance from abroad. However, in a longer perspective also the financial responsibility will have to be taken over by Ethiopian organisations.

Expansion of the teaching

A continuation poses also a considerable pedagogical challenge. Much remains to be done before a pedagogically sound form is found, which will give the teaching programme the best possible effect in preparing people for a development of a more democratic environment from below. Single courses have little effect: only through repetition and the experience of free discussion will concepts become familiar and practicable, and discussion a practice integrated in everyday life. Repetition and expansion of the teaching are thus important for making democracy an integral part of local culture.

Also the trainers, young people who often have no more experience than twelve years in school, need repetition. They also need better training in how to pedagogically convey to their students what they learned. In particular, they need training and knowledge about how to engage their students in discussions, and to encourage them to actively use their own knowledge as a resource. It is not easy for a young trainer teaching people of all ages, to learn how to engage people as

independent actors instead of using them as material, and to encourage independent thinking instead of dishing out abstract knowledge. Such skills are needed to develop stronger democratic self-confidence among the people. It is important to build democracy upon demands from below for stronger influence of the majority. In Ethiopia, this majority lives in the rural areas and consists to almost 80 % of illiterates.

Also the content of teaching needs expansion and intensification. The pedagogical evaluation suggests cooperation with Ethiopian agencies working for development in particular areas, such as nutrition or hygiene, women's rights groups, educational and human rights institutions, environmental protection groups or institutions for the abolishment of harmful traditional practices, and others. Above that, specific questions should be addressed, such as the relation between human rights and government powers, or between parties and citizens, between government and opposition, etc. The role of the press, the influence of public opinion and the possibilities of the individual in it, questions of cultural traditions and democratic participation demand broad democratic discussion.

Courses and teaching units need to be developed which address such different topics and mediate them in pedagogically sound pictures and examples. A lot of work is needed to expand the existing courses discussing general democratic rules and principles, to cover a sustained democratic education programme in Ethiopia.

Again, expansion is also needed to new areas and new media. By July 1995, we had reached ca. 30 000 persons in five or six limited local regions. By end of August 1996, we had expanded to some 15 areas and had reached a total of 175 000 people who had been attending one of our classes. An impact depends on far wider coverage. A change can only be expected if democratic self-consciousness is becoming a movement gaining its own momentum. We are indeed far from even dreaming about such effects. But we can contribute to the knowledge and experience needed as a precondition, - and to spreading the ideas. For that, we need to expand into new regions. But we should also explore alternative and complementary ways of multiplication. We should try to get democratic education programmes into the public media, the radio, and possibly into the school curricula. We ought also to give our teaching materials a much wider distribution, to allow people a better follow-up of what they learned, and to continue discussing after our trainers left. Also for such developments, more time is needed, and more integration into existing structures of education and mass communication is asked for.



Evaluation of the training of trainers pilot program in democratic principles and election procedures - January-May 95

Zenash Goshu

The training of trainers programme was initiated by the Ecumenical Election Training and Monitoring Initiative in collaboration with the inter-Africa group, Abugida, AD Hoc peace committee and other civic groups in Ethiopia. This is a pilot programme which is proposed to run from January 95 to June 30 in different parts of rural Ethiopia and Addis Ababa the capital. It has been operational since January 95.

Program objectives

- To create awareness about people's rights and obligations in a democratic society.
- To resolve differences by peaceful means, eg. discussions, demonstrations etc.
- To involve all concerned members of the family and of the society in the decision making process.
- To emphasize the role of women in the society and encourage community leaders to integrate them in the development process and in matters affecting their lives.
- To enhance community participation in all development undertakings.
- To promote democracy in relation to local traditions, norms and values.
- To share ideas and spread knowledge about general principles of voting procedure.

Target groups

Training of trainers program

Co-ordinator		co-ordinator							
Addis Ababa	Debreberhane	Welkitaye		Butagira	Gambella				
Male	35	Male	53	Male	41	Male	39	Male	28
Female	19	Female	14	Female	7	Female	17	Female	1
Total	55	Total	67	Total	48	Total	56	Total	29

Plus new places where training will be held in future
Grand total in May 1995: 225 trainers trained

Target groups of the teaching program

The (adult) population of the rural and urban communities
Coverage so far: only the below named program areas

Program areas

- Addis Ababa
- Debre Berhane
- Wolkitaye
- Butagira
- Gambella

About the evaluation

The evaluation was conducted by Mrs. Åse Pausewang, a Norwegian pedagogical advisor, and Zenash Goshu, an Ethiopian social worker, who both have long time experience working with different sectors of the community at the grass root level.

This evaluation has two parts.

- a) The part that deals with the pedagogical side.
- b) The part that deals with the social side.

The evaluation was conducted in a participatory way where all sorts of people, including the women, the elderly, the youth have taken part in the discussions, random visits, questions and answers.

This paper below attempts to discuss the social side of the evaluation by addressing the following areas of concern:

- How did participants react to the session?
- What did participants like about the programme?
- What participants did not like about the programme?
- How should it be changed?
- What goals did participants set for the future?
- Were activities undertaken as planned?
- Was time frame honoured?
- Were resources adequate?
- What were unintended results?
- What lessons were learnt?
- Did the program reach the rural and urban communities with its message?

- Was it understood?
- Problems encountered
- Recommendations

How did participants react to the session

The country was undergoing an election campaign as the training programme was being conducted. This coincidence has both its negative and positive impacts as far as the feelings of participants were concerned.

The positive side is that it has prepared participants what to look for at times of elections and has helped them exercise their rights to speak up and express their feelings in a democratic manner without being intimidated or harassed.

The fact that the training program is followed by the election has made participants and non-participants suspicious whether this is one part of government propaganda to manipulate the election. In both instances it was underlined by program co-ordinators that the programme is a non-political and neutral one which only aims to promote democracy.

What did participants like about the programme

Participants think that it is only fair to resolve differences peacefully. The idea of involving every member of the family was a very good one which was often taken for granted in a patriarchal society like Ethiopia. The relationship between a family and a society was interesting. They all agree that a family is the building block of a society.

What participants did not like about the programme

is that the reality is different from what has been said about democracy. E.g. everyone has the right to express his or her feelings in a peaceful way. This has not always been the case in reality. As far as participants' experience is concerned, they think it is easier said than done.

How should it be changed?

This situation can be changed as participants continue to exercise their democratic rights even if they have to pay small prices.

What goals did participants set for the future?

They will start to exercise democracy in their small family units. They will go to the people to teach what they have learnt. They will try to reach as many women as possible by going out to where they are. They will fight against harmful traditional practices. They will limit their family sizes and encourage others to follow their foot steps.

Were activities undertaken as planned, was the time frame honoured?

As far as the plan of action is concerned, it was achieved accordingly inspite of the sensitivity of the program both from the point of view of the government and the trainees. The time frame had to be prolonged because local partners like the church were not as cooperative as expected as They didn't want to be associated with the election campaign.

Were resources adequate?

As far as the allocated resources is concerned there is some unutilized budget which can run the programme for 3 more months.

What lessons were learnt?

The integration of Harmful traditional practices, Gender, HIV and Family Planning was not in the original plan but it was something which was found to be relevant within the concept of Democracy. It has created a positive response and is something which should go hand in hand with this training package. One of the lessons learnt is that people can find time even in difficult situations if it is regarded as something worth spending time.

Was the message of the programme reached and understood?

Inspite of some difficulties encountered here and there the program has reached so many disadvantaged groups of the society who otherwise would have no access what so ever, eg. rural women, farmers, muslim women etc. During the random visits and informal discussions it was possible to feel the desire beneficiaries have to practice what they have acquired.

For many women it was a dream come true to see their husbands understand that women have equal say in family matters and the society.

Problems encountered

Butagira

- The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) is a coalition of small political parties of which the Guragae People's Democratic Party (GPDP) is one. Of the 62 trainers in Butagira about 50 belonged to this party. This fact was exposed during random interview carried out by the evaluation team as we were trying to find out about what people think of the neutrality of the programme. As the result of this coincidence there are already a lot of people in Butagira who question the neutrality of the program and in some instances trainers are said to have imposed their political party's ideology during the training sessions.

Debre Berhan

- The screening of trainees was conducted in one day after a day's notice and as a result of this short notice there was no time for others to come from the other regions. Of the 53 trainers screened, about 90% were from Debra Berhane alone. The others were representatives from Deneba, Kyete, Tebase, Ankober.
- Another difficulty encountered at the time of screening was that there are too many unemployed people and expectations about getting some kind of employment was too high.
- The urban people have heard a lot about democracy on mass media, and they think they know a lot while the rural ones are eager to learn as much as possible.
- There are some people who think that Democracy is not a priority.
- There are others who expect immediate returns.
- It was not easy to bring beneficiaries together in the towns as opposed to the rural areas where there is a homogenous community structure.
- Women have too many responsibilities to allocate time to learn.
- It is difficult to run a program like this one in the absence of a proper office and a full time office bearer (what ever the responsibility may be). The office is part of a residential flat and it was not easy for the evaluation team to communicate with other members of the program as they are often out teaching, and there was no one to manage the office routine.

Recommendations

- Since human development takes time to make an impact I strongly recommend the continuity of this program for 6 more years, the first year being the initial stage to wind up what has been part of the pilot program during which time all the necessary office arrangements and recruitment of a full time staff is proposed to start the 5 years program.
- The screening of Trainers should be guided by a clearly set criterion for screening to avoid repeating the same mistakes in the future criteria should include being gender conscious.
- More time is required to train the trainers in the different adult teaching techniques.
- The time allocated for one session is said to have been too short as far as trainees are concerned but given the time limitation mentioned as a constraint some kind of follow up programme should be agreed between trainers and trainees.
- A sound project proposal for the 5 years with clearly stated program objectives budget requirement monitoring and evaluation procedures should be presented before project implementation during the first year of project planning.
- Ethiopia being one of the poorest countries in the world has a lot of problems of which the man made one is more damaging. One way to tackle this is thorough creating awareness among the people to take part in all development undertakings and fight for their rights. This program is one step forward to achieve this objective and we feel that it has already paved the way and should continue for 6 years to create the desired impact. As to how to continue and when to phase out should be outlined in the project proposal.

Ecumenical training initiative for democracy: Pedagogical evaluation report

Åse Attramadal Pausewang:

I. Introduction

1. This teaching programme was started in 1994/95 as an election monitoring and voter training effort, guided by a model developed by the Kenyan Council of Churches before the 1992 elections. It is financed and initiated by Church Aid organisations in Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Netherlands, planned as a measure to create confidence in the democratic process, to bring the radical opposition groups back into the elections, and to empower voters to encourage a development towards fair conditions for all parties.

When it became clear in March - April 1995 that the opposition groups did not participate in the elections, and that the Government did not want foreign observer groups independent of the observing embassies, the observation part was cancelled, and the programme concentrated on its civic education component.

It soon became clear that the programme could not expect to reach more than a very small fraction of the voters before the election - far too few to make any impact. It was therefore decided rather to concentrate on a good quality of civic education over a longer period.

A teaching kit was developed, in cooperation with ABuGiDa, an organisation which had some experience with civic education courses under the title "Democracy mindenow" - What is democracy? -. In contrast to ABuGiDa's teaching kit, it starts with familiar experience: "Is your family a democratic institution? How are decisions made? Who participates? Which other democratic institutions exist in your community? How do they arrive at decisions? etc. To avoid lecturing, it was decided to ask questions, leaving answers to the discussion, and lead a way through their succession, not to "right" answers.

Teaching began end of February 1995, with a class "training of trainers" in Addis Ababa.

2. This first evaluation was initiated to critically assess the pedagogical soundness of the teaching so far, and to estimate in how far it reaches the individuals, especially those with low educational standards, both in urban and rural areas. Further it should assess whether it reaches the communities and is accepted and embraced by them. It is to offer a first, however rough, feedback on pedagogical

efficiency, and to give advice on how the programme can improve its pedagogical approach, so as to better reach especially the illiterate majority and the communities in the countryside.

3. Between April 10 and May 4, 1995, the evaluation team participated in one course in Debre Birhan for training of trainers, in which 54 young people, mostly secondary school leavers with 12th grade exams, from Debre Birhan and surrounding communities, were trained to teach the "ENEWEYAY" ("Let's discuss") courses. Two field trips to Butajira, the first area in which teaching had been started in March, gave a chance to attend ENEWEYAY classes in rural areas and in the town of Butajira, and to talk to rural and urban people who had previously attended the classes.

Also in Addis Ababa, classes were attended and individual and group discussions with former attendants of the ENEWEYAY classes were held. A series of discussions with resource persons working in other NGOs and in related fields, gave perspective and depth to the understanding of democracy teaching in its cultural and multi cultural context.

II. Limitations

1. A short time frame is setting strong limitations to an evaluation, especially where travel and practical arrangements demand their share of the evaluators' limited time budget. Three weeks are too short a time to allow a very thorough evaluation, especially in a complex society in which many different cultures live side by side. Still we believe the experience allows us to give a first, even if not a detailed and culture-specific assessment, and to suggest some major points in which further work is needed to improve the programme.

2. The methods used were a combination of participation in the teaching and free and structured interviews with people of all walks of life, of different relations to the programme, and of different cultural background. As such, because of the short time, the results may seem somewhat impressionistic, but time and budget limited the possibilities to go further. Still, we are convinced though more precision and detail could have been achieved with more time and more interviews, we have sufficient basis for at least a secure assessment of where improvements are needed.

3. The language problem, the need to work with translators, is a further limitation of an evaluation like this one. However, since the areas in which the programme worked so far are Amharigna speaking or at least having (and accepting) Amharigna as official language, these problems were reasonably minimized. Still, we should consider that some detail and depth is necessarily lost in interviews and discussions conducted with translators, or in the participants' second language.

4. Another limitation of our findings may arise if people out of pure politeness feel they have to answer what they expect the visitor to want. More seriously, in a society where "politics" is associated with party conflicts, with a brutal dictatorial regime and its local representatives, or with simply a feeling of helpless submission to power holders from outside, there may be many reasons to be afraid of speaking out. "We do not expect much of politicians", we were told. - "Neutral people may live in peace; - if you take part you get into trouble."

Such experience is difficult to overcome. We faced some cases where people were willing to do so. Others even expressed gratitude that this programme helped them to understand their right to discuss, overcoming previous inhibitions. However, we can not be sure in how far we have succeeded in reflecting people's true feelings.

III. Experience

1. To sum up, we found lots of enthusiasm and positive response to the programme, both among the trainers and among the trainees in urban and rural areas, and among the public in general. Also among officials and other resource persons, we found only positive response. Apart from specific suggestions for improvements or warnings to avoid pitfalls, cultural domination, or unproductive conflicts with traditions and culturally motivated feelings, we did not meet any negative or even sceptical voices.

2. Positive was in particular the reaction of people in the villages. Asked why they went to the teaching and what they gained, we were told that they got stimulation, new ideas. "I have received light", said one woman. Another added: "Before we were afraid of talking, but now we discuss at home." Many people requested us to come back and bring more teaching. Comparing to the Literacy Campaign during Mengistu's time (when school students had to out teaching literacy), people preferred our teaching by far. "What you are forced to do, is not to enjoy", one of the students said.

Another positive result was the visible confidence the trainers gained with the teaching. Even if their teaching were not to achieve anything, the growing awareness, self-confidence and sense of responsibility gained by these young trainers would in itself be an invaluable important achievement of the programme. A man told about his younger sister, who is one of the trainers in Butajira. She used to be a quiet girl, accepting what was offered her. Now she comes home and discusses with her family, saying: "That is my democratic right!" The family accepted, even liked the teaching. Before they never allowed the girl to go out on her own. Now she is a trainer, teaching democracy to people in the rural areas.

3. We have the impression that the programme was most valued, and had the best positive response, in the villages. As one resource person told us: "Go to those who have needs...go to the rural people. Village people may be the majority in

Ethiopia, but in terms of influence and access to information, they are a minority..."

In rural areas it is particularly important to be concrete in teaching, and to relate contents to the everyday experience of peasants. It demands particular sensitivity to local cultural patterns and to the level of people. Teaching has to start from where the people are. "If you want to show somebody the way, you have to go to where he is to help him..." a woman said.

4. A particular experience we feel worthy of mentioning is the growing awareness of cultural context. We were impressed by the positive relationship and peaceful coexistence of Moslems and Christians, expressed in all the places we visited. Particularly in Butajira, we observed this positive attitude, and the growing consciousness that tolerance and mutual respect is a tradition worth preserving and defending against possible fundamentalistic trends. This should be emphasized in teaching. Ethiopia has many problems, but could be a positive example to other countries for the peaceful coexistence between Moslems and Christians.

Growing awareness of cultural particularities and contexts expressed itself also in people's seriousness in asking questions like: "Can I decide on the religion of my wife and children without being undemocratic? Do we also have to be tolerant towards satanism and other destructive beliefs or ideologies? Could a majority decide to expel a minority? Is it allowed in a democracy to insult some other person, or is my freedom of expression limited? More crudely confronting tolerance with the needs of a functioning society, one man asked: Is it a democratic right to urinate all over in town?"

Many questions identifying similar conflicts of values and culturally determined convictions or practices were raised in the classes. Many of them reflected beliefs and cultural traditions which might come in conflict with democracy teaching if not handled very carefully. One man, concerned about the future of his children, asked: "Do you mean we should discuss also with our children? We should not punish them? Should they become destitutes??"

"Can I divorce my wife because of religious differences?" asked one man. "She has the right to turn pentecostal? But I will not accept that." "Then you may divorce her", another one suggested. -"No, I won't, I love her..." replied the first. Others asked: Is committing suicide a democratic right? Is abortion? Has everyone the right to life and work? Discussing such issues may be controversial because it involves social taboos and strong personal feelings. If taken up by a good teacher in a sensitive way, it may lead to a fruitful discussion. But if the teacher does not master the situation it may create more problems than it solves.

"Don't teach un-reachable goals and unrealistic ideas, said one resource person, "- rather teach self confidence. Teach people to help themselves. It is better to teach a man how to fish than to give him a fish. Europeans change the environment - we Africans adjust to it.

We Africans resent to be changed into what we are **not**. We resent Europeans telling us what we should do. You can not frighten people into accepting new

ideas. They may be very good, but what does it help if the approach is wrong? Donors usually want to see results before they are willing to give support. To get money we have to show results... It is a lack of understanding. The missionaries often have a good approach. They give a basis in education and health. But they do not expect short term results. If you work against tradition, you don't see results like a road, a bridge being built. If you want to help humanity, don't wait for results... "

5. Experience shows thus a need to be very aware of cultural patterns and practices and traditional beliefs. It is important for the teaching to approach those in a way which does not destroy confidence either in the teaching programme in itself or, even worse, in those cultural values which keep societies and communities together. As one resource person put it: Don't destroy traditional practices unless you can offer alternatives. This concerns not least the changing of the role patterns of women. Desorientation can be more dangerous than subordination under existing social patterns. One informant said: A tied dog suddenly let loose will run around and do mischief.

We agree with several resource persons who warned: Be careful not to destroy cultural patterns without offering an alternative, and not before this alternative is accepted and integrated in local culture. Don't break up marriages by insisting on women's rights, because the women will invariably be the losers. Their only alternative might be to end as prostitutes... The man just looks for another wife. "Who is going to do the cooking, if she discusses there is no food. If she has the right to go to school, should I have to go hungry?"

Still, to make women aware of their situation, is important. Mothers are the most important teachers, they bring up the next generation. But they have a heavy burden in the society.

"Men are only breadwinners. Show me a father really taking care of his children," said a woman. "-Is it democratic, then, that he alone should decide the number of children?"

"Don't worry about the children," said a Muslim elder, himself father of 21 children. It was raining and cold, and we worried about the shivering and wet children who were not let into the house which was for the grownups only. "They have got resistance, they are alright. Allah will take care of them. He can not be so cruel to deprive us of them...?"

"Teach men to be sensitive, to listen to women, who are creating ideas", said one respected female doctor, "Men are not used to expect women to generate ideas. They don't listen, they rather follow their own ideas."

There are some harmful practices which need to be changed, but such change has to be accepted, and for that, it has to be integrated into existing social patterns. This is a sensitive and difficult process, which takes a long time. If pressed upon people without really being wanted, they will say they understand, but in actual life continue the old practice. "One who is converted by force, is still remaining himself", said another person, telling about how traditions outrule medical knowledge. At a course for women, informing about harmful traditional practices, they had for about one week given examples about, among others, the dangerous practice of cutting the uvula of small babies. One of the participants asked for permission to stay away one day, and was pressed to tell why, to be allowed to continue the course. "You see, this little baby on my back has got a fever. I have ordered for her to have the uvula cut. She might die if I don't go!" - "But did we not just tell you how dangerous this might be?" - "Yes, you say so. But you repeat only what the books say. The living experience and knowledge of old people is more important, and I can not take the chance..."

A young medical doctor told us about her mother who had broken her false teeth. She insisted she needed new ones at once, or she would suffer from headache for the rest of her life. Her good friend, an old lady, had also told the same. The doctor told her to relax, it would do no harm to wait the necessary time. "Look, mother, this is not true. Should I, your daughter, go to schools for so many years and learn about this, and you don't trust my knowledge?" "Oh, my daughter," said the mother, "what you say you have only from the books. But I am old and have the experience."

6. Equally important is sensitivity in confronting political traditions. While it is not true that Ethiopians have no democratic traditions, they certainly are shaped by historical experience of non-democratic political practice, by suppression and exploitation, serfdom and submission to despotic local leaders and representatives of central power. Many people expressed the feeling that the word "democracy" itself was associated with negative experience and that our trainers thus had to overcome a difficult emotional experience. They were often asked: Do you really mean what you say fits into our reality? Do we have democracy? Can we demonstrate? Are you going to solve our onehundredandone problems? Or do you think the authorities will from now on just do what we ask for?

"People are disgusted with democracy," said an elderly peasant, "because we have seen democracy in reality." Yet, precisely because people have become critical to everything considered political, and sceptical to politicians, they are in search for alternatives. In that sense, the time is ripe for democratic education with a different outlook. It has to aim at changing traditions of expecting solutions only through violence. It has to teach that democratic majority decisions have their limits in the rights of minorities, and that tolerance is essential for democracy. Freedom is only where those with differing opinions enjoy freedom. And it has to be made clear that democracy is not achieved once and for all, but is a process

which takes time and never reaches a final and complete stage. It is not about giving the correct answers, but to ask the important questions, to create awareness about problems, to look for solutions.

Political neutrality is particularly important in such context. And a positive reputation, associating the teaching with positive values and feelings, is to be fostered and preserved by all means, and watched with utmost vigilance.

7. This programme aims at influencing social consciousness. This is at its best a long process in which people have to learn discussing and understanding their own experience critically. To develop a culture of discussion, tolerance, and peace will take time, especially with illiterates and people unaccustomed to formal learning. These people must be taught to enjoy putting their own feelings and experience into words. The courage to express oneself is an experience which helps to build up self confidence. To develop self confidence is in itself important in democratic education. "What you tell us, does it fit with our realities?" we were asked several times. "How can we, just peasants in a remote corner, confront state officials? You need a lot of self confidence, before you can question the government..."

To increase self confidence is the first step in a social process of teaching a culture of discussion. People who experience that they are given respect, build a stronger self-image, which will help them when facing urban and intellectual groups. It also needs a growing consciousness about the social and political situation in the country. For that, the contents of education have to be directly related to the learners' own lives.

IV. Training of trainers

1. In Debre Birhan we attended a course to train trainers for starting up the programme in this region. The future coordinator in Debre Birhan, a former trainer in Addis Ababa who is at home in Debre Birhan, had been there in advance to prepare the course, establish relations to the authorities, and organise the recruitment of trainees. Debre Birhan is a town of ca. 130 000 inhabitants, of which ca. 80 % are Christians and 20 % Moslems. We were told that there were about 30 000 unemployed school leavers in the town, however this figure appears unbelievably high even though the town may concentrate school leavers from the entire area. About 50 young people were selected for teaching, among them 12 girls. Unfortunately, the time was too short for a good screening of the applicants to select qualified trainees who had promising potential to teach democracy. We feel that more emphasis and a more critical approach is needed to select able teachers and secure good teaching.

The training course and the teaching material received very positive response. Discussions were lively, both in the group discussions and role plays, and in the

teaching. Several critical issues were raised and discussed, and politically sensitive fields were not avoided.

At the end of the course, the students were asked one by one, as a "rehearsal", to teach in front of the class, with the teaching kit as a basis. To begin with, a short "rehearsal" was followed by critical comments from teachers and audience. Later the rehearsals were part of a screening to identify the most promising students as future trainers.

Again, we feel the screening would have to be better prepared both pedagogically and in terms of content and knowledge. Selection by non-trained teachers, in an extremely short time, will produce too accidental results. It will not allow to separate impostors from genuinely motivated students, and it may select precisely the wrong individuals. An oral or written test guided by psychologically and pedagogically trained people would bring better results.

We see a problem if candidates delegated by rural communities as their teachers would fail to be selected. But it is better occasionally to repeat the teaching with new candidates, than to admit persons who are not qualified to be entrusted with great responsibilities.

2. In Butajira, we did not attend the training of trainers. All 62 attendants had been admitted after rehearsals. The result showed in very different quality of teaching, and some of the trainers seemed to see teaching as a job giving them money, rather than a service to their community.

Butajira is a small town in Gurage area, of ca. 17 to 20 000 inhabitants, approximately half Moslem, half Christian, among them, we were told, about 750 unemployed school leavers. Also for them, the teaching offered a unique chance - not only because it offered them some income, however small, but because it gave them a responsibility, a task worthwhile to engage in, and an experience on which to grow and to develop self-confidence.

The coordinator organised teaching neatly, giving all 62 trainees the chance to teach the same number of classes, and stopping teaching as soon as the money at his disposition was used up. The result was a large quantity of people taught and classes held. But we have the strong impression that quality was uneven and enthusiasm differed much. A serious screening would have improved this situation a lot. Again this supports our suggestion to introduce a kind of final test and screening, as well as a repeated course for upgrading the trainers and renewing their motivation.

One might consider whether the coordinator should be one of the trainers, elected by them. This might enhance a group feeling and replace authoritarian leadership with cooperation.

3. In Addis Ababa, the first place where trainers were trained, only the most enthusiastic students ever came to teach. This was partly due to the fact that the initial lack of formal permissions meant it needed initiative and perseverance to get a room and the local elders' or leaders' approval for teaching.

This unintended selection process appears to have been positive as far as we can recollect from reports, the teaching has been of more even and better quality. However, this impression needs further substantiation through more extended observation. Also in Addis Ababa the need for repeated courses to upgrade and motivate trainers is obvious.

V. The "eneweyay" classes

1. In Butajira we met the most enthusiastic audience and the most inspired and lively discussion in a village half an hour's drive on almost unpassable tracks from town. At nine in the morning about hundred people, young and old, were waiting and welcoming us. The teaching kit was already hung up at a wall of a *chika* house, and on a hillside facing it sat young mothers with babies sucking their breasts, men hiding from the sun under their grey *gabi*'s, old women wiping away swarms of flies with branches of pepper trees. They were interested and enthusiastic all through the two hours' meeting, and we were greatly impressed by their concentration and participation in the discussion. They gave freely of their valuable time in the most busy farming season, but suggested for further teaching that morning sessions were most suitable for women, whereas men preferred to come in the afternoons.

In the town of Butajira, length and quality of teaching varied greatly. The shortest courses were those where the trainers did not have the skill or the patience to engage their students in discussion. Instead they answered questions themselves, quickly delivered the message and went on to the next picture. We even came over one case where one of the trainers sat in and participated, giving the "correct" answers.

Much can be learned by attending colleagues' classes. But if at all they intervene, it should be to stimulate discussion. If they just answer a trainers questions, they will necessarily put an end to discussion, either by bringing the level of discussion too high, outshining and discouraging other participants, or closing discussion altogether.

Trainers proved also rather inexperienced in passing good questions on to the audience, to stimulate an exchange of opinions. This is indicating a lack of pedagogical skill which demands further training in using the class as a resource. The attendants' time constraints sometimes cut teaching short. One class was terminated by a heavy rain. In others, people came late, and started to leave before class was finished because it was time for the midday prayer. This raises the

question whether people should be allowed to leave early, if missing essential parts of the lesson. We feel the issue is important since it would enforce rather intolerant attitudes to insist in unabridged attendance. But it is equally difficult to avoid misinterpretations if classes are attended only in parts.

It appears important to avoid time pressure in class. Especially in towns, women are under hard time pressure, and may not find it easy to spend two hours in class. Efforts should be made to find the day time most suitable for women to attend. Problems of cultural conflict occurred in several occasions, but were largely handled well by the teachers. In one class for example, discussing the picture of different animals and comparing it with a society containing social and cultural variation, a farmer asked: I see a snake there. Should also the snake, which bites humans, be tolerated? After some discussion, one woman said: Even the snake bites only if attacked. If you treat it with love and understanding, it will not bite.

2. In Addis Ababa, there were lively discussions among attendants. The quality of teaching was even higher than in Butajira, but much fewer classes were taught. This emphasises the possible tradeoff between quality and quantity, and reinforces the argument for screening.

3. In Debre Birhan, teaching experience is as yet short. We had no chance to see the students teaching. However, reports are positive and enthusiastic, but much fewer classes taught the first period than in Butajira.

Experience will show whether the enthusiasm and motivation of trainers last, and whether quality teaching can be maintained.

VI. Pedagogical recommendations

1. We consider this programme an unusually positive, but very ambitious undertaking. Possibly the initiators did not even fully know the value of it when it was started, but the change of emphasis from election observation and voter training to a long term democratic education programme was doubtlessly a step in the right direction. The programme is difficult to compare with other development projects. When a road is built, results are visible and measurable in their importance. This programme, in contrast, develops people's self-consciousness, fosters their ability to reason, to discuss, take responsibility, participate, to put words on and thereby understand and learn to master their own problems. We must be aware that results can not be easily seen or measured, and may only become an active asset after a generation. But we are convinced they are worth the effort and the finance, and more.

So, its ambitious goal can not be reached in a quick one time teaching effort. It needs following up, and a much longer term effort. Ideally it might go over ten or more years. The shorter it lasts, the more danger there is of its ideals being forgotten and its results getting lost. We recommend that it is better to intensify

and improve the programme in smaller areas and keep a high quality, than to expand too fast.

At a later stage one might try to reach a wider public through the media. A resource person proposed us to go to the radio, to schools, to television. But the basic part will remain adult education which can adjust to local cultures and reach people where they are.

An important achievement in itself is the experience, training, and sense of responsibility and awareness it gives to its trainers.

2. We strongly recommend to consider an early start of courses to upgrade the trainers. Even if greatly impressed by their teaching, they need a follow-up to maintain a clear vision of their work, to improve their pedagogical skills and motivation. They should learn to initiate role plays and group discussions, to activate and motivate people. They need training in being precise in teaching, and especially in pedagogical techniques to stimulate discussion, participation, awareness and self-confidence. They have to learn how to avoid an authoritarian style in teaching: If the teacher is always right, discussion is difficult.

Repetition courses or occasional meetings of the trainers may, besides of improving skills, also help to keep up their motivation, and allow them to discuss problems they face.

3. The importance of dialogue can not be over-emphasized. People must experience that differences in opinion do not mean you are not on good terms. Only by participation, people can experience that they have a contribution to make, that their knowledge matters. Self-confidence is not developed by accumulating knowledge, but through the experience of having a contribution to make, having a responsibility, and to practice their own knowledge.

Knowledge should not be accumulated like money in a bank. Teaching should not aim at piling up passive knowledge. It should be oriented towards recognizing, discussing, mastering problems. Such experience creates self-confidence. Teaching should aim at building up, step by step, a culture of tolerance, awareness, freedom. The ultimate goal is peace.

4. A pedagogical refinement of the teaching seems necessary. Trainers must learn to present the concepts and explanations precise, to the point. Pedagogical skills can to some degree be learned. So can the techniques of how to adjust a topic, present it to students, so that they can re-word and re-think it and thus internalise it. Equally important is sensitivity for what will be relevant topics for the audience, valuable to be taken up in classes. Repetition and variation are important elements in teaching. Variation of style and content makes a lesson enjoyable, memorable. Turning to the class can be learned, and spicing lectures with humour

be encouraged. Simple consideration of the people's level of knowledge, will help to avoid using English words, particularly when talking to elderly people and in the village. Respect shown will be returned.

Independent of such skills, trainers being sent out to the people as teachers will feel the considerable responsibility they are given. This can be a great achievement in itself, as it improves their experience and self confidence.

5. Political neutrality is essential for the teaching. For this it is not enough that the teaching itself is neutral. Even the suspicion of partiality in parts of public opinion can be a serious setback, because it will undermine confidence in the programme. Great care has to be taken to avoid any step that could create such suspicions. A bad reputation can spoil the entire project. A bad reputation spreads faster than a good one, and it is more difficult to repair.

6. Teaching must be need- and process-oriented, and not result-oriented. Building democratic awareness is a process which takes its time. The money is not wasted even if change is not immediately visible. Expecting quick results may slow down, rather than support the process. It may also make teachers speed up their lessons, giving no time for reflection.

Instead, teaching should be designed to make people put their own problems in words, to reflect, to understand them. Democracy does not offer ready solutions to problems, but it is a way towards solving them by peaceful means.

7. The teaching programme needs better and more consistent organisation. In the experimental phase starting a new programme, some improvisation and a good portion of flexibility may be necessary. But the more the programme grows, the more structure is needed. While flexibility in case of need for adapted solutions should not be sacrificed, clear rules and administrative procedures are needed to create a basis for smooth work.

An office is needed, with an administrator capable of taking care of day-to-day routine and procedural decisions.

Many things can create problems if not clarified beforehand. For example the exact tasks for a coordinator, or a rule about age limits: in one place we observed that an age limit was set spontaneously, and all persons below 18 years chased out, while at other places we experienced that all ages, including small children, were present, rather enriching than disturbing the atmosphere. Minor things, for example the clear definition of per diem and what this term entails can avoid later confusion. Standard procedures for salaries, per diems, contracts can save time and avoid disputes. A systematic routine of writing reports from field trips, training sessions and courses, and for filing them, would save difficult recollection later.

8. The programme could gain from active cooperation with other organisations working for human development and social change. It could take up particular issues, with expertise from those, for example nutrition, hygiene, family planning, circumcision, early marriage, AIDS, and also aspects of environmental protection and ecology, rural development and many more. Mutual support can only enrich both partners, in terms of expertise, knowledge, teachers etc. Joint efforts may allow substantial savings of resources.

9. The programme needs to give much attention to local cultures, and to adjust its message to it. This means, among others, dependence on local knowledge and sensitivity to cultural practices. Cultural differences must be taken seriously. The programme is to some degree designed to change local cultural traditions, such as, for example, the relations between men and women, or female circumcision, or the position of despised professions. Such cultural patterns are not easily changed, and changing them without people internalising the reasons and consequences, without due adjustment to culture, may have unexpected negative effects. Cultures change constantly, but changing culture is a complicated process which can not easily be cut short. In a fixed society where the man has his role, the woman hers, a change in gender roles will affect the whole society; and one can not expect change over night.

Teachers should give special attention to women, among others by considering what time is most suitable for women to attend classes, and by encouraging them to participate.

10. This programme may have a unique opportunity to give impulses to rural areas. By studying each area, and developing area-specific examples and topics, it can make democracy teaching meaningful for local people in remote areas. This may give impulses for developing self-consciousness, the feeling of cultural identity and value, a consciousness of being independent and equal to others. Such consciousness is very important, though frequently lacking today where rural people are considered, and may consider themselves, as uncivilized. "You are not uncivilized peasant boys, you don't run after a car", said one trainer as a matter of course to discourage boys from running after us. And the village teacher threw stones after the children to chase them away.

To study the areas, the programme can gainfully exploit local knowledge. Its trainers could become engaged in collecting proverbs, songs, oral history, customs, local heritage and ancestors' experience. Such collection could contribute to improving the status of local culture. Trainers could be encouraged to keep diaries in which they note cultural traits and traditional practices in their areas. They could note plants used for medical purposes, for food, for other uses. Such collection could eventually have a multiple benefit. It could make the most motivated trainers experts in their local culture. Instead of becoming disillusioned unemployed youths, the teaching might give them new perspectives for the future. It could give people a self-confidence as bearers of a unique culture not inferior

to others. And it would contribute to make local culture known and accessible. This could help reducing the enormous and potentially conflict-generating gap between urban and rural social groups. It could lastly help to overcome the distrust of each other - of the unknown - which still exists between the urban people and their rural compatriots in the remote rural areas.

11. This programme can, within the limitations outlined above, make a substantial contribution to improve the position of women. Again, local knowledge is central for carefully adapted impulses for change. In a proper context the programme can help to make women aware of their rights, and to make men understand and respect their wives as individuals with equal rights. The programme should encourage men to be sensitive to women's ideas, and encourage them to generate, express and develop new ideas. As it is now, bright common girls are often considered "dangerous", they make men feel inferior.

Such change may eventually prove essential for taking up, little by little, more traditionally ingrained harmful practices (circumcision, early marriage, role patterns etc.)

Democracy teaching is a new field in which role patterns are not fixed. In such a field it may be easier to establish in non-traditional ways new role patterns. These may later also bear fruit in giving women - and especially the young - a better position in their own culture.

12. Our last point of recommendation is short: **DON'T EXPECT QUICK RESULTS.** If teaching democracy is to achieve meaningful change, it needs time. This ecumenical initiative has within a short and hectic experimental period achieved an impressive programme in Ethiopia, initial problems and shortcomings notwithstanding. As we have shown above, we strongly believe it has a great potential to contribute to a very basic human development. It can have considerable impact on development of a culture of tolerance, of solving problems through discussion, not through violence.

There are many contradictions, many different ideas, many answers. But the fact that people get into a dialogue and see the importance of finding a peaceful way out is essential. Yet we may see the fruit only in the future, because learning is always a process.

So it needs time. We strongly believe this programme should be continued over a longer period, over many years, eventually to be taken over by an Ethiopian organisation and integrated into a growing Ethiopian democratic culture.

Addis Ababa/Bergen, May-June 1995

Butajira April 26-29

Report on visit and encountered problems

Siegfried Pausewang

I accompanied the pedagogical evaluation team to Butajira. During the visit of the town, discussing the programme with people, attending "ENEWEYAY" classes and discussing with people who had attended these classes earlier, several problems became visible. Partly these problems concerned the way students were teaching: lessons became rather short, with little or no dialogue. In at least one case, one of the trainers sat among the public, and answered the trainers' questions. Most important were allegations from some people in town that the ENEWEYAY teachers were mostly members of one political party, and hence, the programme was not neutral.

When we checked this information with several people in different contexts, it was basically confirmed, and it appeared rather probable to assume that about 75 to 80 % of our trainers were members of the governing party in the region. One informant said that the party had in practice "hijacked" our recruitment. It was explained to us that most of the unemployed school leavers actually had joined this party about one year ago, simply because they saw in membership the only chance to eventually get some employment. Then the party youth secretary got news of our coming and informed all his young members of our plans to start a training course. Nevertheless, even if party membership might not mean too much in terms of neutrality, the fact that a majority was considered party members would seriously affect the public reputation of our teaching.

After discussions with several informants and with Isedin, our coordinator in Butajira, I decided to stop all teaching until after the election. I did this in consideration for our reputation: if the programme were to be considered an initiative of the ruling party, then we could not reach people who did not belong to it. We had done a lot to establish our religious neutrality; we should equally protect our political neutrality, otherwise we would not reach those whom we wanted to reach. We called a meeting of the trainers on April 28. I addressed the meeting saying roughly the following:

We have called you together because we have observed some problems for our teaching. First of all these problems concern the quality of teaching:

1. Quality of teaching is very different. While some of you have been conducting very good classes and discussions, in some other classes we observed that teaching is getting shorter and shorter, with few questions asked and little dialogue encouraged. This is regrettable because people will not remember what is told to them just in a lecture. As said many times in the training: What I hear I forget. What I see I remember. What I do I understand.

2. We also heard people from the audience asking a very good question. Then the trainer answered it - and the class went on, the issue was forgotten. Had the trainer asked the class to answer, it could have become a very fruitful discussion.

3. We observed one class where one of you sat among the audience and answered the questions asked by the trainer. It may be a good thing to hear your colleagues teach. You can learn from one another. However, if you intervene at all, it must be to encourage dialogue. In this case, the answers were alright, the "correct" answers. But that meant the audience had nothing to answer. People would think: this one knows so well to answer, how can we who know less participate? So his answers closed the discussion, they did not encourage it, but rather discouraged people from participating.

4. Such problems can be solved. We can work together to improve teaching. We will have to do a new class where you all come together to improve your teaching, your techniques of stimulating discussion. You may learn new ways of creating a stimulating atmosphere, through role plays, group discussions, and other means.

5. However, there was one problem which is more difficult to tackle, and which concerns us much. That is, we heard already in Addis that a majority of our teachers here were members of one political party. We did not believe it. But to be sure, we went to check. We spent two days discussing with many different people, and unfortunately it appears true: there is the suspicion in this town that a majority are party members.

Now, there is nothing wrong with you being party members. It is your democratic right to belong to any party you wish. However, if our programme is getting the reputation in public opinion that it is not neutral, but a party affair, then it becomes very serious. We can not teach neutral on democracy if we have such a label.

In our teaching it was said many times that you should not take side in political questions. Most likely, you have been true to this demand. Most of you did their best to avoid taking side. But the coincidence of so many party members makes public opinion believe that the programme has taken side. So the people won't believe we are offering a neutral democracy teaching.

6. Some people suggested we did not have to bother about public opinion, we could continue to teach in spite of this rumour. But public opinion is very

important in democracy. Public opinion is in fact one of the basic instruments in democracy. We want to make an impact in public opinion, want to bring democratic values and attitudes into public opinion. We want to make an impact on how a democratic public opinion is formed. If we get a bad reputation in one place, it is very bad for the whole programme, in Addis, in Debre Birhan, in Wolkite, Gambela and all the places we are going to. Already the word has spread to Addis Ababa. In Wolkite, people asked us to teach the same as in Butajira. They had heard about it. What if the word of political bias spreads there too? They might say: leave it, we don't need more political propaganda...?

7. If public opinion suspects us, how can we go on teaching? We have therefore decided to stop teaching in Butajira until we have found a solution to this problem. At least before the election, all teaching will be stopped. After that, we will come back here and decide how we solve the problem. Please understand that this measure is not directed against you personally. We believe you have done your best. But in the interest of the programme, we see no other way but to stop teaching for now.

Discussion:

The trainers asked several questions and started a debate on the issue. Some of the major questions raised were:

1. What difference does it make? We tried our best to be neutral, indeed we were told many times. We followed that principle as best we could. Why do you have to punish us for public opinion?

(I answered that this was not a punishment, but that we had to protect our reputation and therefore, we faced a problem which we could only solve in this way.)

2. Democracy is a term considered political in itself. It is associated with many bad things during the former regime. We have to overcome such conceptions in our teaching. This is difficult to achieve - and we have some problems to convince people of our neutrality.

3. How do you know we are party members? Who told you? Is it true? How did you find out? It is only our enemies who tell such rumours...

4. OK - we accept the fact that the majority of us are party members. It is true. Let us who are members resign, so that those who are not, can continue teaching. Let them not be punished for us...

(I replied thanking them for such an offer, but refused it on the grounds that it is anybody's democratic right to belong to a party, and they should not be punished

for that. Also, their resignation would not solve the problem, because only if teaching is stopped altogether will the public notice our reaction. It would not help us to continue with a smaller group.)

5. We have been foregoing other job opportunities because we had this job. Now there is no teaching - and we have lost this as well as other chances.

(I replied that we had said many times this was not a job but a civic duty, we only paid them a token amount to encourage teaching, to allow them to devote some time for this instead of searching other odd jobs.)

The discussion ended in agreement that it was necessary to stop. They expressed their hope that we would come back soon after the election and solve the problem by either training more trainers who were not party members, or otherwise finding guarantees for neutrality.

THE ECUMENICAL INITIATIVE
of
ETHIOPIA

AN EVALUATION

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I would also want to record my gratitude for the wealth of information I was able to get from the many focus groups who, with rare patient, sat with me for hours on end - sharing ideas offering information out of which this report has been hewn.

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Nairobi
March 1996

E.A.O

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. AAPO All Amhera Peoples Organisation
2. APC Ad Hoc Peace
3. EC Election Commission
4. EPDM Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement
5. ETI Ecumenical Training *Initiative*
6. EPLF Eritran People's Liberation Front
7. EPRP Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
8. JIOG Joint International Observer Group
9. NEC National Election Commission
10. OLF Oromo Liberation Front
11. OPDO Oromo People's Democratic Organisation
12. TPLF Tigray People's Liberation Front
13. SPDC Southern People's Democratic Coalition

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This is an evaluation of The Ecumenical Training Initiative hereafter referred to as the INITIATIVE. It was carried out from the 9th of February 1996 to 15th March 1996.

The evaluation was necessitated by the widely felt need for an institutional diagnosis of the Initiative, following the initiators feeling that it was time for them, along with the other stakeholders, to know what the programme means to the Ethiopian people; particularly the many people and social institutions it touched. But more important, they needed to take stock of where the Initiative is and which direction - in terms of institutional development - it should go in the immediate and distant future.

These concerns centre on the important questions of accountability and sustainability, both from the point of view of the European church donor constituency and the Ethiopian programme stakeholders. The ensuing programme review is, therefore, conceived as an evaluation from the institutional-development viewpoint and not necessarily from impact assessment angle.

1.1 Terms of Reference

The terms of reference set out to guide this programme review entailed the following:

- a) an in-depth assessment of the political/policy environment as an important aspect of the precariously unfolding political dispensation.
- b) an assessment of the institutional competence and programme performance of the Initiative since its inception
- c) an understanding of the Initiative's potential sustainability
- d) a realistic projection of the institutional character that the Initiative should assume if it is to maximise its comparative advantage in terms of the required institutional competence
- e) a determination of the institutional-development needs of the Initiative and the prospective scope of programme activities.
- f) Suggestion as to the kind of organisational structure that the Initiative should have in order to optimise operational efficiency.

From the above it is fairly obvious that impact assessment was not meant to occupy a central position in the evaluation exercise. Programme performance assessment will, however, marginally touch on impact issues and problems but not substantively deal with it as a specific objective.

1.2 Methodology

The outputs and requirements outlined in the terms of reference and the process needed to achieve the objectives of the review required that the information necessary for the institutional auditing of the Initiative be generated through a "triangulated" approach. The implied methodology consisted of:

- a) Documentary acquaintance with the history, mandate, mission, objectives and scope of programme activities of the Initiative
- b) Randomly sampled interview schedules with the project implementors, target groups, the critical elements of the Ethiopian civil society e.g. the mainstream churches, cognate NGOs, accessible Ethiopian government officials, opinion leaders and opposition parties.
- c) Collation/analysis of the information gathered and verifying them against the information generated from interviews with the programme personnel..
- d) Writing of the report.

Together, the above complementary procedures, provided the required framework for the investigations which make up this evaluation.

The enquiry used several focus-groups as informants. It was found to be especially more rewarding to interrogate the stories they told in the long interview sessions than to interrogate the sources themselves. The information thus assembled was triangulated, i.e., verified or validated against those obtained through other sources and methods.

2.0 BACKGROUND

The Horn of Africa has been a scene of endemic conflicts throughout this decade. Ethnic, sub-ethnic and religious conflicts have seen the peoples of the region and their emergent national states either pitted against one another or internally dismembered. As the internal/external strife and the accompanying horrors exploded into the international media stage and started to attract sympathetic attention from the outside world, concerns for relief and associated humanitarian assistance was immediately generated. A longer-term concern for a peaceful future in the region, however, introduced a wider perspective; the main plank of which placed due accent on democratisation of the various political cultures of the region, not only as a critical aspect of both the fledgling peace process but also as a principle task in civic empowerment endeavours within and among the various peoples of the region.

In the case of Ethiopia, initial concern was with the democratic transition from one-party rule to a multi-party democracy. The entailed political process was not expected to be without conflictual ramifications of conflictual nature. Potential ethnic antagonisms and attendant conflictual means of addressing them provided a tentative shape to the peace-building agenda/tasks which had to take account of the short-term horizon of the impending elections. Innovative means of creating the much needed political space for intimate and peace-enhancing encounters increasingly became the reliable measure of the peace building potential of whatever intervention the group would eventually put in place. Such a proactive investment in peaceful and sustained conflict transformation needed to address problems of cross-cultural incompetence. In this way the portentously narrow space of confidence which had lodged itself between party-political and ethnic groups could be broadened and the concepts and impulses that had hitherto organised their thinking about power positively humanised. Only then could the rampant spirit of confrontation and widespread political polarisation be contained within the logical framework of a democratically mandated process of change.

2.1 The political dispensation

The strategic challenges of the above concern seemed to arise from and presuppose the conflicting demands of a political situation which was increasingly gaining in precariousness day by day. Instead of striking multiple roots in the soil of post-EPRDF conquest, democratic pluralism was speedily sclerotising into what has become a political manifestation of a disastrous logic of intolerance and exclusion. The democratically anaemic legacy bequeathed it by the previous regime seemed to still haunt the emergent institutional levers of democratic control and rendering them incapable of stabilising the fledgling democratic spirit. The provisional government which had been set up in 1991 and which had enjoined upon itself the onerous, though challenging, task of democratising the Ethiopian political institutions appeared to renege on the key promises it had made. With its allocative efficiency and distributional equity increasingly compromised, the EPRDF government strove to ensure hegemonic and authoritarian stability anchored mainly by the potential for inter-ethnic conflicts. The main conflict sites which

defined the public arenas for all sorts of inter-ethnic gripes ranged from lack of permit for the opposition parties to meet their followers, harassment of potential opposition candidates for inter-ethnic the impending elections. The making of a low key civil war was in the offing. This seemed to increase the possibility of the marginalised opposition parties abandoning the constitutional method of negotiating their political interests and embracing the only remaining option: that of taking up arms and settling it in the battle-field.

Both the Southern People's Democratic Coalition (SPDC) which brought together several small ethnic parties in the southern region and which had until 1992 worked closely with the EPRDF government, and the All Amhara People's Organisation (AAPO) which had also been formed in reaction to riots purportedly instigated by the government against Amhara people felt increasingly frustrated. Correspondingly the ethnic constituencies of these implacably antagonised parties started to feel alienated from the mainstream political processes. With the various political positions so exclusively entrenched and the attendant political-programmatic actions so defensively defined the chances for a democratic reconstruction of the Ethiopian political infrastructure were getting remoter and remoter. The opportunities for re-investing democratic sovereignty in the social environment of the Ethiopian state were equally getting lost in the widespread mist of distrust and suspicion. This was hardly the staff of which a democratic political process toward reconsolidation and peaceful coexistence between the various sections of any given society could be made. To be sure, it was a formidable challenge for a renewed effort at civic pacification of a society going through similar fate as the Ethiopian was. And deliberate measures needed to be taken for the worsening situation to be arrested and a new path cut towards a peaceful/democratic reconstruction of the Ethiopian political institutions.

2.2 Mandate

A group of European church aid organisations working in the Horn of Africa, having been seriously concerned with the need to help Ethiopia conduct a peaceful National General Elections decided to prepare the Ethiopian populace for a democratic elections and to monitor the same with a view to ensuring that the election itself fulfilled democratic requirements. Having failed to secure accreditation for the exercise, they settled for a much more onerous concern: to contribute to the creation and maintenance of a space of confidence between the key actors and stakeholders in the precarious political process, then looming behind the election-horizon. More particularly the group (of European church agencies) concerned itself with the potentially volatile electoral interaction between ethnically-based political movements which were just about to cut their eye-teeth in Ethiopia's 1st multi-party elections. The main aim was to ensure that the May 1995 parliamentary elections were conducted peacefully and, therefore, under reasonably equal and secure conditions. With election observation mandate having been excluded from the group's portfolio, voter training had remained the only means by which the *Initiative's* main aim could be realised.

The above concerns wedge out into a mandate, the visionary pretext and practical tasks of which needed further and more in-depth articulation. Time and expertise were, however, not on the side of the *Initiative*. This notwithstanding, the *Initiative* managed to articulate its comparative advantage vis-a-vis the other civic empowerment options by organising its mandate around a more pronounced concern for civic education among grassroots communities as opposed to ABUGIDA'S bias in favour of and concentration on civil servants, state co-operation workers as target groups.

2.32 Vision

The urgency with which the project was improvised and the underlying strategies roughed out, together with the fluidity of the then rapidly unfolding political dispensation, constituted not the most auspicious framework within which to etch the distinct outlines of a vision, the programmatic focus and philosophical underpinnings of which could light the path of the initiative in question. In any case, if there was to be a vision, it would have had to reflect the original mandate of the *Initiative* i.e., election monitoring. This was, however, no longer the case as the obtaining political conditions had dictated.

From the founding documents and associated literature, however, one is able not only to discern the basic elements of a vision but also to construct a montage, the visionary implication of which (for purposes of this evaluation), can be considered as constituting a vision. The main elements of the vision so constructed are:

- * That Ethiopia was and, in fact, is still going through a trying moment in its long history in search of a democratically viable nationhood
- * The process towards nationhood was and is still fraught with contradictory instances in regard to the national, nationality and Ethiopian peoples questions seeking answers as to the possibility of non-hegemonic coexistence among the various ethnic groups (constitutionalism)
- * The need to develop a democratically vibrant civil society in a multi-cultural setting and, a long with it, a political infrastructure which allows for non-hegemonic coexistence of ethnic groups. In short: "a demand conversion" process between the emergent political system and its social environment which restores sovereignty to its constituent elements from the interest structure of the corresponding civic constituencies.
- * Increased capacity for peaceful settlement of conflicts through democratic use of all available instruments of policy discourse e.g. through political parties, focal community groups, civic associations etc. Such capacity is all the more required to deal with the contradiction-fraught historical process which acts as a background condition for "denationalization" and "renationalisation", particularly in recognition of the various forces which are at the moment effective in emptying, arching over and possibly replacing the sovereignty of the Ethiopian peoples.

2.4 Target Groups

The *Initiative* was targeted at the semi-organised rural population which, in the considered opinion of the programme implementors, had the least chance of ever getting exposed to civic empowerment of such an orientation. Budgetary constraints, in addition to unavailability of qualified personnel, were to determine the regional distribution of both training and learning sessions, leave alone the number of people to be subjected to the above learning/training processes.

Apart from children below 18 years of age, priority was given to:

- * Farmers
- * Rural unemployed

- * Rural workers
- * Housewives
- * Youth (above 18 years of age)

For the training of trainers gender balance has been given special consideration; particularly with regard to the task of determining who will undergo the required training.

2.5 Programme Activities

The programme activities of the *Initiative* consisted mainly and almost exclusively of:

- a) teaching of prospective trainers
- b) actual civic education training

The following statistics will show, in graphic details, the number of training hours, number of people, trained/taught and the training sites across the country.

TRAINING ACROSS THE COUNTRY

TRAINING SITES	MALE TRAINEES	FEMALE TRAINEES	TOTAL NO. OF TRAINEES
1. Addis Ababa	63	39	102
2. Butajira	69	32	101
3. Wolkite	41	7	48
4. Gambella	28	1	29
5. Debre Birhan	53	14	67
6. Endibir	33	12	45
7. Nazret & Environs	19	17	36
8. Awassa	12	12	24
TOTAL	318	134	452

PARTICIPANTS IN CIVIC EDUCATION

TEACHING SITES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1. Addis Ababa	5046	6678	11724
2. Butajira	15357	10112	25469
3. Debrebirhan	11718	4495	16213
4. Wolkite	10308	6800	17108
5. Gambella	2920	2026	4946
6. Awassa	3980	2681	6661
7. Nazret & Environs	5720	4878	10598
8. Endibir	8595	6323	14918
TOTAL	63644	43993	107637

3.0 EVALUATION

The strategic challenges of the *Initiative* were such that there was need to methodologically anticipate the pedagogical as well as the didactic options and requirements of the intervention. This in turn, was dictated by the specific political dispositions and civic as well as literary capacities of the target groups.

First, a participatory approach was preferred to the lecture methods. This involved placing the learner at the centre of the civic-educational experience. Learning activities were facilitated through the use of teaching kits. These were appropriately tailored to problematize specific issues in the context of the democratic needs of the Ethiopian society. Role-playing has been widely used as a means of actively involving the target groups in the learning process and also affording them opportunities for a "dryrun" go at democratic practice in different social and livelihood situations.

Visits to the civic educational sites revealed that a balanced mixture of lecture and "tutorial" method was used to ensure that the learning subjects brought their experiences into the learning process - by asking, discussing and challenging ideas put forward. On a didactic level, the approach was inductive. It was shaped by the potentials of high incidence of illiteracy among the rural population from which the bulk of the participants are drawn. Under the rubric: ENEWEYAY² the trainees are prepared to take up their civic education assignment. Occasional supervision by the project personnel from Addis Ababa ensured that gross deviations from the stereotyped approach is corrected before it becomes a routinized practise.

3.1 Evaluative review of the political situation and mandate

The main features of the steadily unfolding political situation in the country have not experienced any discernible changes. Critical but cautions apathy, both among the general population and particularly within the relatively marginalised political class is increasing in proportion to the diminishing options for effective intervention. Ethnic federalisation as a policy instrument uncompromisingly adopted by EPRDF, having unleashed predictable inter-ethnic re-adjustments in the spheres of employment, commerce, national resource re-allocation etc., constitutes a fundamental source of turbulent uncertainty among many Ethiopians. Not that it is being perceived as outright counterproductive. It is the manner in which it is tentatively perceived as being ill-equipped with measures enjoying pre-emptive capacity to assuage the social fractures it is likely to provoke among Ethiopian people; particularly those who feel forced to make difficult adjustments in respect to choice of residence, choice of nationality and language to speak.

The Ethiopian civil society, in its hitherto vibrant relation to a single "national" state has still to get used to dealing with a double-layer state authority and a multi-speed federalisation of state authorities. this new dispensation itself does not in any way warrant a radical refocussing of vision and re-articulation of mandate of the Ecumenical Training *Initiative*. What, if at all, it might occasion is the need to address peace-process implications of the

¹ Developed in cooperation with ABUGIDA - a civic education organisation which had then gathered some useful experience with civic education courses under the title: Democracy Mindenow - meaning: what is democracy?

² .Meaning, "Let us discuss" in Amargina.

proper management of the tricky dimensions of the Ethiopian "national question". To the extent that the practical working out of the implied conflicts may not be smooth, the problematization of the entailed issues within a democratic framework may turn out to be one of the most pressing civic educational concerns. The aching void which the apathetic opposition politics is threatening to create is yet another challenge which is more likely to tease out new strategic options from the *Initiative*. But all in all, the mandate - as it had been defined at the inception of the programme - should stay its course and only, where necessary, should the required adjustments be made. One thing is, however, certain: the *Initiative* will need to refocus and revitalise its mandate to face the future of federalised ethnic Ethiopia in turbulent and uncertain milieu. It will have to do this from within the interest structure of sovereign civil societies of the Ethiopian peoples. The centrepiece of such a refocussed vision will be the systematic promotion of the right of all Ethiopians to self-determination within the framework of a democratically mandated political community that is founded on the rule of law and endowed with the capacity for durable peace under a democratic order.

3.2 Review of Vision

Intensive discussions with a cross-section of the Ethiopian political class, coupled with extensive interviews with keen observers of the Ethiopian historical scene have confirmed the impressions which formed the basis for the visional inclinations of the *Initiative*.

The history of conquests and counter-conquests is behind Ethiopia's current national composition. The historical development which took place in the latter part of the 19th century have been crucial in the unfolding contemporary Ethiopia. The Ethiopian state that emerged from the Amhara and Tigray conquests and counter conquests drew into its perennially contested governing jurisdiction a vast number of ethnic groups with different political traditions, languages and cultures. According to the natural dictates of commerce and a deliberate policy of homogenisation, the underlying multi-ethnicity was denied visible reflection in the political structures on national or regional levels.

The EPRDF government has set in motion a precarious but theoretically sound national project which is aimed at performing a high-wire trick, the historical substance of which should bring about a multiple transition:

- * from Mengitsu's dictatorship to democracy
- * from a unitary nation state to democratic federalism
- * from a successive history of war to a peace process
- * from linguistic hegemony to multi-lingualism

The underlying transition is fought with contradictions. The contradictions by acting as a background condition for denationalization and possible renationalisation; are posing an important set of political challenges: the urgent need to furnish the treacherous transition process with legitimacy, accountability and broadbased (popular) support.

The challenge to the strategy of creating a democratic Ethiopia made up of the confederated states of ethnic Ethiopia is increasingly gathering critical voices from many sections of the Ethiopian society. The fear for hegemonic coexistence between the various Ethiopian nations, nationalities and peoples is threatening to plunge Ethiopia into yet another period of civil unrest caused by lack of mutual confidence in the democratic process in general and among the various ethnic groups in particular. Therein lies the pressing need for an all-inclusive process of inter-ethnic goodwill and peaceful means of getting out of the transitory confusion. Only with incredible optimism and fantasy can one imagine that the task of tiding Ethiopia over the present implosive frame of politics can be left to the reigning bureaucracy. The civil society and its democratic institutions and organisations needs to move into the arena of public policy discourse in order to stabilise the voluntary identity of the Ethiopian NGO community as a clear foundation of popular sovereignty. This needs widespread civic

empowerment through systematic exposure to and practice of peace-building and democratic pluralism. Civic education, based on correct methods of carrying it out amounts to a proactive investment in sustained conflict management and non-hegemonistic coexistence between Ethiopia's ethnic groups. For civil society, with its grassroots support system, to form a democratic political will and to increase its peace-building capacities the network resources of several civic institutions will need to be mobilised to popularise democratic culture; since "when there is a battle between a bear and alligator what defines the victor is the terrain".

The transition to dispositions of democratic action will always be more than merely unconditional loyalty within culturally prescribed communities of interests. It must involve the perspective that is related not only to the sharing of experiences with actual "others" over time, but also the tentative sharing of all. In this perspective, the identification with the nation as a nation of will is justified on strictly democratic lines: a higher-or lower ranking identification of national collective consciousness is desirable not because the particular contingent national substratum in itself represents a higher good, but only because the political community constituted as a nation can guarantee those rights of political participation that - if at all - corresponds to the modern democratic ideals. Only a well-thought out political education which addresses the particular as well as universal democratic needs of all Ethiopian people can guarantee peace and basic human rights for all Ethiopians.

3.3 Review of Programme Activities

Given the shoestring budget with which the Initiative has run its programme, one is bound to appreciate the hard work and dedication that went into bringing out the encouraging results in the field. The regional coverage was more than adequate, considering the size of the budget line dedicated to the exercise. So is the aggregate number of trainees and learners.

With regard to didactic effectiveness, it was my observation that the training of teachers (TOT) could have operated at two mutually reinforcing levels. The first level, in my considered opinion, should have involved lecture cum tutorial approaches; during which time the teacher trainees would be exposed to a systematic understanding of basic principles of civic education and corresponding didactic/pedagogic skills needed for their preparation as prospective civic educators. The second level should have involved workshop - or seminar-type learning processes which usually give the learner more responsibility in seeking and organising relevant knowledge. This approach is more than likely to increase their knowledge acquiring capacity and didactic competence. To such seminars or workshops could be invited experts in various areas of adult/civic education, peace management, gender politics and lobbying (as vehicle of democratic actions or demand process between political systems and their social environments). Only through such triangulated approach can they sharpen their conceptual tools and practical civic skills to the required level of effectiveness.

At present the *Initiative* uses the services of a relatively permanent group of teachers. This has has the potential of involving overhead-cost implications which are altogether not quite responsive to the weak resource base of the *Initiative*: as their number increases with the expansion of the programme, their remuneration will exert an impossible budgetary demand on the organisation and with that the deterioration of its programme performance. It is, therefore, my suggestion that, in future, they be drawn from a pool of experts who are identified on the basis of their proven experience and commitment to civic empowerment. Their services should only be engaged when and if required. Before engaging them, however, they should be subjected to workshop/seminar experiences at which occasions, they should be systematically sensitized to the organisation's mandate, vision and civic educational strategies. This should be intended to attune them to the organisation's civic intervention culture and strategies.

Over-stereotyping and, to some extent, regularised use of teaching materials as is mildly reflected in current standard teaching kits is likely to produce the adverse effect in the way of a monotonous routine. With the diversification of the civic-learner catchments or entry points, their civic-learning needs will correspondingly vary - occasioning the need to diversify the civic/thematic as well as pedagogic/didactic needs of the learning experiences.

The present practice of conducting regular classes on particular sites should also be discouraged as it is not in keeping with the organisation's intention to extend its coverage to all the parts of the country. There is little chance for the present concentration of teaching/learning activities in the Nazareth to find the required replication all over the country: the teaching load would be too heavy a burden for the *Initiative* to bear, particularly from the point of view of the resource capacity required for the exercise. Ideally, the teaching sites should be chosen on the basis of their proximity to and appropriateness (facility-wise) for specific target groups. These should not be composed of permanent participants. The present approach, though easy to monitor and evaluate, is fraught with the dangers of stereotypy and, therefore, pedagogically untenable monotony - both teaching materials as well as learning experiences.

It is recommended that, in future, the programme activities be planned within a time-frame in order for the programme to be executed in more systematic manner. In such a plan, each project item should have a set objectives along with the expected outcomes. This will allow for easy evaluation when and if it becomes necessary.

Among the new programme activities that should be included in future programmes are: lobbying skills and networking capacities. These form an essential part of civic empowerment and should be a necessary complement to the task of raising civic awareness among any target groups. A civic society just emerging from many years of disempowerment needs to be equipped not only with the knowledge about its rights and roles in society but also with the advocacy capacities and lobbying skills with which to give political significance to its conscientisation.

3.4 Review of Methodology

As has been broached elsewhere in this evaluation, the pedagogical efficiency of the approach preferred by the *Initiative* has been ensured through participatory methodology. It has, however, been slightly compromised at the level of training of teachers, where I would have preferred to see more workshop -type learning processes encouraged. Under such learning conditions, opportunity for problematizing democratic concepts and discussing them in the context of Ethiopian political-cultural context would improve the didactic efficiency of the teachers when they finally go out to impart their knowledge to the targeted sections of Ethiopian society.

3.5 Review of Target Groups

The *Initiative* has very valid reasons for setting as its target groups the school leavers as trainers and the rural youth, women and men as the learning subjects. Interviews with other NGO's involved in civic education confirmed that there are no other civic *Initiatives* that have targeted the same social groups for systematic civic education. This gives the *Initiative* a clear comparative advantage, which needs to be consolidated and, possibly, enriched.

The advantage is, however, compromised by the fact that the participants are randomly drawn from the "universe" of an undefined population. In most cases only a few of them are engaged in any politically significant social activities. With this kind of target groups it is relatively difficult to measure the impact of ones intervention other than through indirect indicators e.g, elections. The point is that they lack social-practical opportunities for the practice of the social-democratic skills acquired through civic education. To minimise the adverse effects of "training soldiers without an army", as the saying goes, the *Initiative* should compile an inventory of reliable catchment social groups such as EDIR, OKUB and other community organisational units and use them as entry

points for civic empowerment. But over and above these catchments, the selection of those who should be subjected to civic education should be a function of clearly set out objectives of a particular programme activity and the expected outcomes; not just anybody randomly availing himself/herself for the civic educational experience.

4.0 INSTITUTIONAL OPTIONS

The present institutional make-up of the ecumenical Civic Educational *Initiative* has been shaped by a long-drawn indecision as to what should become of the programme. This is partly the result of the miscarriage of its original mission in the face of the radically changed operational conditions as occasioned by Ethiopian government's reluctance to grant permission to the ETI to monitor the elections.

The programme received seeding support from European Church aid organisations in Denmark, Germany, Norway and Sweden. A co-ordinating group of church aid agencies operating in the Horn of Africa saw the *Initiative* kick off; initially as a voter training programme, the main purpose of which was to contribute to the creation of a "space of confidence" among the various ethnic and religious groups and to ensure that all the different ethnically based political movements in Ethiopia participated in the May Parliamentary elections under secure and equal conditions.

Under this Initial mandate, there was no reason to have the *Initiative* registered under GO registration Act. This was, in part, due to the ephemeral character of the operational tasks associated with its mandate and tied to a particular electoral process. With the subsequent shift of focus, in favour of civic education, and in pursuance of a much more generalised mandate, the question of institutional formality pressed to the top of the operational agenda. For over a year this issue has been kept in abeyance, pending some hard decisions which would have to be made after the *Initiatives* programme performance will have been assessed and found to give indications as to its potentials.

It is now over a year since Dr. Yacob Haile-Mariam took charge of the programme. As to how the programme has performed since then and the relevance of its mandate in respect to the ongoing political dispensation in Ethiopia is the subject of a different section of this evaluation. It will, however, suffice to mention, but only in passing, that the mutually complementary questions alluded to above, have been answered in the affirmative from the findings of the evaluation.

Extensive interviews with certain key players in the civic education and human rights scene in Ethiopia have revealed that the *Initiative* enjoys an almost exclusive comparative advantage in respect to the specificity of its target group and, uniqueness of its approach to civic education. On this basis alone, the programme deserves sustaining; leaving the question as to what institutional form it should assume to be answered as follows:

4.1 Ecumenical origins of the *INITIATIVE*

There is no doubt that the ecumenical beginnings of this programme was the best thing that could have happened to an *Initiative* that needed to cut its eye-tooth on a mandate in respect of which the three major churches in Ethiopia held conflicting attitudes. This has found unmistakable expression in the dilly dallying and endless equivocation with which the Catholic church, the Ethiopian Orthodox church, and to some extent, Mekane Yesus responded to the request for an ecumenical-institutional anchor.

From the interviews conducted with the same churches it seems fairly obvious that finding an appropriate ecumenical accommodation within the institutional framework of the above churches will be a tall order if not a tricky undertaking. This however, does not mean that, the *Initiative* in its new form, should abandon altogether the use of structures which the above churches, either individually or collectively, can provide in the way of access to their numerous congregations. My suggestion, based on the information gathered during interviews with the various church organisations, is that with a new independent institutional identity, each one of them (churches) should be

approached (separately) with a view to securing their respective commitments to avail their grassroots communities and their extensive networks for civic education when and if found necessary. It is further suggested that over and above the Christian churches mentioned above, the Muslim church should as a matter of necessity be drawn into equally closer working relationship. The new organisation's board of directors should include representatives from all the major churches in Ethiopia in addition to other key players in Ethiopian civil society.

4.2 Institutional Identity

I have observed elsewhere that the programme needs further support as a distinct Civic Educational *Initiative*. I now state that such *Initiative* can only be viable if its institutional identity enjoys the support of official recognition by the relevant authorities as a NGO. Discussions with the programme personnel have drawn my attention to the following mutually exclusive options.

4.2.1 As a remandated *Ad Hoc Peace Committee*

The Ecumenical Training *Initiative* share a lot of things with the Ad Hoc Peace Committee. For instance, both share the vision for Ethiopia as had been outlined earlier in this evaluation. They also share personal commitment of certain individuals in the persons of Dr. S. Normark, who put in an illustrious effort to see both *Initiatives* see the light of day, and Dr. Jacob Haile-Mariam who has served both organisations in the capacities of a director. My attention has also been drawn to their overlapping and mutually complementary mandates; which renders it an easy task to accommodate one into the other and vice versa.

Given that the Ad hoc Committee's mandate has lost operational capacity, it makes a lot of sense to suggest that the Ecumenical Training *Initiative*, take over the institutional infrastructures which are presently under-utilised and which are likely to go to waste. All that such a change-over will require is for AHC board members to meet and sanction the replacement of personnel at the civic education programmes of the ecumenical *Initiative*.

4.2.2 With a new Registration

In the event that the above option hits an insurmountable snag in respect to pulling through the take-over of Ad Hoc Peace Committee then my recommendation would be that the programme immediately seeks formal registration with the appropriate government authority. This should be done under a name that befits its refocussed mandate and particularly one that captures the essence of its comparative advantage in the increasingly competitive market of civic intervention *Initiatives*. Interviews with some of the incumbent officials of the *Initiative* revealed that few obstacles are envisaged should this option remain the only feasible way of keeping the initiative alive.

4.3 Organisational Structure

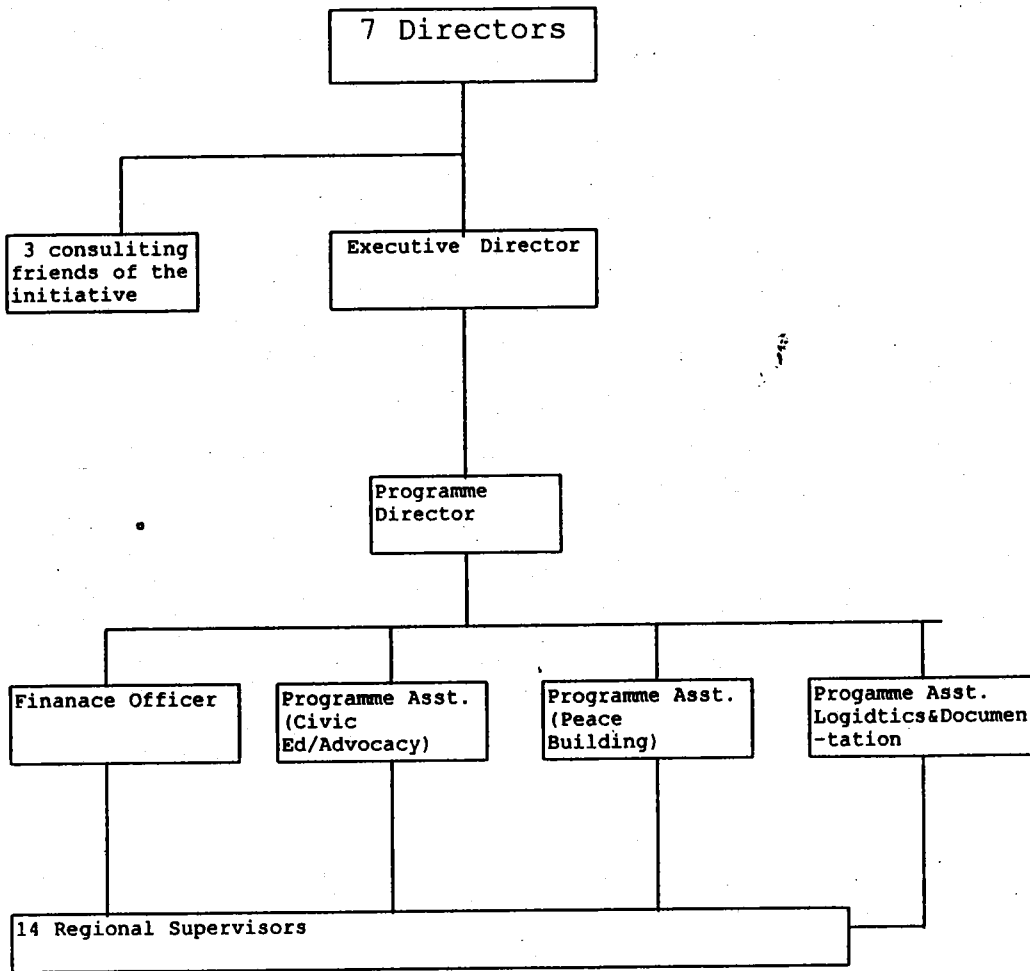
The *Initiative* requires a lean but effective administrative structure. Top in the administrative organisational structure should be the Board of Directors consisting of 7 voting members; preferably drawn from the 4 main-

stream churches: Orthodox Church (1), Protestant church (1), Catholic church (1), Muslim (1) civil society sector(1) and business community (1) plus the Executive Director in an ex-officio capacity. The day-to-day running of the organisation should be vested in the Executive Director's Office. For the first two years it would be advisable to constitute a team of three experienced Civic Educators, a Representative from the donor Church organisations and a renowned Lobbyist who should help shape up the mandate and programmes of the new organisation. They should be alternate members of the board; but without voting powers. The executive director will be the chief accounting officer of the organisation. He will oversee programme development and policy implementing. He will be assisted by Programme Director who will design and supervise the implementation of all the programmatic activities of the organisation. Programme implementation will be under the care of three Programme Assistants respectively in charge of:

- * peacebuilding mandate
- * civic educational/advocacy mandate
- * logistics and documentation mandate.

On the same level there will be a finance officer who will look after the financial matters of the organisation. Linking the grassroots constituencies with the national operational mandate will be 14 Regional Co-ordinators. These will be the people on the ground, seeing to it that the programmes reaches the intended target groups across the Ethiopian nation. They will, continuously liaise with the Programme Assistants so as to ensure that the programme is effectively and efficiently carried out on the various sites identified and organised for the respective programme activities.

Proposed organogram



5.0 NETWORK NEEDS

"In synergy is the strength of the weak". The saying has gained currency among many NGO's. It is in recognition of the increasing need for civic interventions to seek more effectiveness in the concerted effort of several like-mandated NGO's.

Where the issues for intervention involve significant external political and economic forces as is the case in many African countries, including Ethiopia, strategic networking is always an essential mode of action. If the aim of ETI is to promote the development of a politically significant civil society in Ethiopia, then it should focus on two mutually reinforcing efforts: institutional support for NGO's to strengthen their capacities for strategic thinking; and support for strategic networks that guarantee a regular, systematic flow of relevant information to all NGOs and to provide the basis for common, collective action.

Information is power. Confining it for the exclusive use by one organisation is a sure way of concentrating power. Sharing information spreads power and builds a community of interests. *Initiatives* aiming to build a pluralist civil society require networking strategies that ensure steady information flow independent of government and industrial sector. Disseminating critical information, answering queries, soliciting input, to decision-making and developing collective strategies.

It is incumbent upon the CTI, particularly after it has formalised its existence, to seek and establish close network relationship with other key, but also relevant, players in the civic empowerment arena. This will enable it amplify its influence in the institutional strengthening of civil society in Ethiopia. It will also help it articulate its comparative advantage vis-a-vis the other organisations.

6.0 SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The reasons why it was felt that the Ecumenical Training *Initiative* should engage in civic education as a means of strengthening Ethiopian civil society in readiness for building all-inclusive democratic political institutions are valid today as they were three years ago.
2. The analysis and understanding of the Ethiopian political scene as a basis for the monitoring of the *Initiative's* was not only correct but also provided the appropriate justification for the intervention. The intervention in question, therefore, addressed a real and pressing problem which had come about as a result of Ethiopia's incumbent government trying to restructure the basic political and social institution in accordance with their understanding of the historical challenges of Ethiopia's politics. With the increasing realignment of political forces, the vision of democratic Ethiopia might require new lenses and along with them, new approaches to stabilising ethnic relations.
3. The *Initiative* programme activities have consisted mainly of teaching/learning processes. This is necessary. Such processes, however, need to wedge out into actions of political significance. The practical dimensions of advocacy e.g. lobbying, protests etc. need to be incorporated into the programmes. These should come in the way of skills and capacities required for registering the democratic rights of the various Ethiopian peoples.

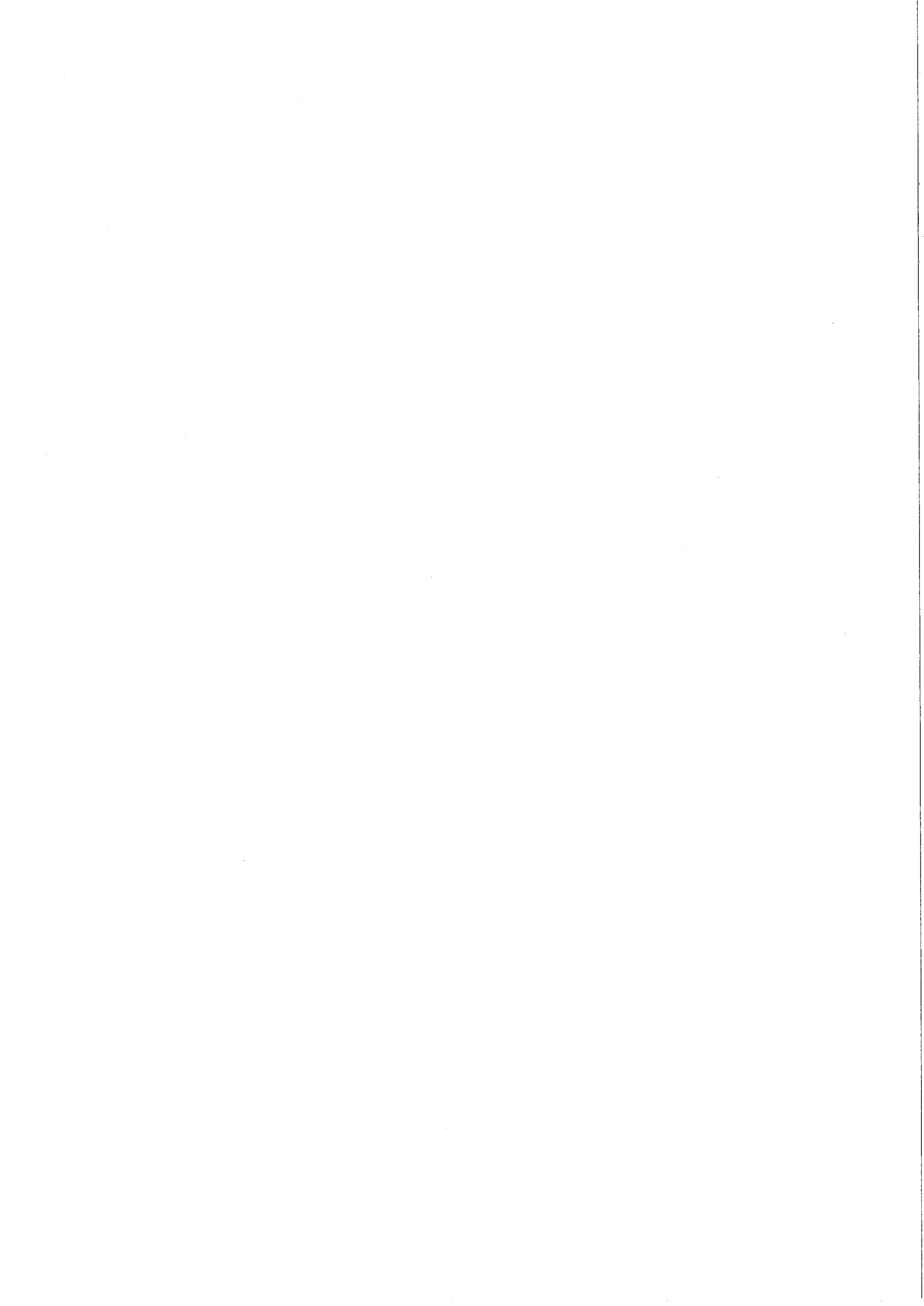
The training of teachers needs to have a more workshop/seminar orientation than the way it is presently being conducted. The training/teaching sites should also spread across the whole country. The activities should also fall within a clearly-thought-out Time-Action-Plan. This should allow for a thematic as well systematic organisation of the learning experiences.

4. The social groups targeted for civic-educational experiences were well chosen. The choice confirmed the comparative advantage of the *Initiative*. More care and deliberateness should, however, go into determining the specific catchment (social) arenas from which the prospective civic-learning subjects should be drawn. In future preference should be given to social actors who are likely to translate the civic knowledge acquired from the programme into social practice. The choice as to who should be exposed to civic-educational experiences, where it should happen and the content of the learning process should be a function of practical desirability.
5. At the present stage of Ethiopia's political transformation, the political process clearly has a great need for developing and sustaining democratic institutions. It is only through a concerted effort to

culture can thrive in Ethiopia. The *Ecumenical Initiative* should incorporate this empowerment agenda into its long-term mandate.

6. Kenya has had some interesting experience civic education. Ethiopian NGOs could benefit from sharing experiences with their Kenyan counterparts. The *Ecumenical Initiative*, in particular should benefit from such an exchange of experiences. The first step in that direction should involve attaching a senior officer of the organisation to a partner organisation in Kenya for a month or so. During this period he/she can share with Kenyan counterparts experiences in programme/project design and management.
7. Lastly the *Initiative* enjoys a distinct comparative advantage in the area of intervention it has chosen and therefore, deserves the support of those who would like to see Ethiopia's democratic institutions strengthened.
8. Initially, programme planning and the attendant strategic preparations will require putting in place Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) mechanisms and procedures that will distinguish the *initiative* as a truly Ethiopian agency for democratic transformation of the country's political culture. This will, no doubt, require expert guidance from experienced strategic planners drawn from the region.

Annex



Ecumenical Training Initiative for Democracy

"ENEWEYAY"

(Let's discuss)

Teaching kit for trainers

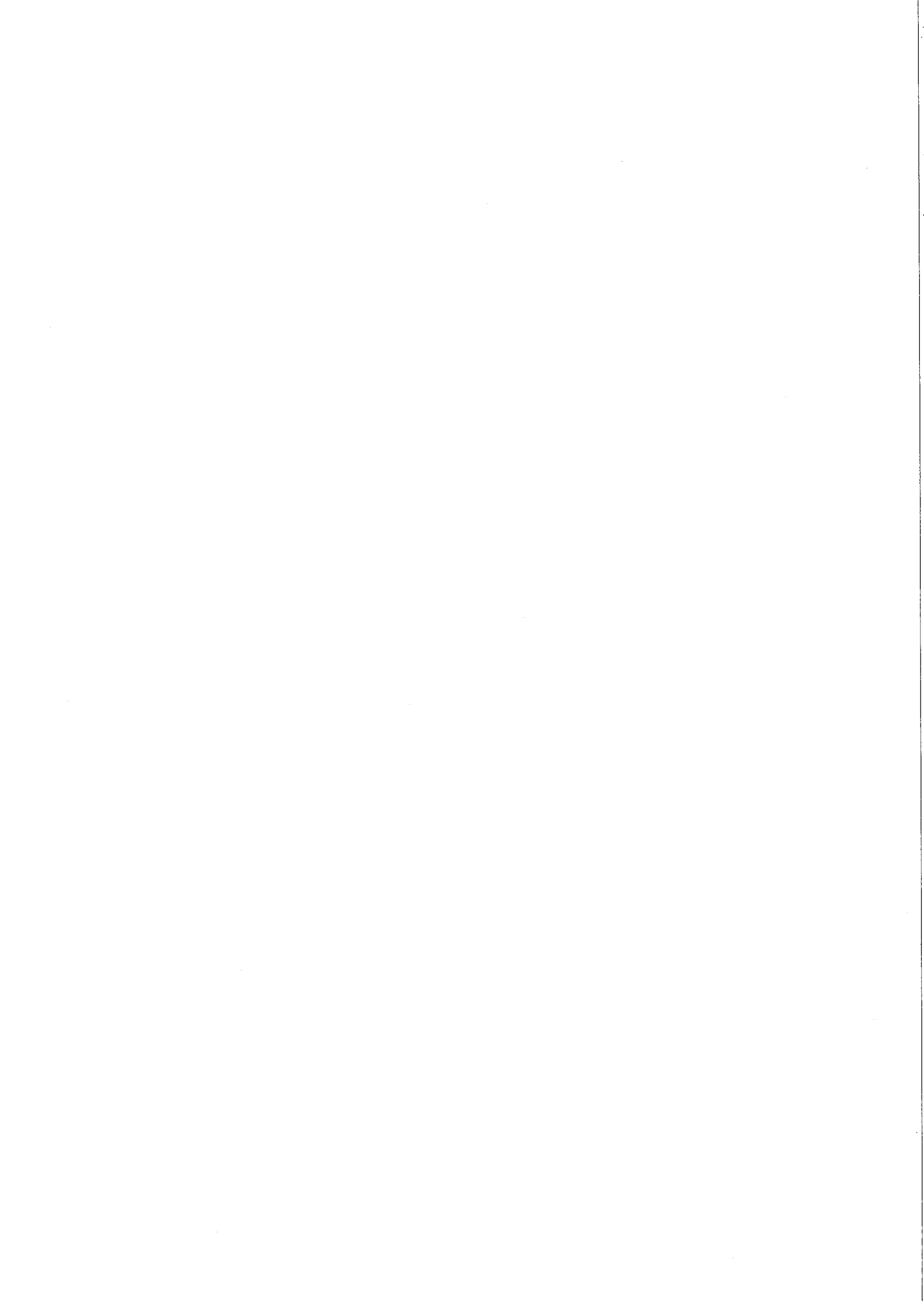
in democratic principles and election procedures

D E M O C R A C Y

- W H A T I S T H A T ? -

**A TEACHING PROGRAMME
OF AN ECUMENICAL ELECTION
INITIATIVE FOR DEMOCRACY**

**IN COOPERATION WITH INTER AFRICA GROUP, ABuGiDa,
AD HOC PEACE COMMITTEE AND OTHER CIVIC GROUPS IN ETHIOPIA**



PART I:

LOCAL TRADITIONS OF DISCUSSION

Chart I - 1:

Is your family working through discussion?

How do you arrive at decisions in your family?

Do you discuss?

Do you discuss until everyone agrees in the decision?

Does the mother participate?

Do the children have a right to participate? To what extent can children participate?

Do the grandparents participate?

Who makes the final decision? Will decisions take adequate care of the rights of every family member?

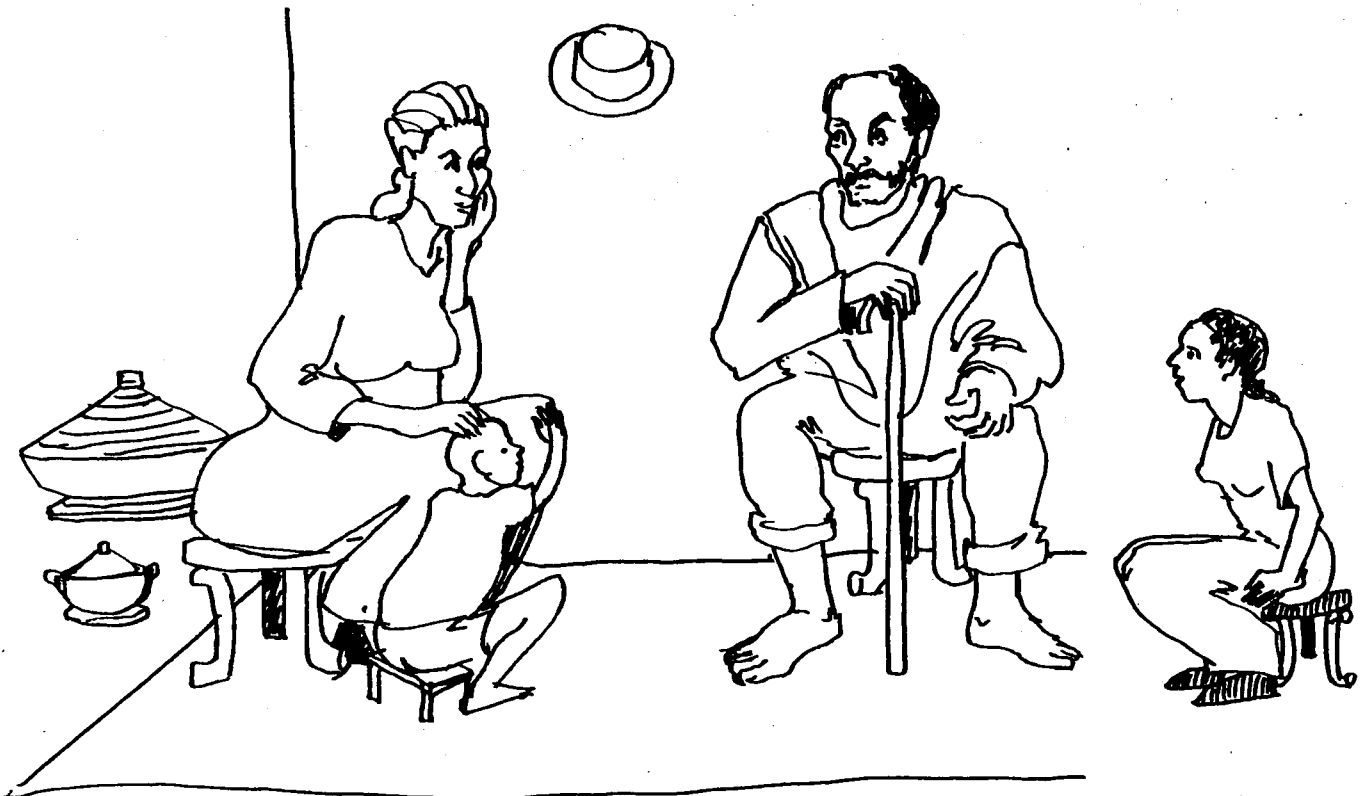


Chart I - 2:

Which forms of discussion do you have in your community?

How does the community arrive at decisions?

Which institutions do you have in your community?

Do you have Edir? Debo? Elders mediating in conflicts?

Do you have Elders courts?

How is land distributed in the community? Do you have institutions like Rist? Gada? Ottuba? Is land distributed through discussion? Does everyone get his right?

Is your mosque or your church congregation a place for discussion?

If there is a problem to be solved, do these groups give every member the right to be heard?

Do they discuss until a solution is found to which all can agree? Can all get what they need?
Do you reach an agreement of all?

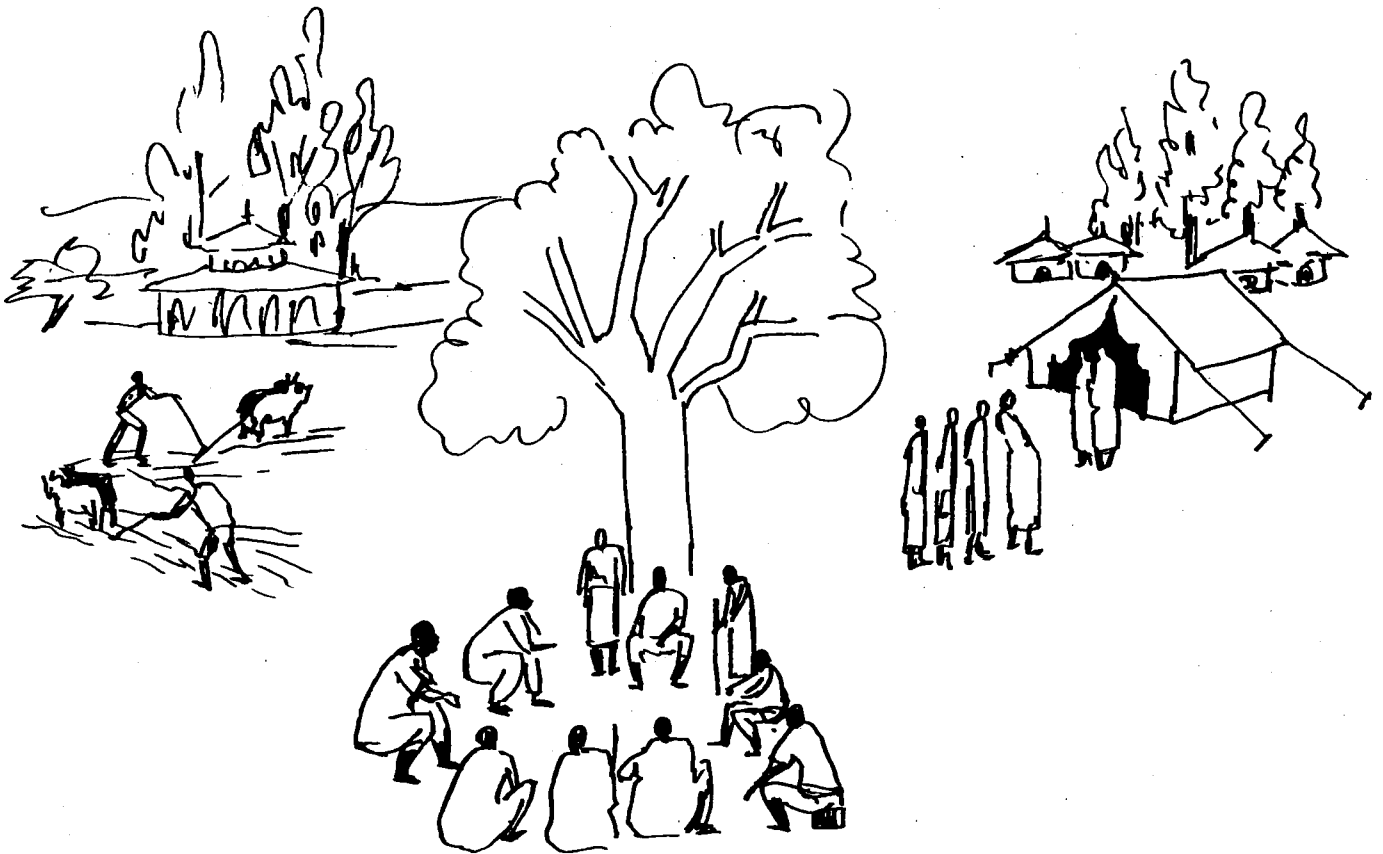


Chart I - 3:

Do all members have the right to participate?

Do the institutions in your village or kebele guarantee that **all members** can express their wishes and interests?

Also the women? the poor? the sick? the blacksmiths?

Do they protect the rights of the weak? Also the needs of the poor?

Do you have the right to be heard before a decision is made?

Will your needs be taken care of? Are your rights respected?

What are your rights in these institutions? What benefit do they give you?

Do they give you security? Influence? Control? Justice? Food? Food security?



Chart I - 4:

In a community, rights and responsibilities belong together.

What are your obligations and responsibilities?

What are the responsibilities of the officers or leaders?

What are the responsibilities of ordinary members?

How are the leaders appointed? Are they elected?

What can you do if leaders try to limit your rights?

Remember: You will always enjoy only those rights which your community can enforce.

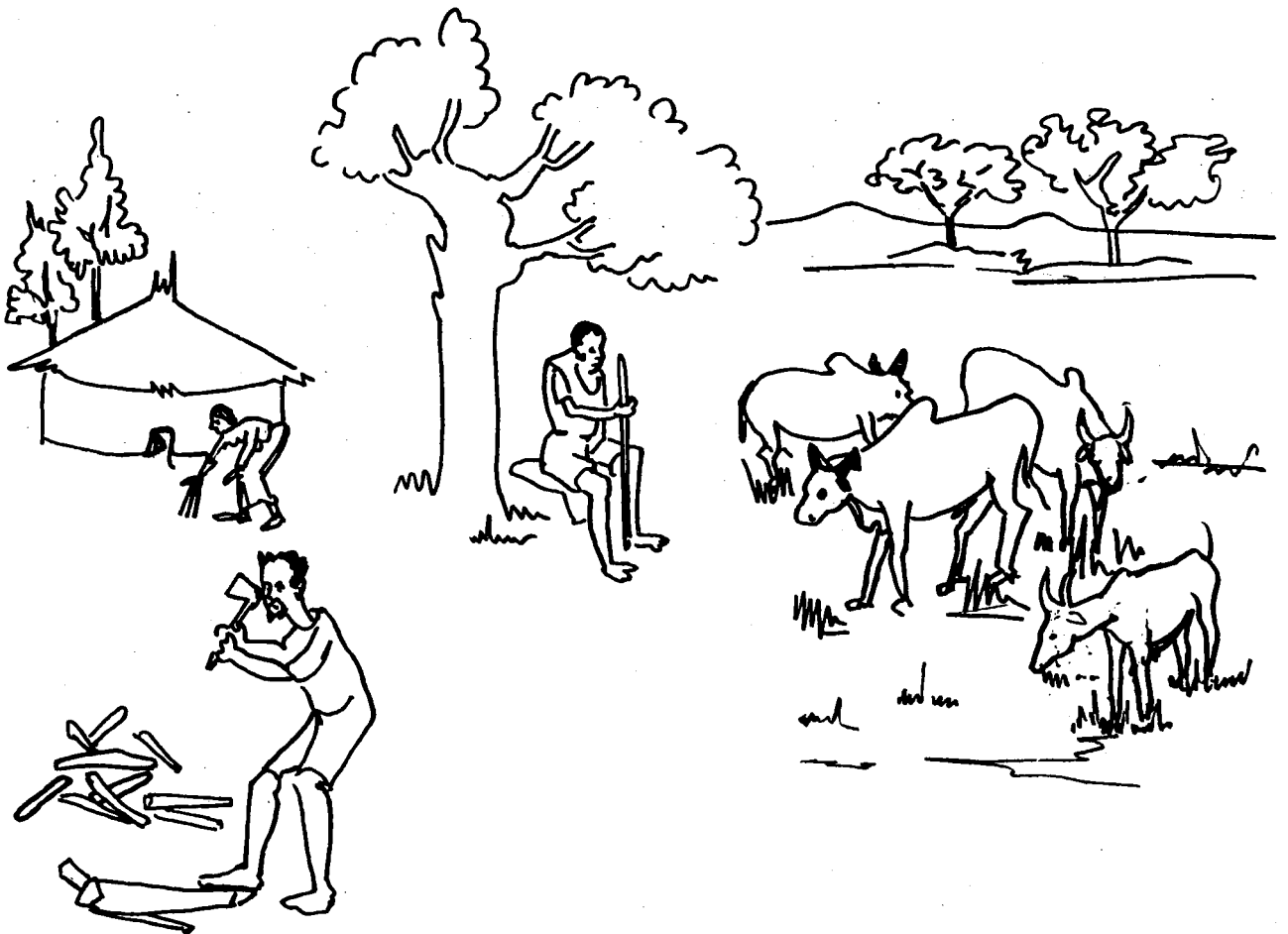


Chart I - 5:

Whom are the leaders responsible to?

Can the leaders be challenged if they decide wrongly?

Can they be made accountable if they do not follow the demands of the members?

What can you do in such case?

Can any member question the leaders?

Also the son of a blacksmith? A woman? A child? A poor old lady?

Remember: Only the demand and the control of the people can widen the space for your rights and for discussion.

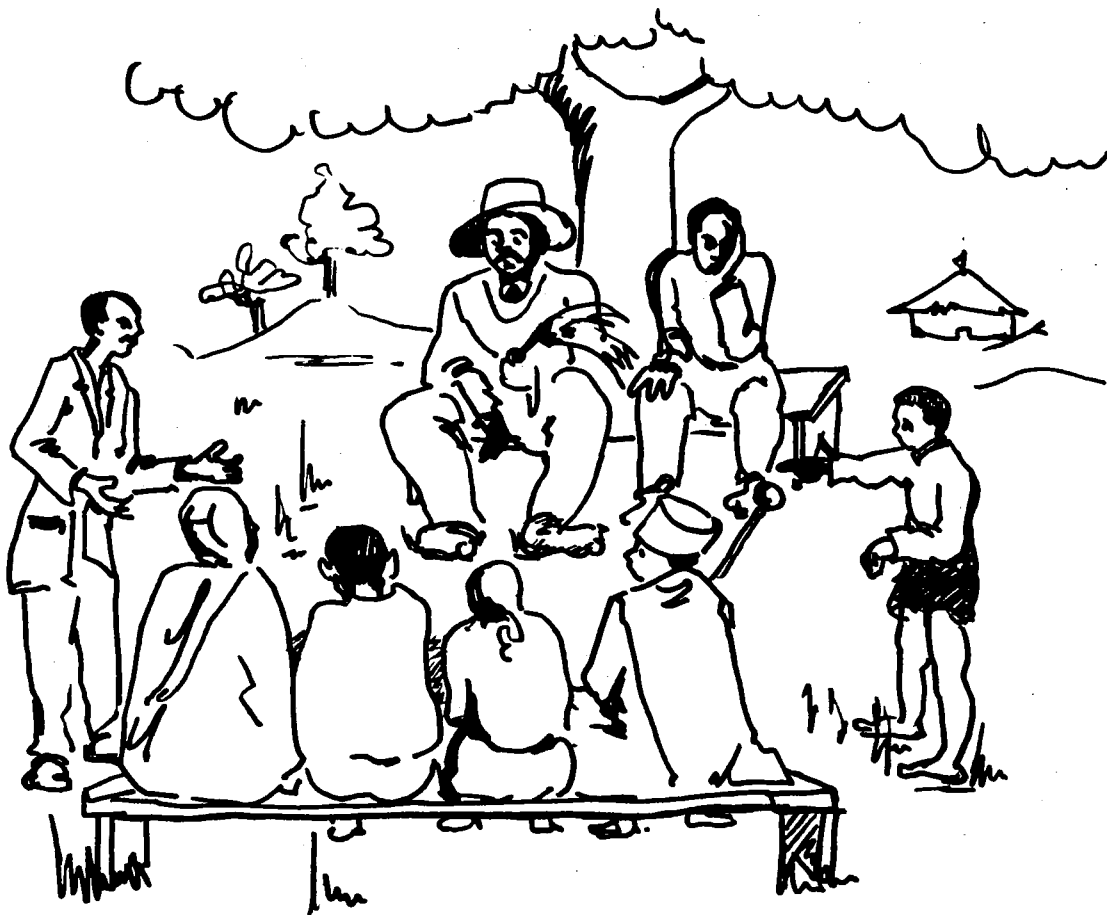


Chart I - 6:

How are conflicts between a majority and a minority resolved?

What happens if there are different opinions?

How are conflicts resolved?

through discussion where everyone voices his or her views?

Do you discuss until all agree on a solution?

Do the elders make a final decision?

Do the officers make a final decision?

Do you decide by a vote on a final solution?



Chart I - 7:

What can you do if your rights are not respected?

Could it happen that you feel you are right but do not get your right in the meeting, and have to accept a decision by the community?

What is more important: that you get your right or that the community agrees on a solution?

What can you do if your right is not accepted?

What can you do if your needs are not met by the community?

- Appeal to the community?
- move to another community?
- take to violence?
- accept the community decision, adjust to what you are given?
- other solution?

Remember: Some conflicts can not be solved without compromise.
Compromise and consensus are important if you want conflicts to be solved through discussion, not through force.



Chart I - 8:

What can you do if someone else's rights are not respected?

If some other person does not get what he or she needs - if someone is treated badly by the community, is it **your responsibility** to help her or him?

What can you do to help?

What help can you give?

Will you stand up and argue against the community decision?

Will you try to give food or shelter to the one you feel has been unfairly dealt with?

Remember: The rights of the community can never be more than the protection they give to the rights of the weak and the lowest individuals.



Chart I - 9:

What is democracy?

Would you prefer to live in a community where one leader decides everything for you?

Or do you prefer to be included in discussions before decisions are made? Even if it gives you responsibility for the decisions reached?

Do you prefer a community where people live and work together in unity? Where problems are always solved by discussion, not by violence? Where everybody is included and respected as a member?

Do you want to live in a community where every person has rights which are respected by all? Also the women? the poor? the blacksmiths...?

Such a society is called a **democracy**. The word "Democracy" has been misused a lot. But its real meaning is a society which solves problems through discussion, not violence; and which is guided by the will of the majority, while it protects the rights of minorities.

If you want to live in a democratic society, it is your responsibility - together with all other people - to make your own community more democratic.

Democracy is never perfect. Only the people's effort to improve it makes it more democratic.



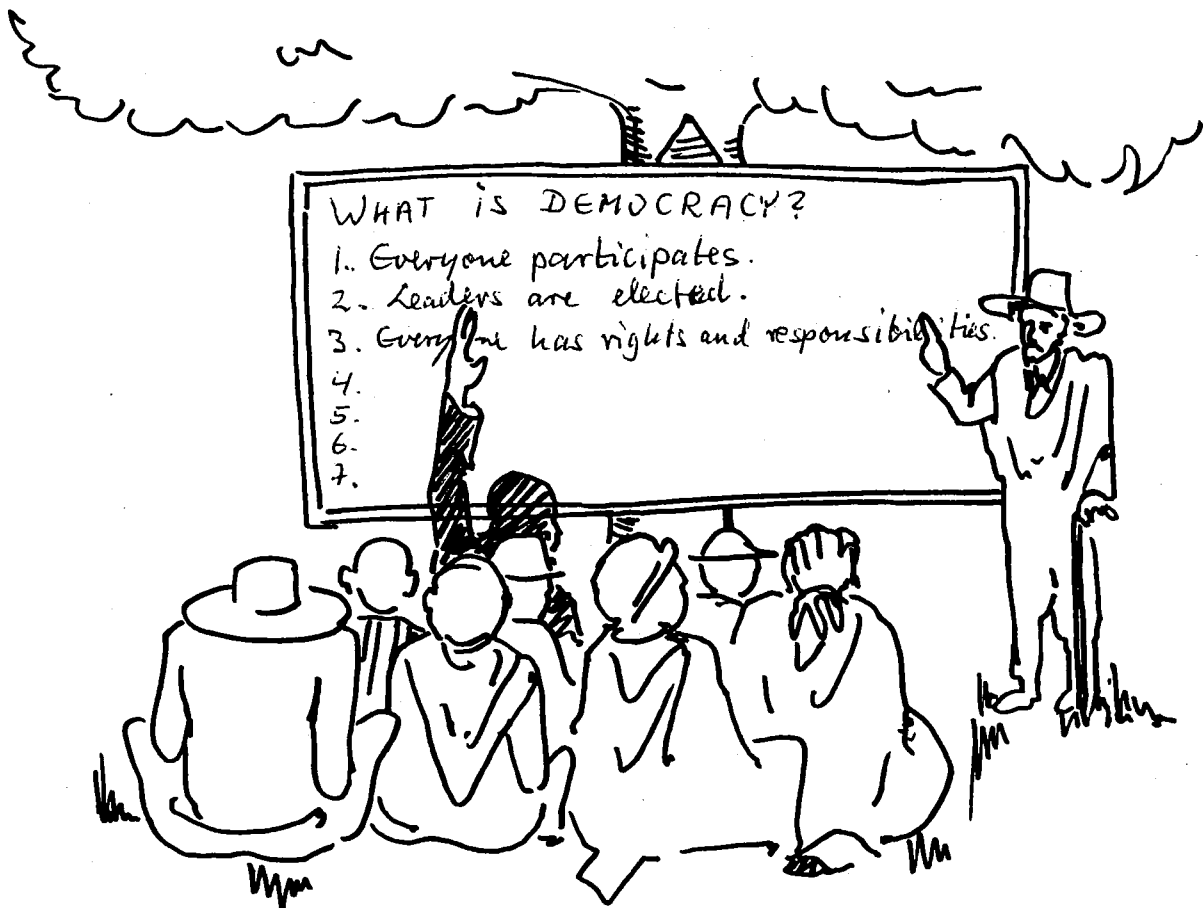
Chart I - 10:

What makes good democracy?

Which principles shall our peasant friend Debele write on the blackboard?

(Ask the people and write down what they suggest. Some examples are listed below. They should not be read to the audience, but could be used to stimulate discussion and phantasy.)

- Equal influence for all?
- Care for all members?
- Accountability of leaders?
- Participation of all members?
- Right of influence for each individual?
- Rights of the opposition?
- Protection of minority rights?
- Others?



PART II:

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY ?

Chart II - 1:

In a democracy, only the people are sovereign.

Who gives Government its powers?

God? The military? The nobility? Tradition? The people?

How can a state be made to work in a democratic way?

Can the practice of the edir - the debo - gada - rist - elders courts - be transferred to larger decisions in larger numbers of people?

- in the village? in the woreda? in the region? in the entire country?

Can everybody be sharing responsibility for all decisions?

How can decision making be delegated without eroding the principle of shared responsibility?

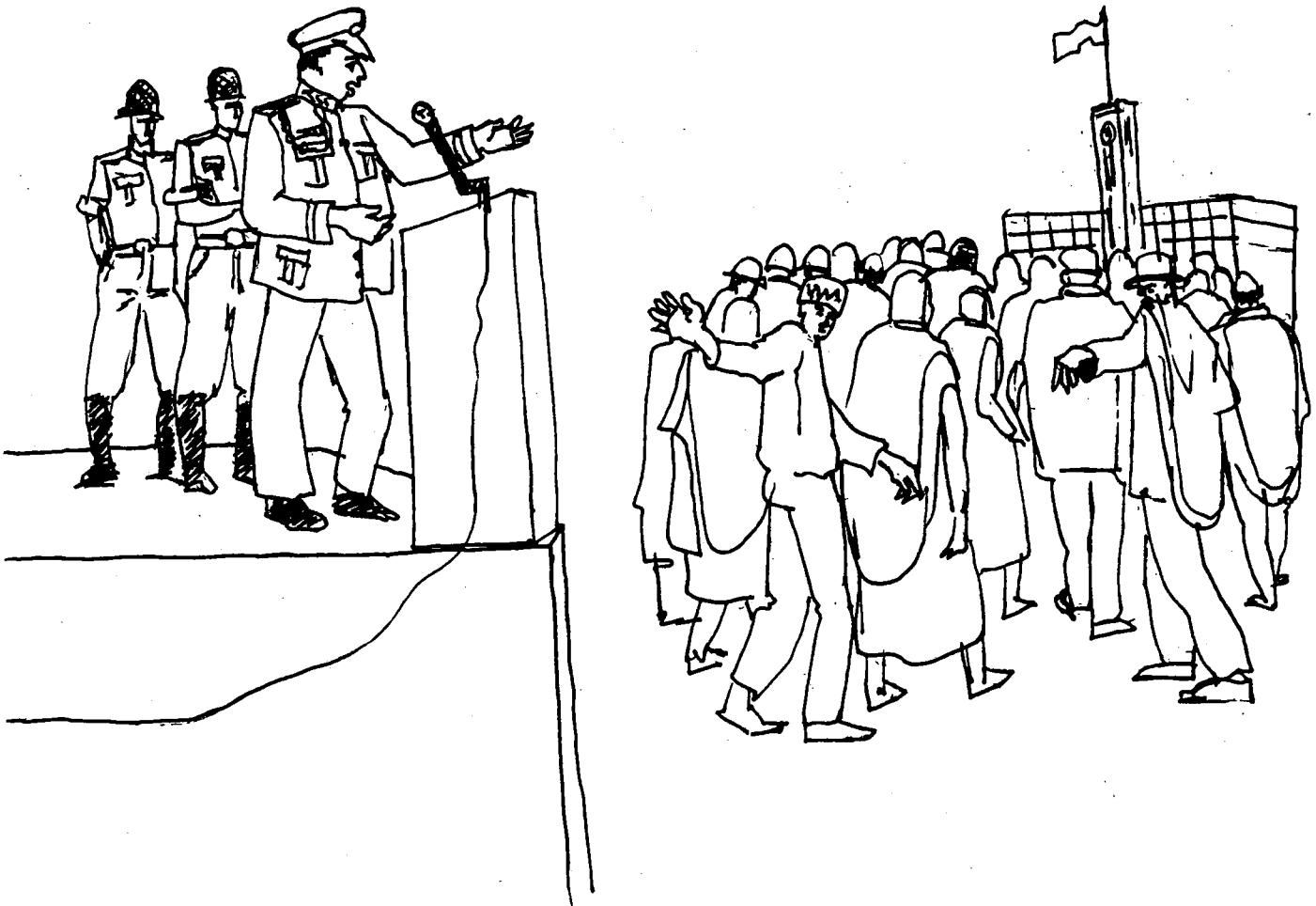


Chart II - 2:

Democracy is the rule by majority.

In case of different opinions, who decides?

- The Government? the majority? the minority? the leaders? the elders? Why??

In democracy, should the people do what the Government orders?

Or should Government do what the people demand it to do?

How can the people make sure the government does what they expect it to do?

Who is sovereign in a democracy?

How can leaders be found who are as much responsible to their members as those of the editir
- but on state level? How can accountability to all the people of the country be assured?

Remember: In a democracy, government is based on the will of the people.

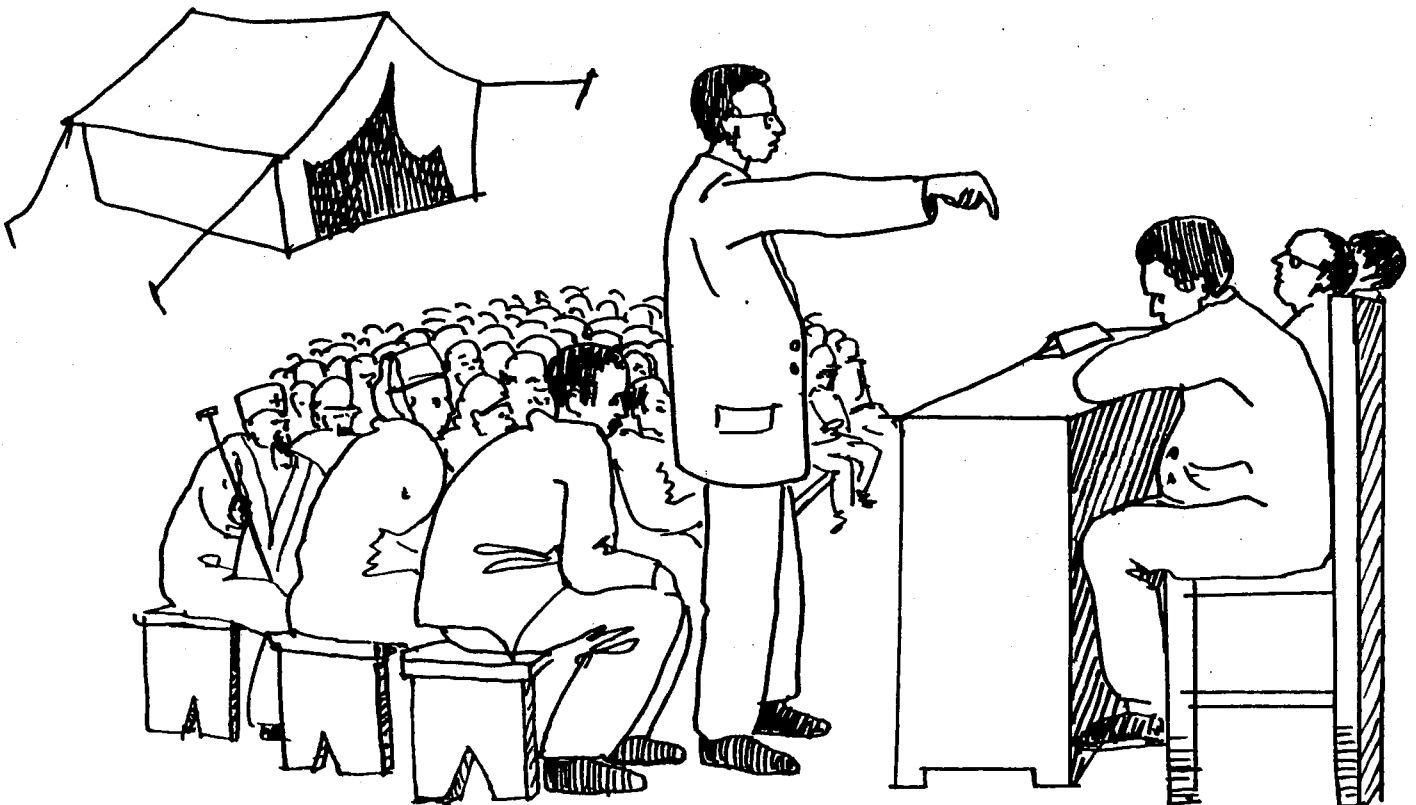


Chart II - 3:

Are there limits to the decisions of a majority?

Can a majority decide to take the land from the minority?

Can they take their houses?

Can the majority chase a minority away? Expell them from their community??

Can the majority decide to kill a minority?

The rights of the minority are protected, and can not be overruled by a majority.



Chart II - 4:

Which rights do all people have - even the poor - the weak - the sick - the blacksmiths?

A right to life? A right to food? a right to land?
a right to shelter?
a right to health care? a right to assistance?
a right of free speech?
What other rights?

Who has to help old aged people who can not help themselves?

Does the community have an obligation to help them? Or relatives? The state??

The basic human rights are guaranteed, and can not be overruled by a majority.



Chart II - 5:

What means a "free and fair" election?

How are leaders chosen in a democracy?

Can government decide on who will be elected?

How can government assure that their candidates are elected?

Can the police tell you whom to elect?

Who can you ask for advise on whom to elect?

Free and fair elections are a basic procedure of democracy.

Remember: You have a right to secret voting. Insist in your secret vote, and make sure there is a place where you can mark your ballot without any person seeing you.

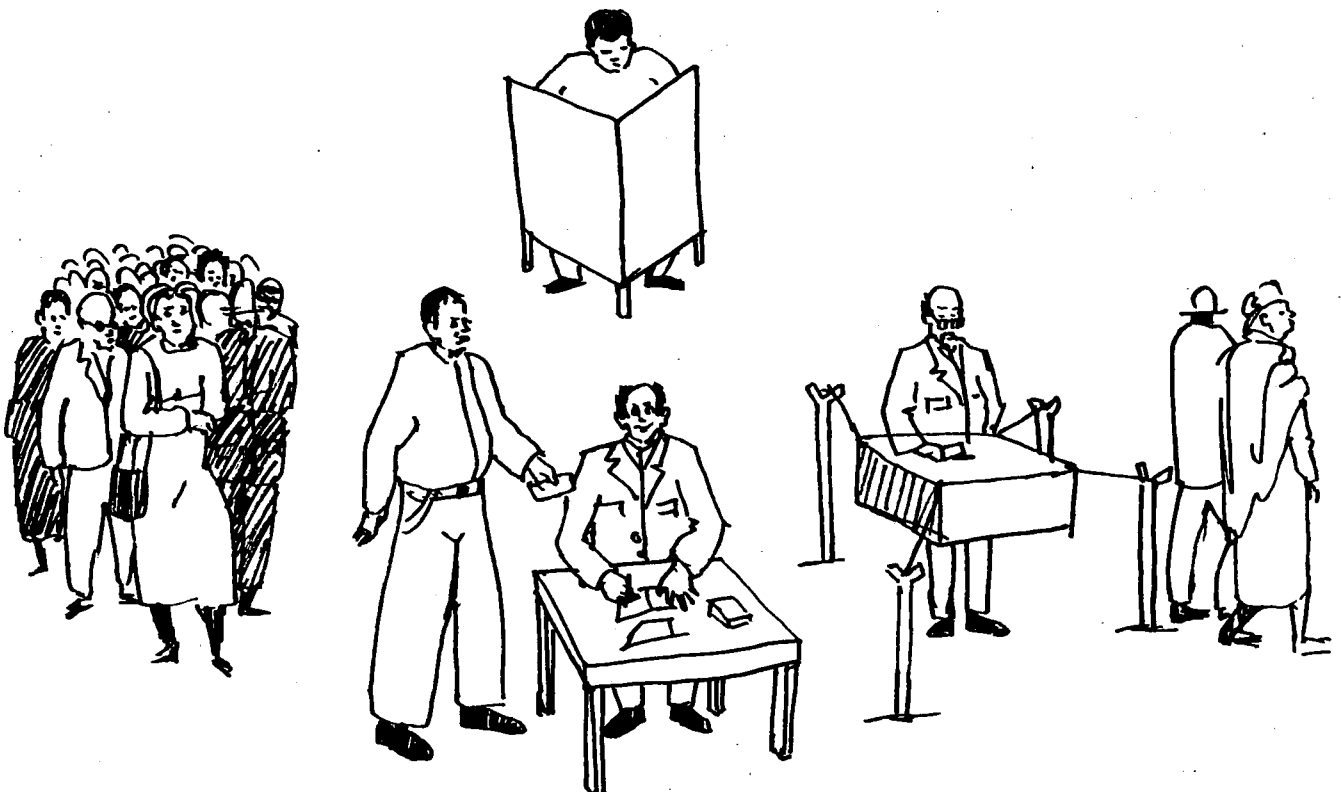


Chart II - 6:

Does a tanner have the same rights as a teacher?

Does a woman have the same rights as a man?

Which rights has a leader, but not an ordinary peasant?

Which rights has a child, but not a grown-up?

Which rights has a grown-up, but not a child?

Does a Christian have the same rights as a Moslem?

as a Penticostalst? A non-believer??

Equality before the law means respect to all races, religions, and social groups.

Remember: Each adult person has the right to decide on his or her religion.
If one converts to another religion, this may cause conflict in the family.
Also such conflicts should be solved by peaceful discussion and not by force.



Chart II - 7:

Democracy is the rule of the law

Some things you are **not allowed** to do - for example stealing, hurting your neighbour, damaging his house...

Why not? What prevents you from doing so?

The bible? The Quoran? Your conscience? The law?

Are there also things the Government is not allowed to do?

Is it allowed to kill its own people? To take their houses? To arrest people?

What is it that limits the power of government?

The courts? The law? The constitution? The people?

How can the people limit the power of government?

Remember: **The power of a democratic government is limited by the Constitution.**

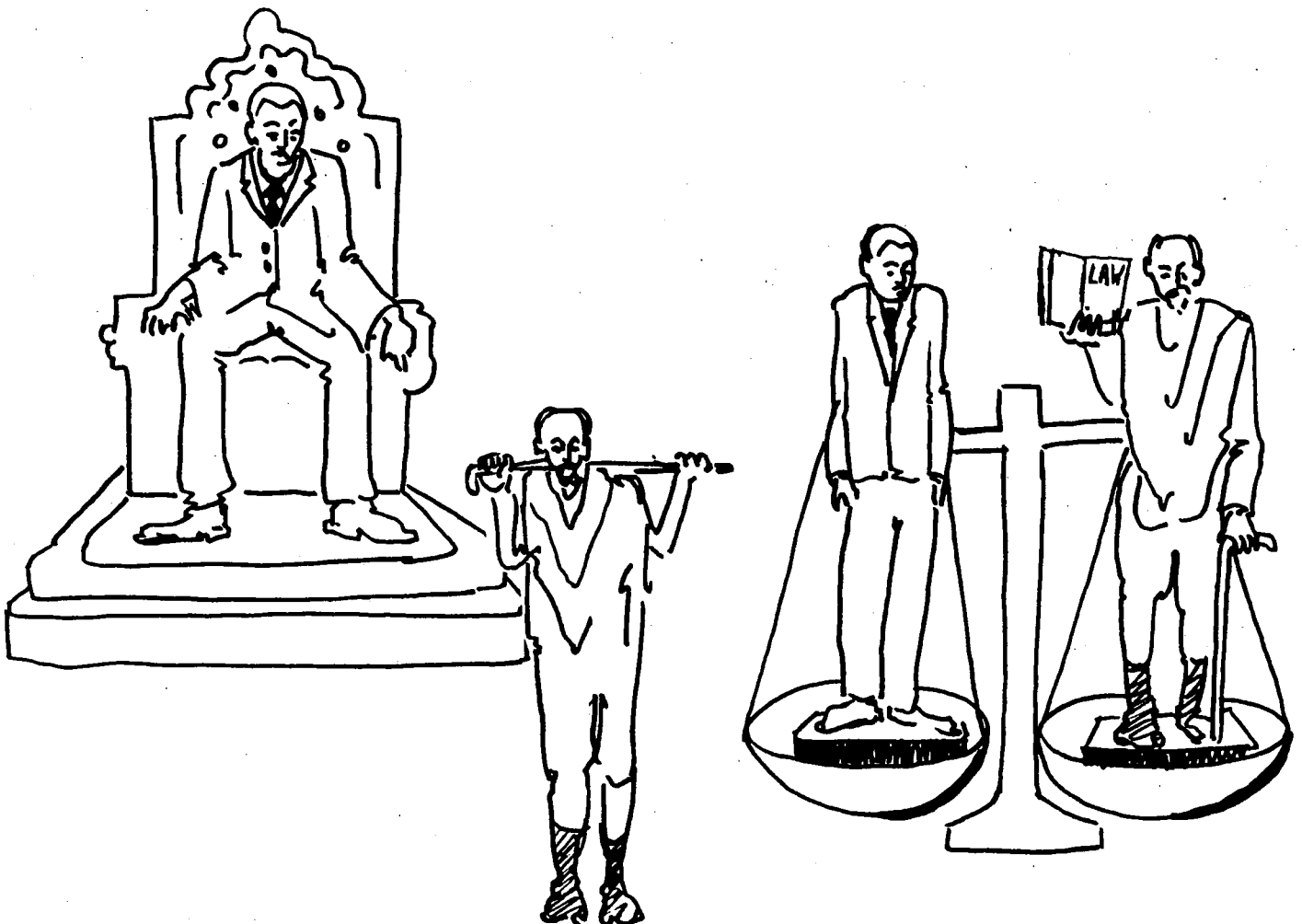


Chart II - 8:

Here you see a forest with many different trees and animals and flowers. They all live together, with the same rights. Would the forest be the same if one kind were missing? Is it good to have so many different trees and animals and flowers in the forest?

In human society also there is much difference. People have different professions - they are wealthy or poor - Amhara or Oromo or Afar - have light skin or dark - are tall or short.

Is it good to have so many different types of people? Should all be equal?

Social, political and religious plurality is a strength, not a handicap in democracy.

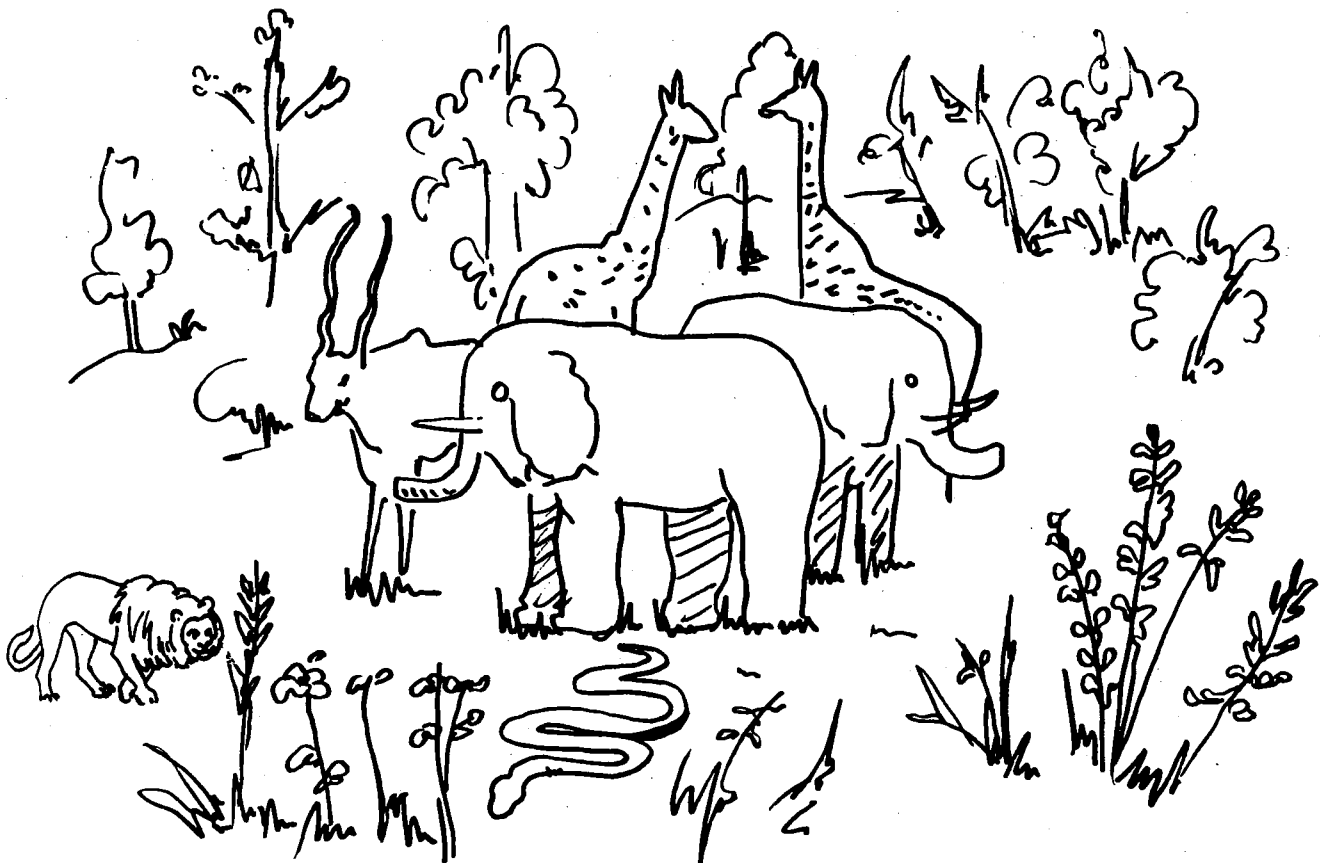


Chart 9:

All this is part of democracy.

What can **you** do to make it work?

Do you have a responsibility for democracy?

The picture shows people building a house. Maybe it is a debo.

If **one** of them does a bad job, the entire house will be a bad house - the roof leaks, the wind blows through it...

How can you make sure everyone does a good job and fulfils his duties in democracy?

Democracy is your personal responsibility as an individual.



Chart II - 10:

Democratic government is based on a division of powers.

A *burchimma* stands on three feet. So does Government: it rests on the parliament, that is, the legislative, making laws - the judges, who apply the law and decide on individual cases - and the administration, ruling the country by the law.

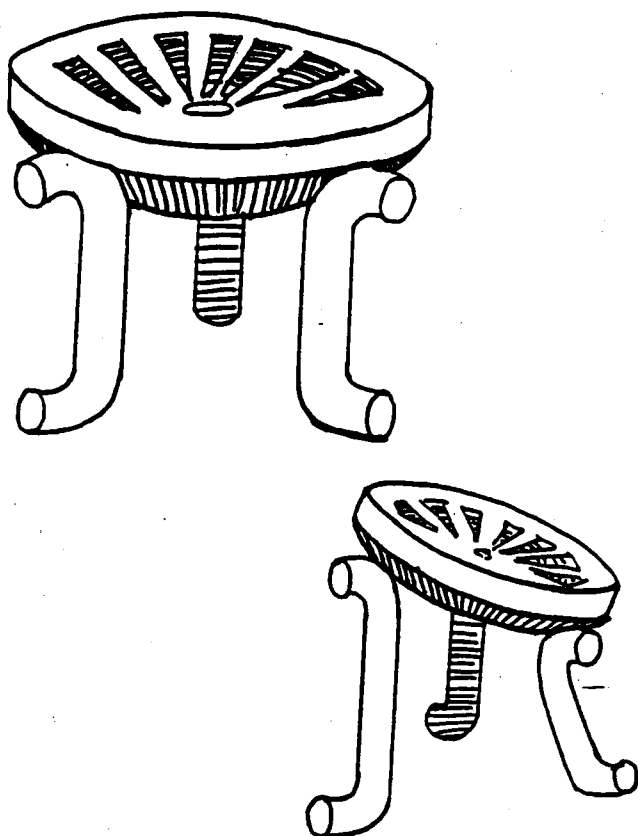
They check each other - and are all bound by the constitution.

If one leg is longer, the *burchimma* is not standing firm. It can not stand on one foot only. Is government the same?

What happens if government wants to order the judges on what to rule?

Is a good opposition necessary for democracy? What does opposition add to government? Choice? Vision? Ideas? Critical vigilance? Alternatives? Problems for the government?

A government without opposition is like a man wanting to shave without a mirror:
he will easily make a mistake, cutting and hurting himself, as he can not watch the result while shaving.



PART III

YOUR RIGHTS - AND YOUR OBLIGATIONS.

HOW TO ELECT GOOD LEADERS - AND MAKE THEM ACCOUNTABLE

Chart III - 1:

It is your responsibility to choose the best candidate.

Why do all candidates want your vote in the election?

How can you decide whom to vote for?

You can only vote for one of the candidates. How can you find the right one?

Is it **your responsibility** to choose the one who represents your interests, and the future of your children best?



Chart III - 2:

How can leaders in a democratic state be accountable to their citizens?

How can the principles of democracy be practiced on state level - regional and ethiopia-wide?

How can leaders be found ewho are as much responsible to their members as those of the edir - but on state level?

How can accountability to all the people of the country be assured?

How can elders arbitrate if conflict arises?

What can the parliament do?

What is the role of the constitution?

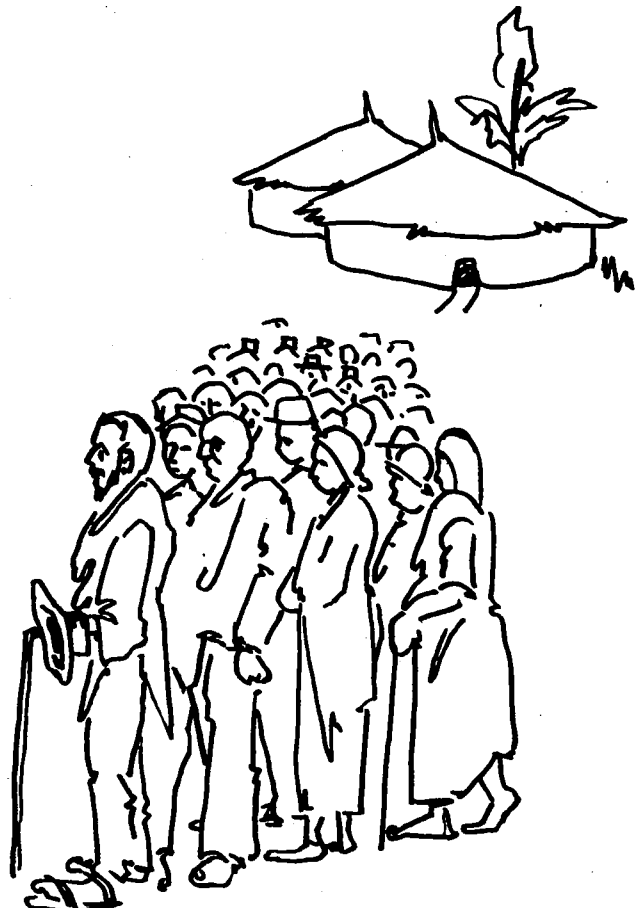
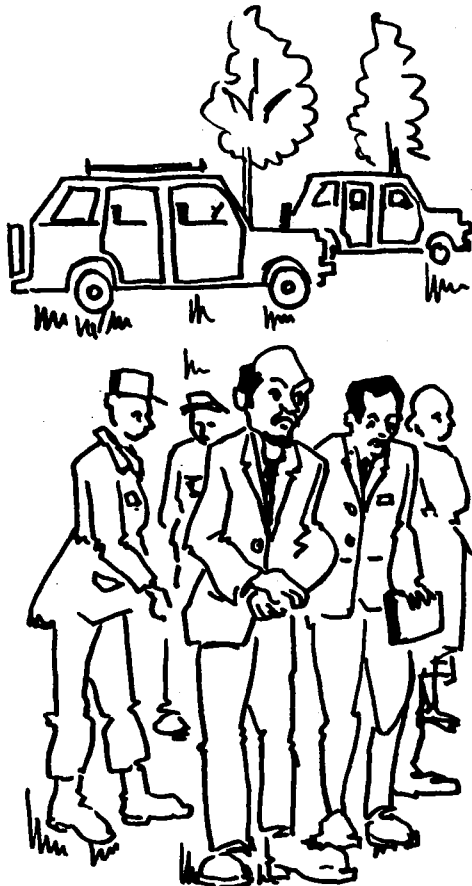


Chart III - 3:

As a voter you have the right to question your candidates.

How can you study the candidates, to know who represents your interest?

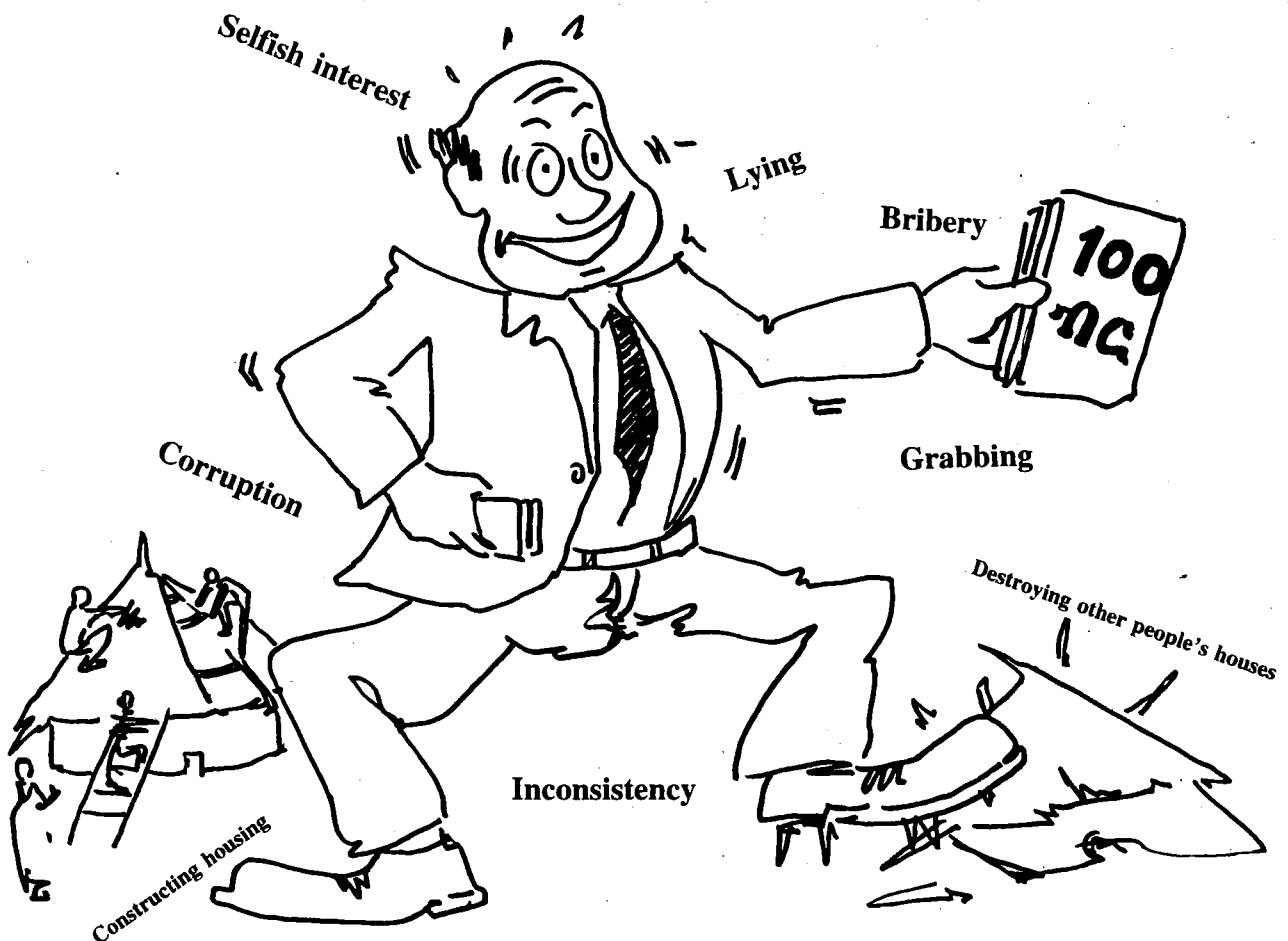
How can you know what they stand for?

Is it your responsibility to elect good leaders?

Is it **your right to ask them** what they stand for, and what they **intend to do** when elected?

Remember: You are the judge on the candidates

- through your vote. Take that responsibility serious!



It is your responsibility to elect good representatives.

Do you know who is a good representative?

How can you distinguish between a good candidate and a bad one?

Do you have the right **not** to vote?

What happens if you don't vote?

Remember: Bad leaders are elected by good voters who don't vote.

If you don't vote for a good candidate, a bad one may be elected...

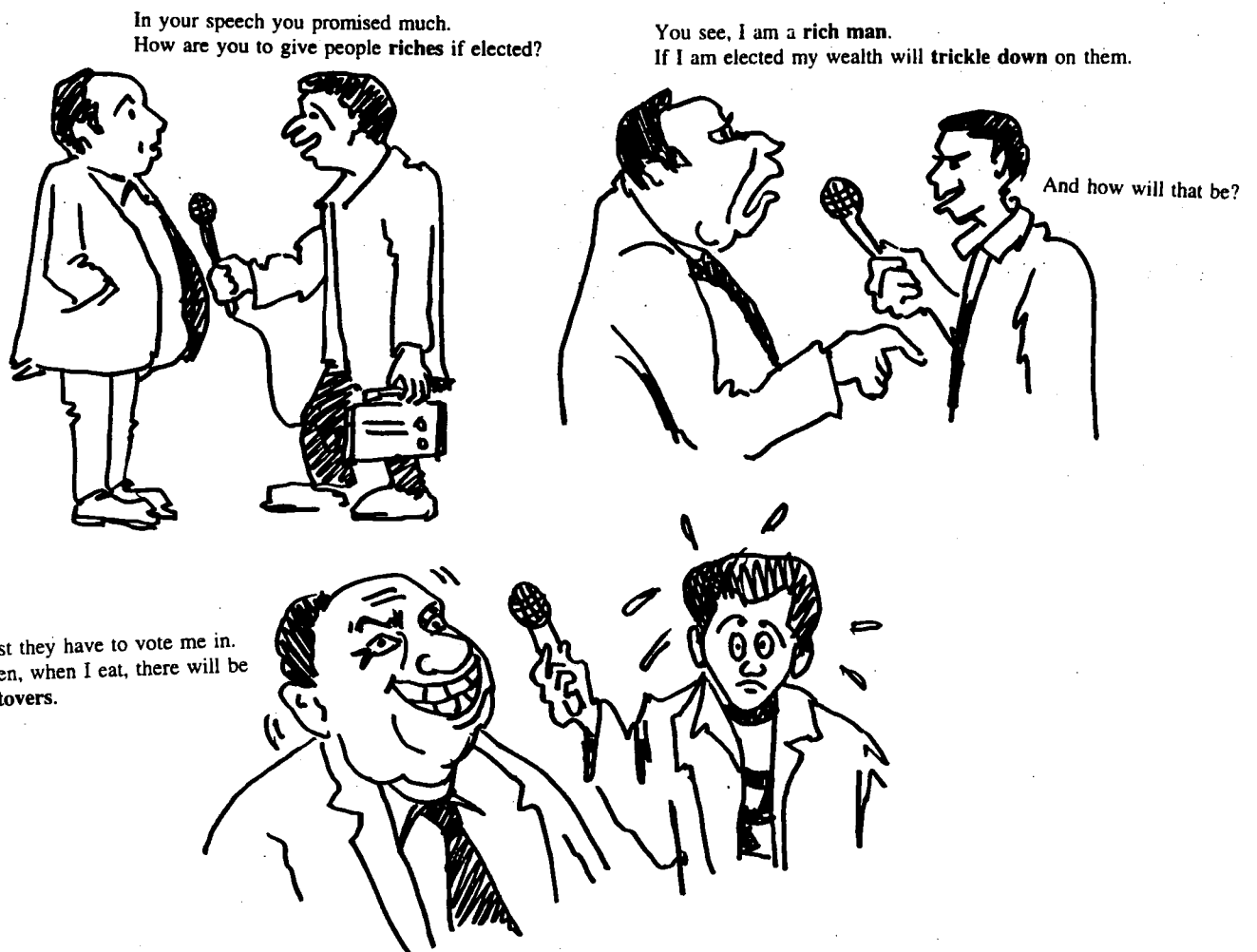


Chart III - 5:

It is your responsibility not to elect corrupt or cheating leaders.

How can you avoid voting for a candidate who will cheat you?

How can you find out whether a candidate will keep his promises?

How can you make sure he is not corrupt?

How can you avoid voting for a candidate who follows only his own selfish interests?

Please, lady, can you carry me over the river.
I will give you a rich reward.



It is your responsibility to examine your candidate.

Do you have the right to question your candidates?

What questions will you ask her or him?

What will he do for public health?

What will he do for peace?

What will he do for democracy?

What does he know about people's rights in a democracy?

Does he know the role of a good opposition?

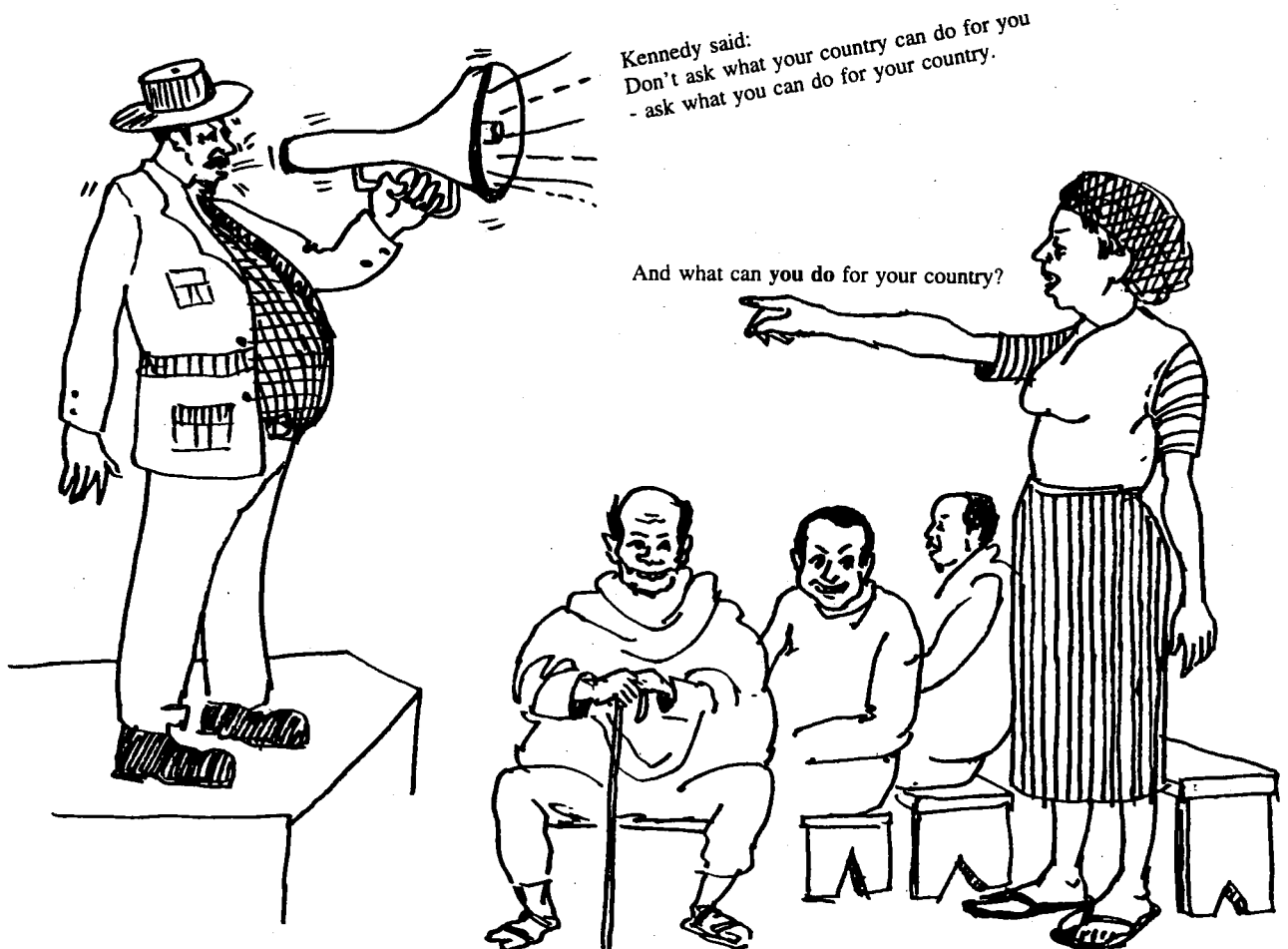


Chart III - 7:

Your candidate is accountable to his voters - also after the election.

What is your candidate going to do so you can trust his promises?

Can you tell him that he is accountable to his voters also after being elected?

Can you ask him if he is willing to resign if he can not fulfil his promises?

Can you ask him to report to you after one year on what he has achieved?

Could you tell him you will not vote for him again if he does not fulfil what he promised?

Remember: An elected candidate is accountable not only for those who voted for him, but also to those in his constituency who voted for another candidate.

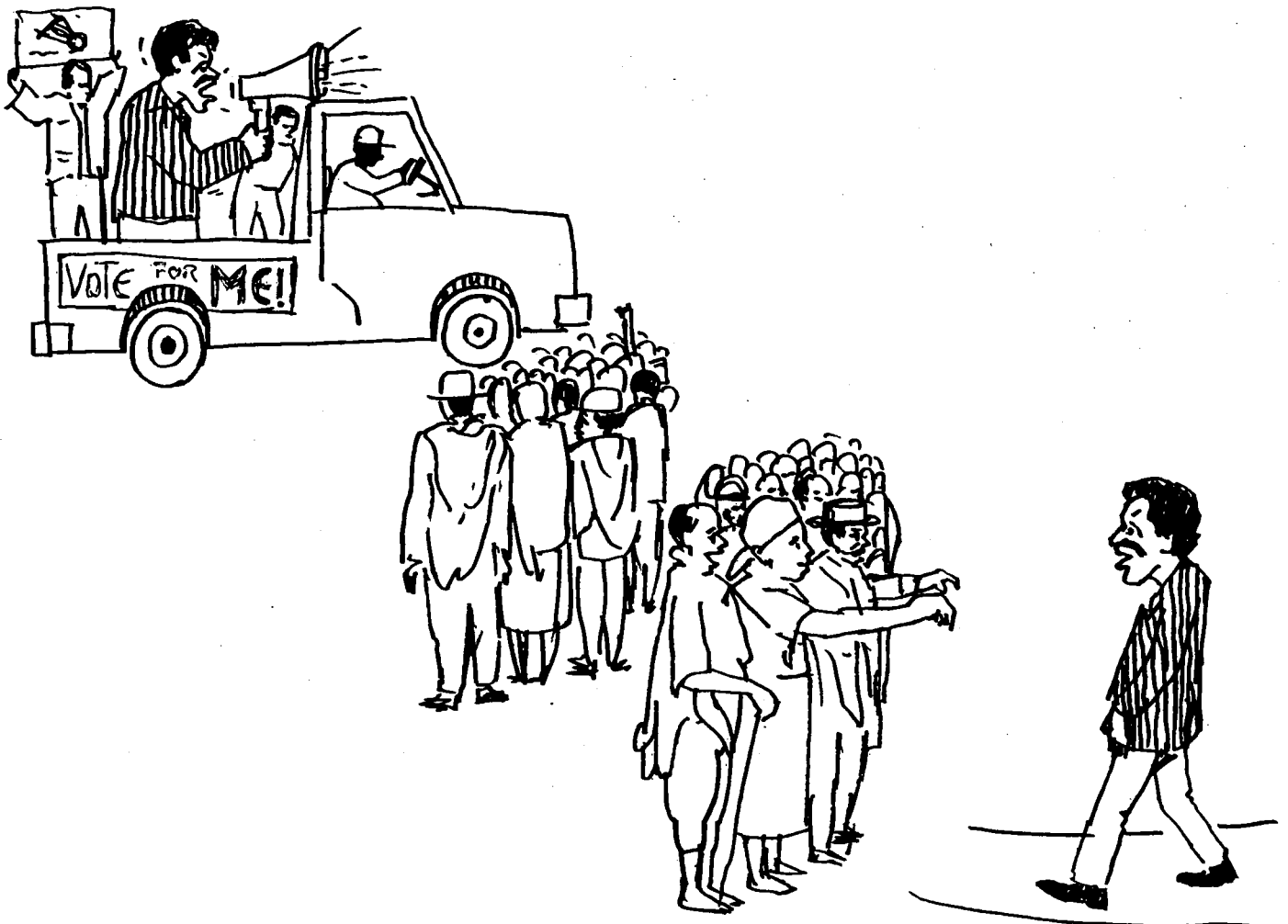


Chart III - 8:

All candidates should have equal chances.

Have all candidates in your constituency equal chances? Why not?

Do they have access to the media?

Do they have a campaign?

Are they free to meet with their voters, to explain their political views?

Are they free to express their political views?

Who decides whether a candidate's political views are acceptable in politics?

Can the government ban a candidate because he is against spending state money on schools?

Would you vote for that candidate?

Can the government ban a candidate because he says he wants to chase all minorities out of your region? Would you vote for that candidate?

Can the government ban a candidate because he advocates armed struggle?

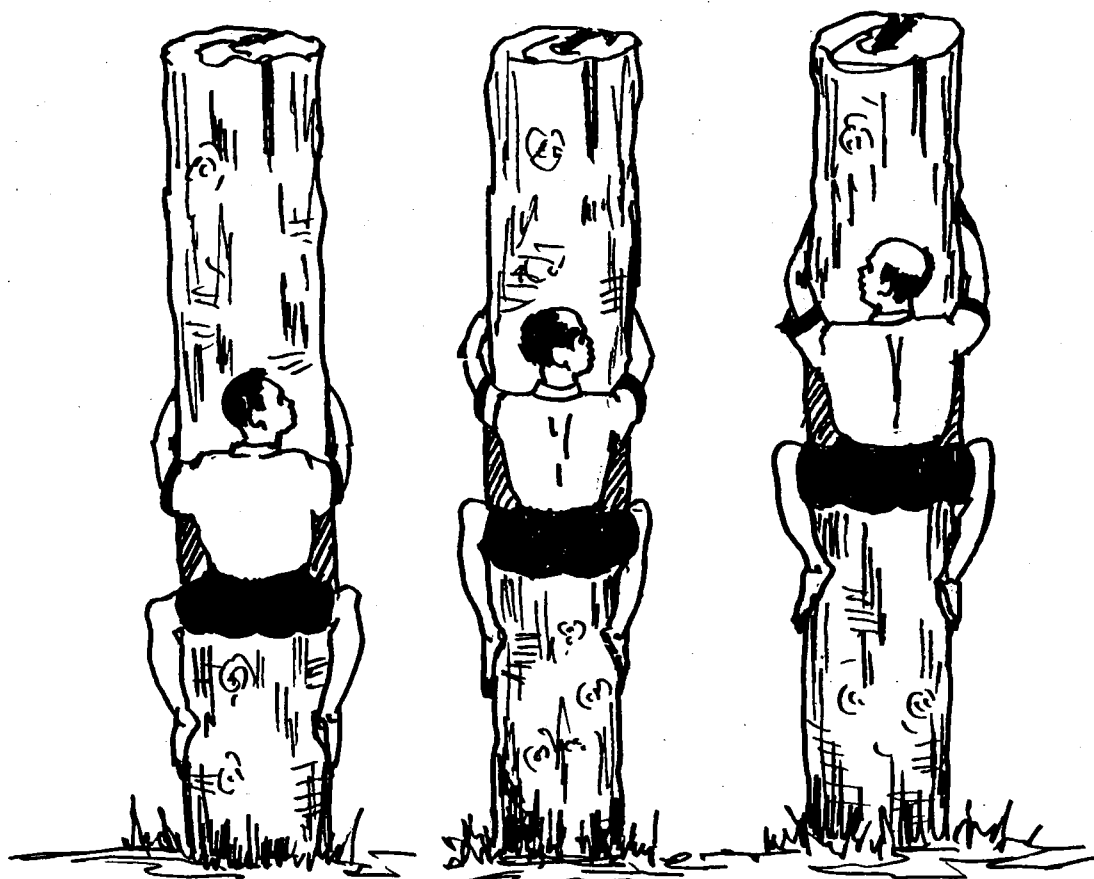


Chart III - 9:

Democracy means competition for leadership - and selection of the best.

If one is running alone - is he coming in last - or first?

Has he won - or lost?

Is an election without at least two candidates with equal chances democratic?

Can the voter make a responsible decision if there is only one candidate?



The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The United Nations adopted in 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It proclaims, among others, the following rights for all human beings:

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, endowed with reason and conscience. They should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood (Art. 1).

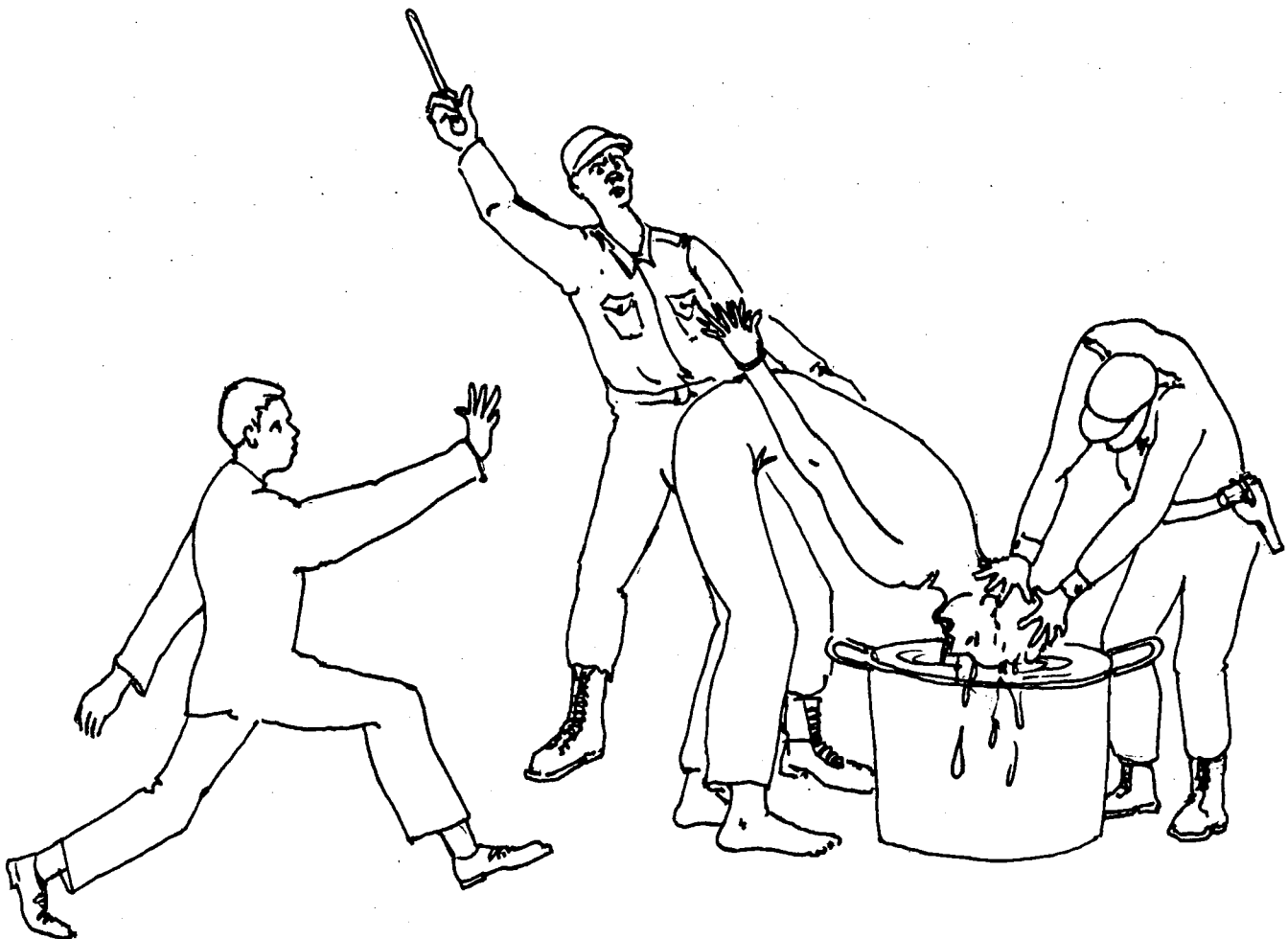
Everyone is entitled to all rights, irrespective of age, sex, race, religion, colour, language etc. The rights of others are the limits of your rights (Art. 2).

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person (Art. 3). No one should be held in slavery (Art.4). No one should be subjected to torture (Art. 5) or arbitrary arrest (Art 9).

Everyone has the freedom of movement (Art. 13), of opinion (Art. 19), and the right to work (Art. 23), a right to a decent standard of living (Art. 25) and education (Art. 26).

Everyone has duties in his community; in particular, the duty to respect the rights of others (Art. 29).

This declaration has been adopted by the Ethiopian government since 1991 as part of Ethiopian law. This means that all Ethiopians, also you, have the right and a responsibility to work for making it a living reality in your community.



PART IV:
HOW TO MONITOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

Chart IV - 1:

Is there freedom of speech?

Has anyone been arrested or harrassed because of what she or he said in public or privately?

Has any candidate been threatened not to say certain things?

Have the police or military or other security forces taken action against anyone in the time before the elections, except because of criminal offences?



Chart IV - 2:

Everyone has the right to discuss and participate without having reasons for fear.

Can everyone expose his ideas without fear?

Has anyone been threatened to vote for one or another candidate?

Is there anyone who has reasons to be afraid because of his (her) vote or his (her) candidacy or speech?

Has anyone been arrested without a warrant or court order?

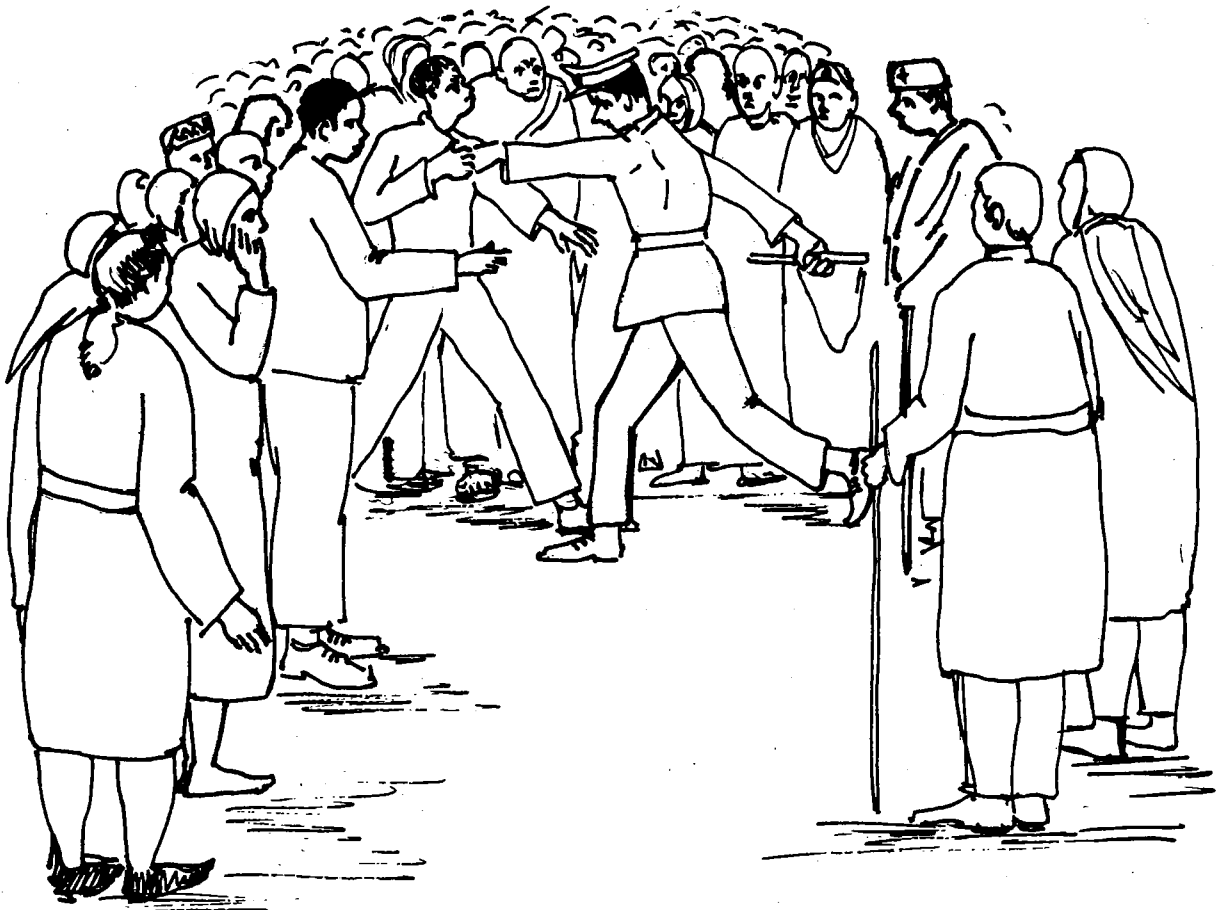


Chart IV - 3:

In a democracy, people can move freely, and ideas are exchanged freely.

Are you allowed to travel to any part of the country?

Have you observed free exchange of ideas?

Has anyone been prevented from sharing his ideas with others?

Have people been told to shut up, not to say certain things?

Have people been arrested because of what they said?

Make sure you distinguish whether people were arrested because of criminal offences
- or because of their opinions and political participation.

Remember: It is your right to exchange ideas freely, in the same way as you exchange goods in the market. Nobody may prevent you from holding any idea, and expressing it, -as long as you do not violate the rights of others.

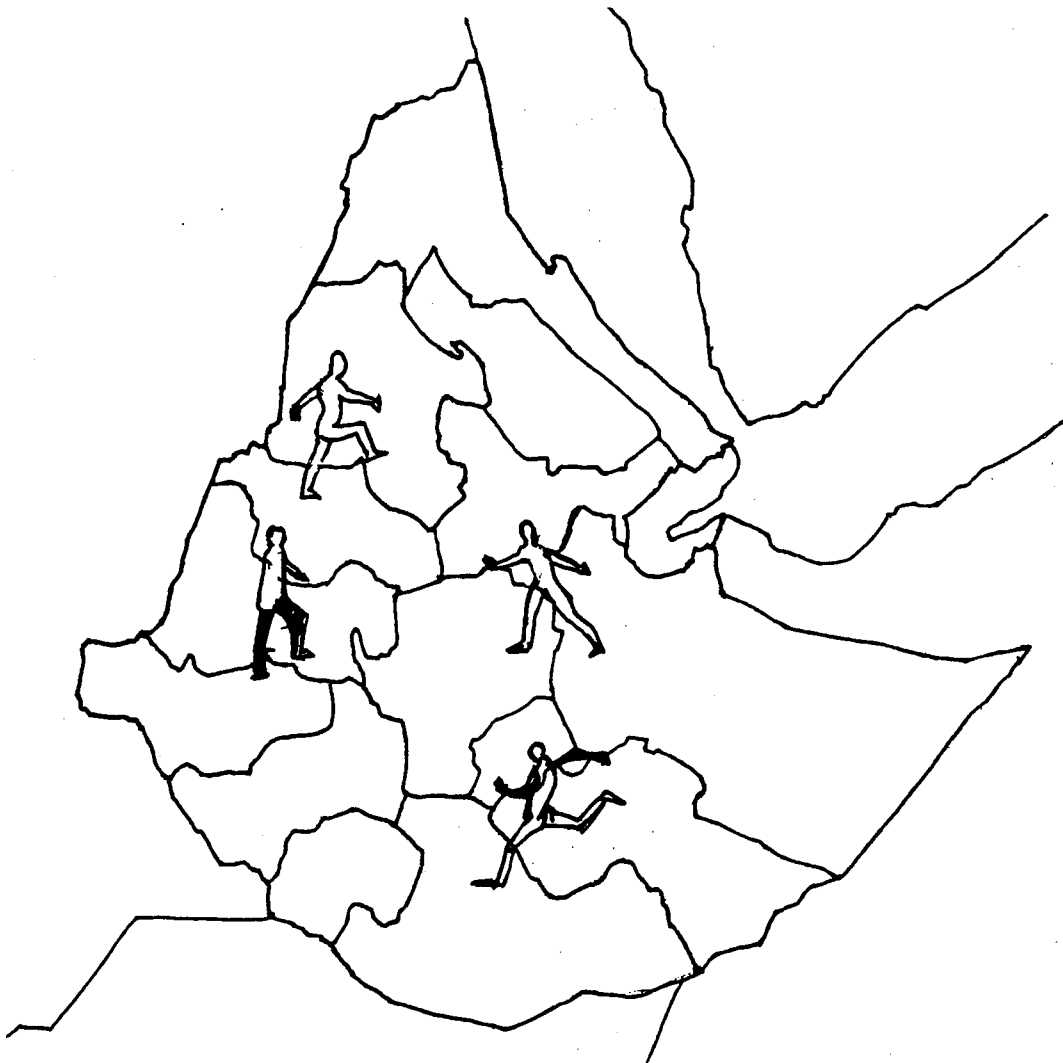


Chart IV - 4:

The right of opposition is part of democratic culture.

Do you have the right to go into a different direction from the majority?

Has there been any interference with individual opinions, if they went counter to the majority?

Is there an opposition candidate in your constituency? Is he or she accepted, tolerated, free to campaign?

Do people understand, accept the role of opposition? Are people harrassed because they are suspected of supporting an opposition candidate?

Many votes make a strong government.

Also a strong opposition?

Is that good or bad?

What should a leader do if he is running in an election but does not win a seat?

- Work through his party for the interests of his voters?

Recruit fighters and go to the bush?

Convince the voters of his good political judgement, so he will be elected next time?

Remember: **A strong opposition strengthens a good democratic government.**

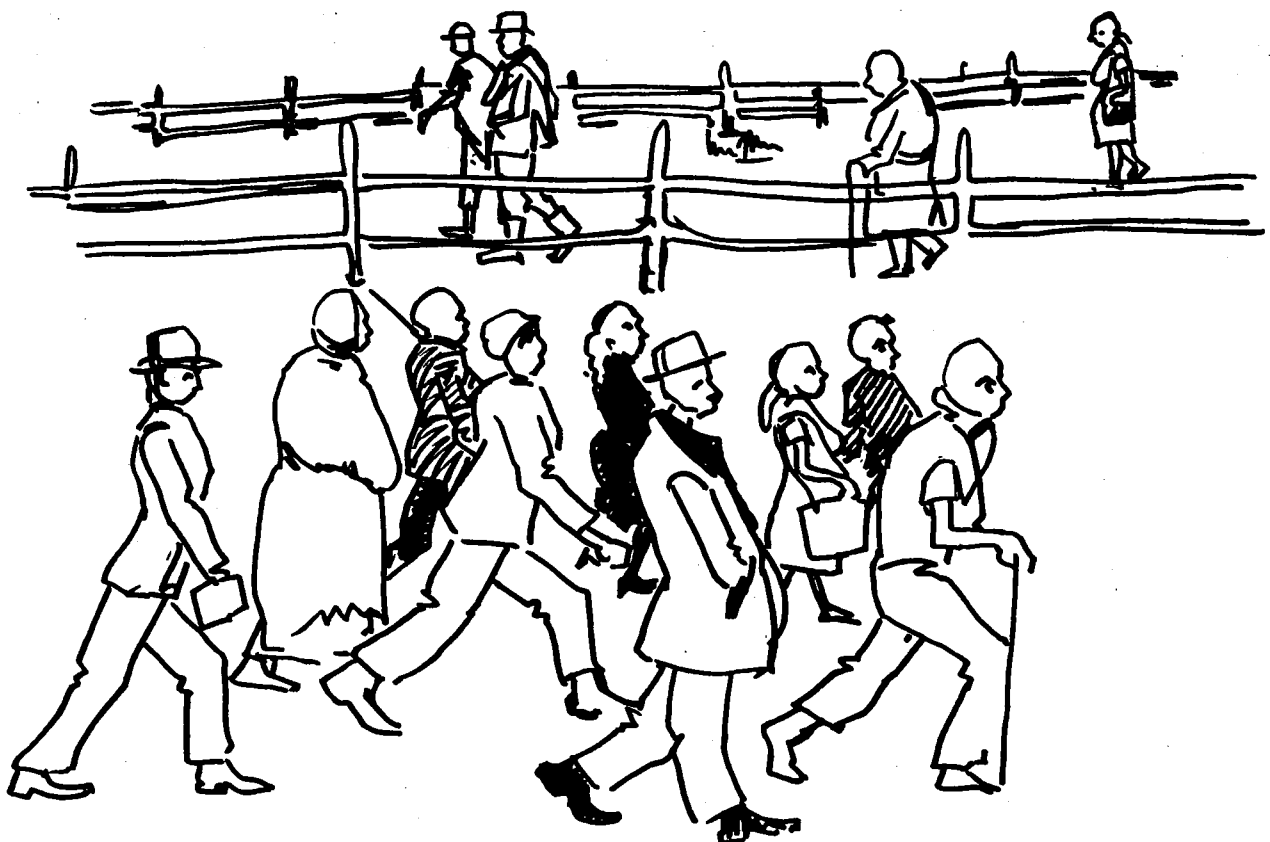


Chart IV - 5:

Nobody shall be harrassed or imprisoned because of his (her) opinions.

Have you heard of anybody being harrassed for his opinion? Why??

Have you seen it? Can you verify why?

Are acusations correct? Are they verifiable?

Have you tried to solve the problem?

Are you sure they have not committed a criminal offence?



Chart IV - 6:

It is illegal to buy votes through payment, bribery or other pressure.

Is there any intimidation? Is there any offer of payment for votes?

Have people been ordered to vote for one candidate?

Has anyone been offered money - food - fertilizer for their votes?

Is there any indication of ballots being smuggled into the ballot box?

Is there any indication of other forms of illegal rigging of the election?

Can it be documented? Are there witnesses?

If a candidate gave you a present, does that oblige you to vote for him?

Remember: Votes are secret. You have no obligation to vote for any particular candidate other than the one **you consider best**. Even if you received gifts, you don't have to vote for him, nor to tell him what you voted.

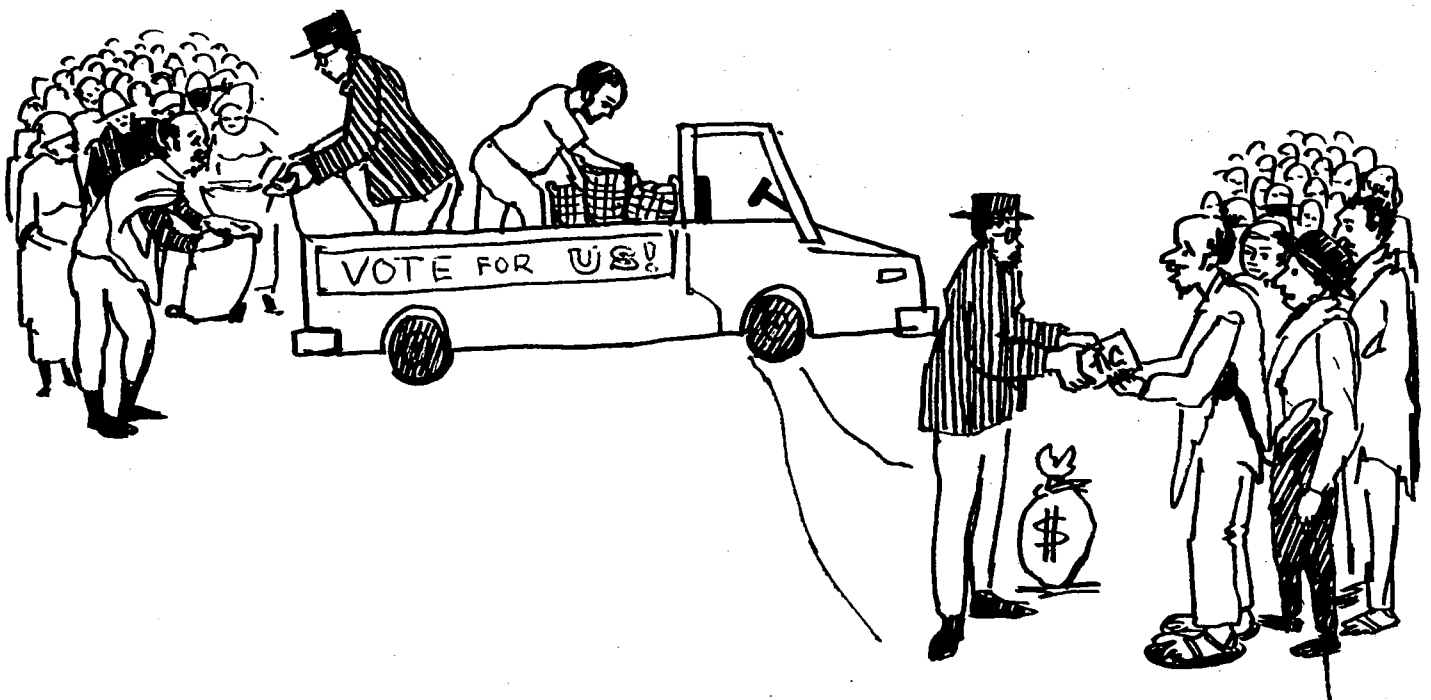


Chart IV - 7:

Candidates must be given security under their campaign.

Has any candidate been arrested?

Has any one been intimidated?

Has the police protected him/her against threats?

During the campaign, candidates are protected against being arrested or imprisoned, except if caught redhanded in a crime.



Chart IV - 8:

Have all parties and candidates been free to campaign?

Has any candidate been prevented from campaigning, opening an office, talking in public, or from holding meetings or rallies?

All candidates have equal rights to campaign.

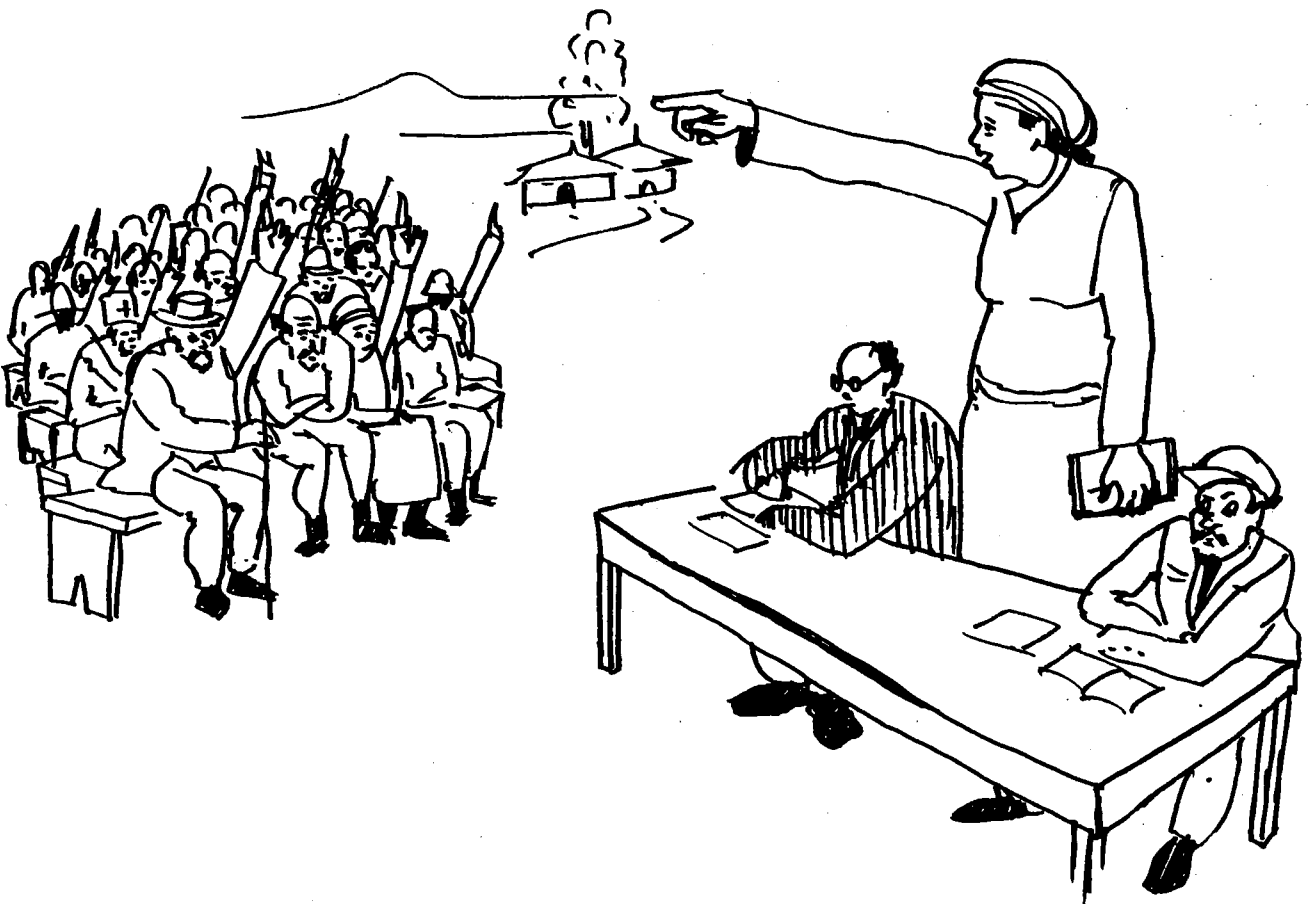


Chart IV - 9:

Women have equal and independent voting rights.

Women have not always enjoyed an independent voting right. In some democratic countries, women had no voting right at all until recent times. (In Switzerland, for example, women got the right to vote only in 1971. How is it in Ethiopia?)

Are women told by their husbands what to vote?

Are they free to choose which candidate they want to vote for?

Can women discuss with their husbands which candidate to elect? Can the spouses agree to vote for the same candidate?

Does such an agreement bind them in their vote?

Remember: **Women have a right to vote without their husband or anyone else deciding for them.**



Chart IV - 10:

One man, one vote - and the right of secret ballot.

Do people have the right to vote in secret?

Does the voting station have a place where people can mark their ballot without anybody watching them?

Are you allowed to tell others what you voted?

Do you have to tell what you voted if someone asks you?

Does every person only have one vote?

If somebody is watching you while you mark your ballot, what can you do?

Remember: You are **free to decide** on your own, and **need not tell** anybody what you voted.

Every person has **an equal vote**.

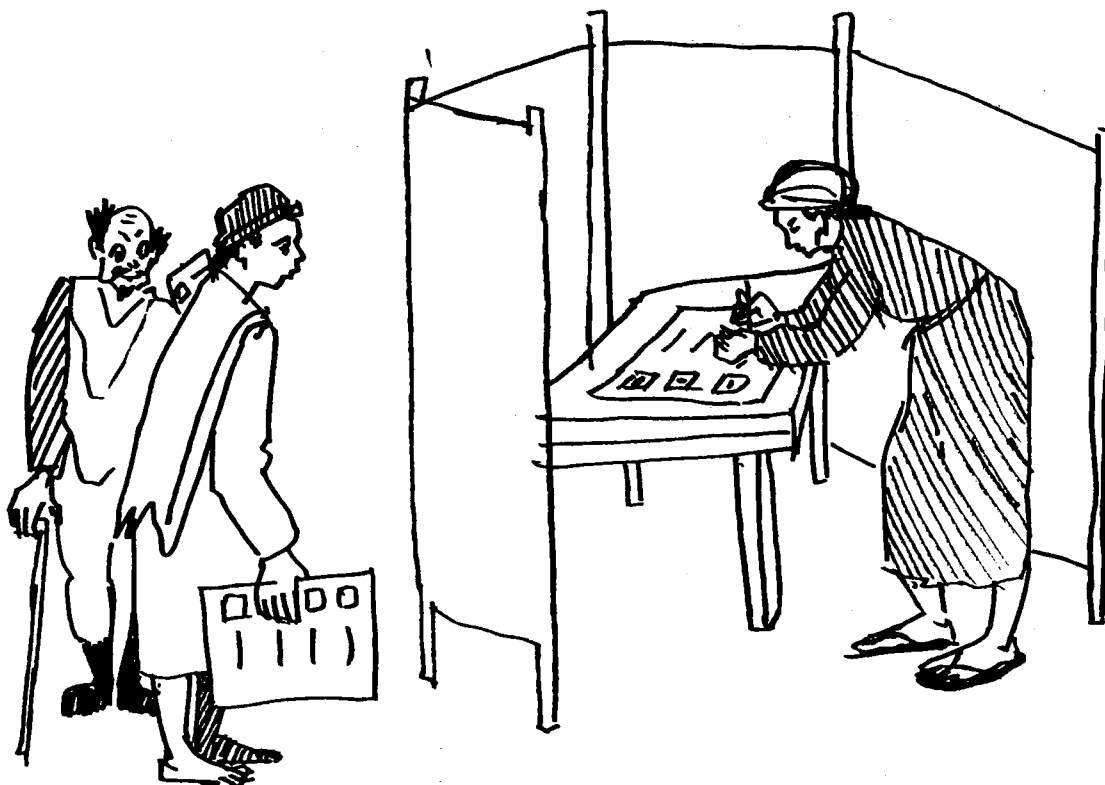


Chart IV - 11:

The process of voting:

Coming into the voting station

Comparing the voter registration card with the registration book

Signing the registration book

Checking the fingers and marking the finger with indelible ink

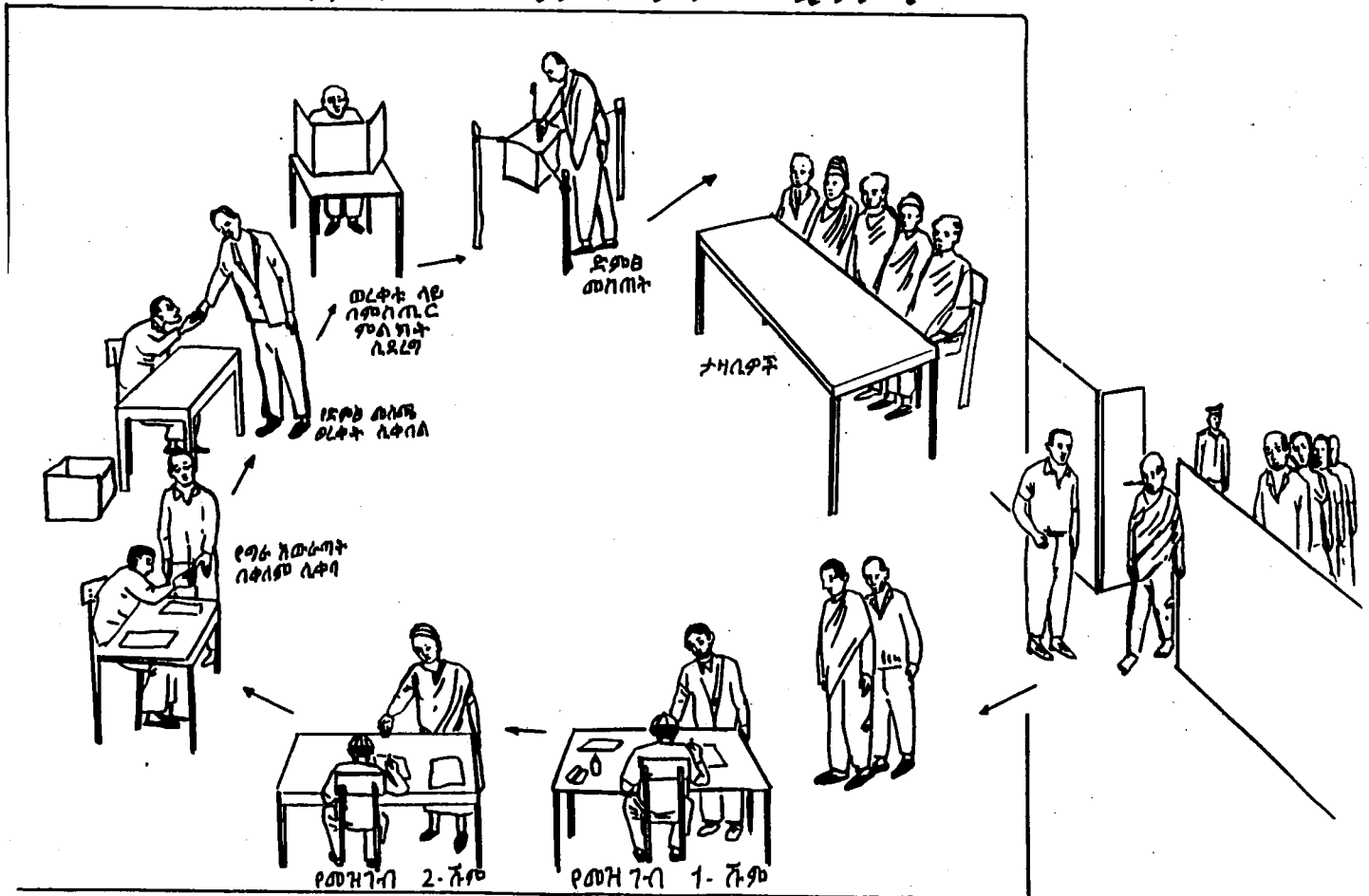
Receiving the ballot paper(s)

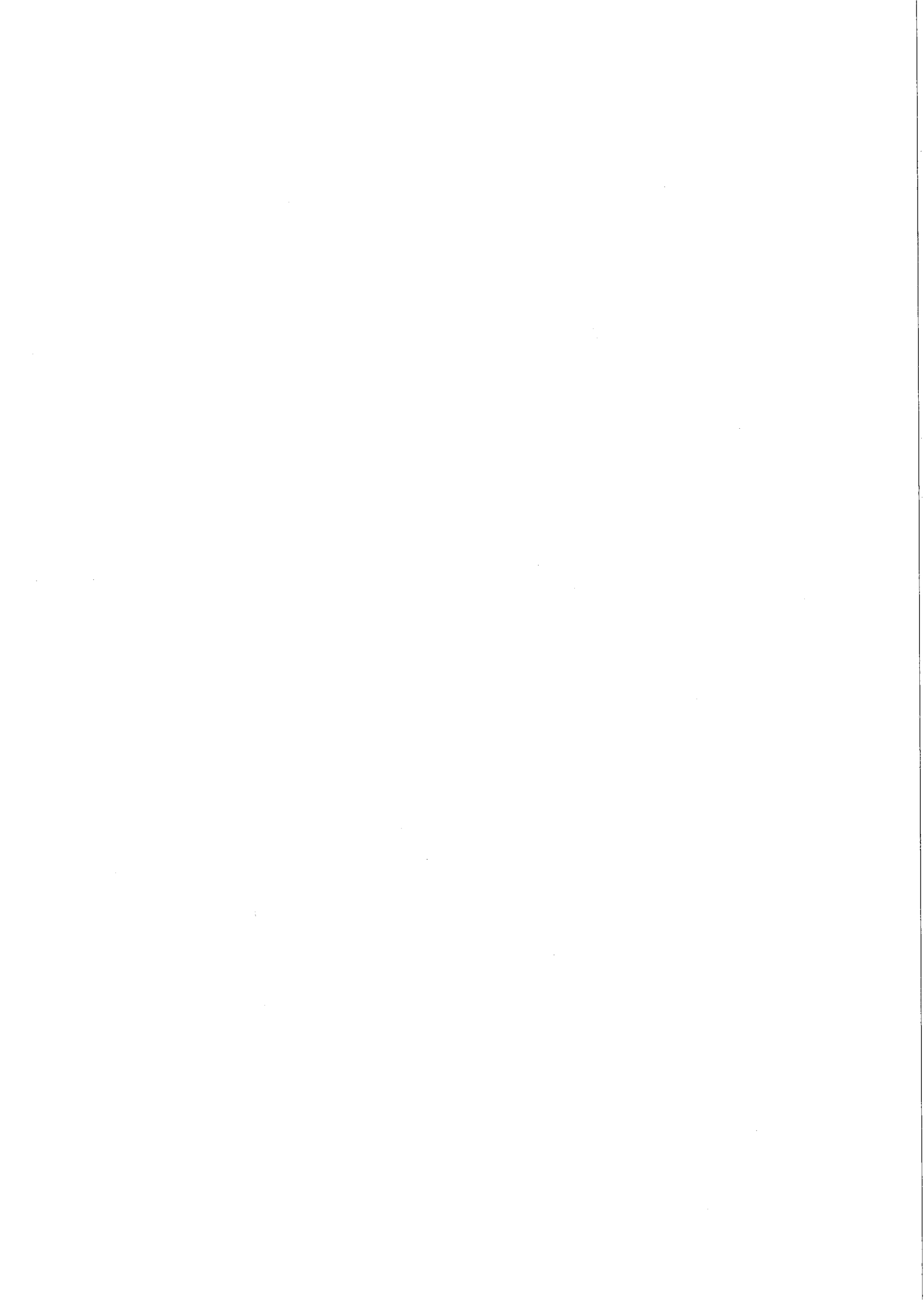
Marking the ballot paper in a secluded place without being watched

Putting the ballot into the ballot box

Passing the elders who watch the elections on the way

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UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

of the

UNITED NATIONS

Adapted as a Teaching Programme

for the ECUMENICAL TRAINING INITIATIVE FOR DEMOCRACY
in cooperation with INTER AFRICA GROUP, ABuGiDa,
AD HOC PEACE COMMITTEE and other civic groups in Ethiopia

This Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been ratified by the Ethiopian Government, and is embedded in the Ethiopian Constitution as an integral part of Ethiopian law.

Ecumenical Training Initiative for Democracy

"Eneweyay" (Let's discuss)

the
**UNIVERSAL DECLARATION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

of the UNITED NATIONS

Adapted as a teaching kit
for trainers in democratic principles and practice



Preface

All human beings are born with equal and inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms. The United Nations is committed to upholding, promoting and protecting the human rights of every individual. This commitment stems from the United Nations Charter, which reaffirms the faith of the peoples of the world in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person.

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations has stated in clear and simple terms the rights which belong equally to every person.

These rights belong to you.

They are your rights.

Familiarize yourself with them. Help to promote and defend them for yourself as well as for your fellow human beings.

Questions:

Are the Human Rights also a ruling law in Ethiopia?

Should Ethiopian policemen respect and protect these rights as your rights?

Should an Ethiopian judge guarantee these rights for you?

Do these rights apply to Ethiopian citizens?

Do they apply also to non-Ethiopians? Also to refugees?



UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Preamble

Whereas *recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,*
Whereas *disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,*

Whereas *it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,*

Whereas *it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,*
Whereas *the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,*

Whereas *member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,*

Whereas *a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realisation of this pledge,*

Now, Therefore,
The General Assembly
proclaims
This Universal Declaration
of Human Rights

as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Questions:

Are even the fugi, faqi, blacksmiths etc. equal?

Is a woman just as free as a man?

Does a child have equal rights?

Is everybody responsible for his or her actions? Why?

Do you have an obligation to rescue somebody who is in danger of being attacked by others?

Even if you do not know him??

If someone is known as a dull person, can you just exclude him from discussions?

Can you exclude him from voting, from participating in cultural events?



Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-selfgoverning or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Questions:

Are white people having the same rights as black people?

Do Moslems have the same rights as Christians? Why is Moslem religious law different from Christian traditional practice?

Do women have the same rights as men? Which rights are different for women and men? Why?

Do clever people have more rights than stupid ones?

Are rich people and poor people equal? Does the law protect them equally?



Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Questions:

Can dangerous people be imprisoned, even if they have not yet committed a crime?

Can you beat a thief to death?

When can a person's life be taken:

By court? By individuals? By the Government? By the community?

By the military? The police?

3



Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Questions:

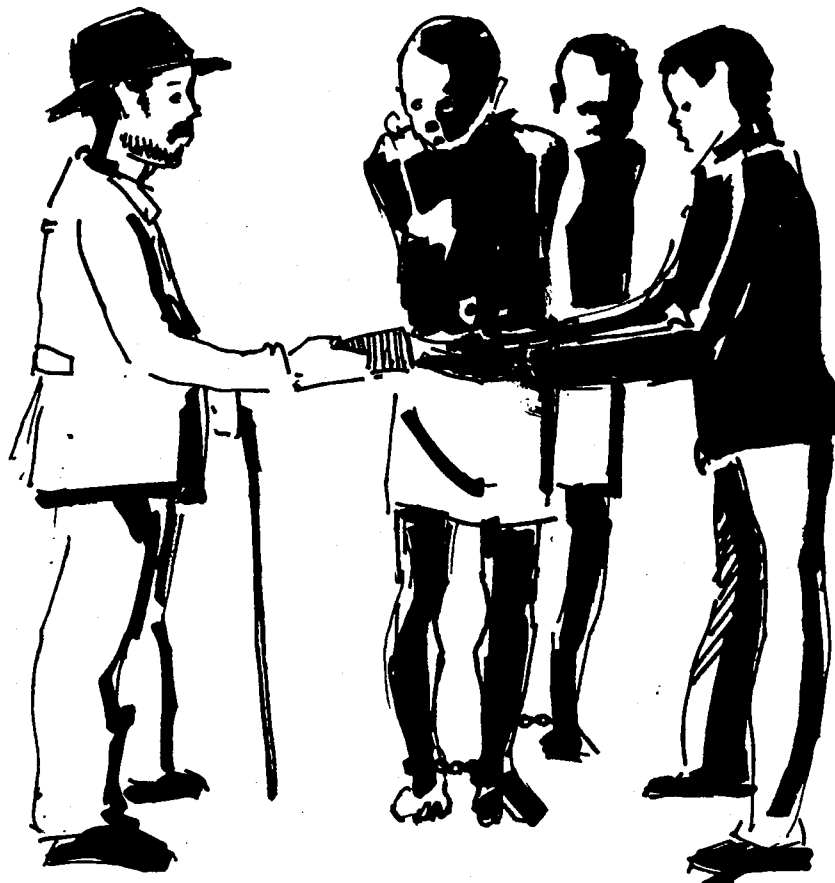
Have you ever heard of people being sold as slaves?

Have you heard of Ethiopian girls being sent to other countries for work?

Are there any people who are not allowed to decide for themselves about their work and their lives?

How do you distinguish a slave from an employed person?

If your neighbour can not pay back his debt to you, can he be forced to work for you?



Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Questions:

Can the police use force to arrest somebody?

Under what conditions can the police use force?

Is the police allowed to beat up a prisoner?

If he does not admit his guilt, can the police force him to confess? How??

5



Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Questions:

Is a Ghanaian supposed to be treated equally as an Ethiopian citizen?

Also if he is brought to court in Ethiopia?

Does an Ethiopian court have the right to indict a person who is not Ethiopian citizen?

Does a foreigner have the right to break Ethiopian law?

Is a person suspected of having broken the law, entitled to be treated with respect, equally?

If a court can not with absolute certainty establish whether a person has stolen an or and sold it, or not, what should be done? Is it better he is punished even if he may possibly be innocent - or that he goes free and still may be guilty?

6



Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Questions:

Does the law protect people who try to chase a man from a different area from their village?

Does the law protect you if you chase a neighbour who is a fuga away from his house?

Can the Afar government give a job to an Afari in preference over a Gurage living in Afar and being better qualified?

Could a woman ask for the protection of the police if her husband is beating her severely?

7



Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Questions:

Can you win your case in court if you are poor?

Can you win in court against a rich man?

Can you succeed even if you have no formal training or education?

Can you complain to a court against a policeman who has beating or torturing you while in custody?

Should an Afar girl be given preference over an Amhara boy with slightly better grades when entering university?



Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Questions:

Can you be arrested because your donkey was eating the neighbour's teff?

If you refuse to pay your debt, can you be arrested?

Can a person be arrested for refusing to work for another one?

In case you are arrested and feel it is without proper reason, can the court help you? What can you do to attract the attention of a judge to your imprisonment?

Can you demand the police to bring you to a court?



Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

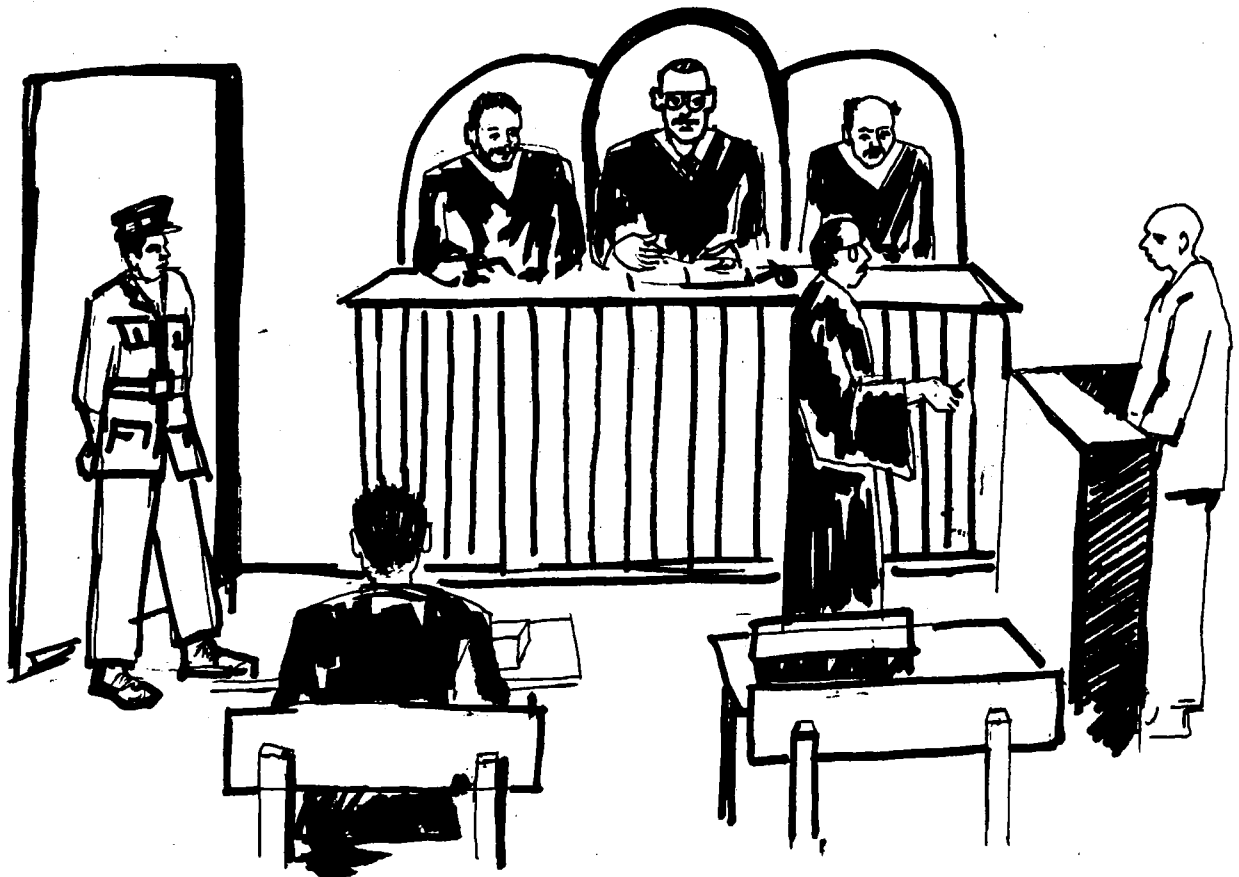
Questions:

If you have been caught and arrested for a crime, do you have the right to get someone to defend you in court?

If you have been arrested by police for a serious crime, can you demand to be taken to a court?

Does the law protect a criminal?

How do you know that someone who has been arrested and is suspected of a crime, is guilty of having committed that crime?



Article 11

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Questions:

Can a person be treated as a criminal, just because he has been arrested?

What can you do if you believe your neighbour has stolen and slaughtered your cow?

Beat him up? Tell everybody he is a thief?

Go to his house to look for the meat? Go to the police?

Go to the court and complain?

Should you be treated badly by the police, if you were known by everybody to be a criminal?



Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Questions:

Can you enter into other people's house against their will?

Does your "freedom of speech" protect you if you insult your neighbour?

If your neighbour insults you seriously, what can you do?

Go to the court? Go to the police? Retaliate? Go to the shimagele for reconciliation?

Have friends intervene? Forget and forgive?



Article 13

(1) *Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.*

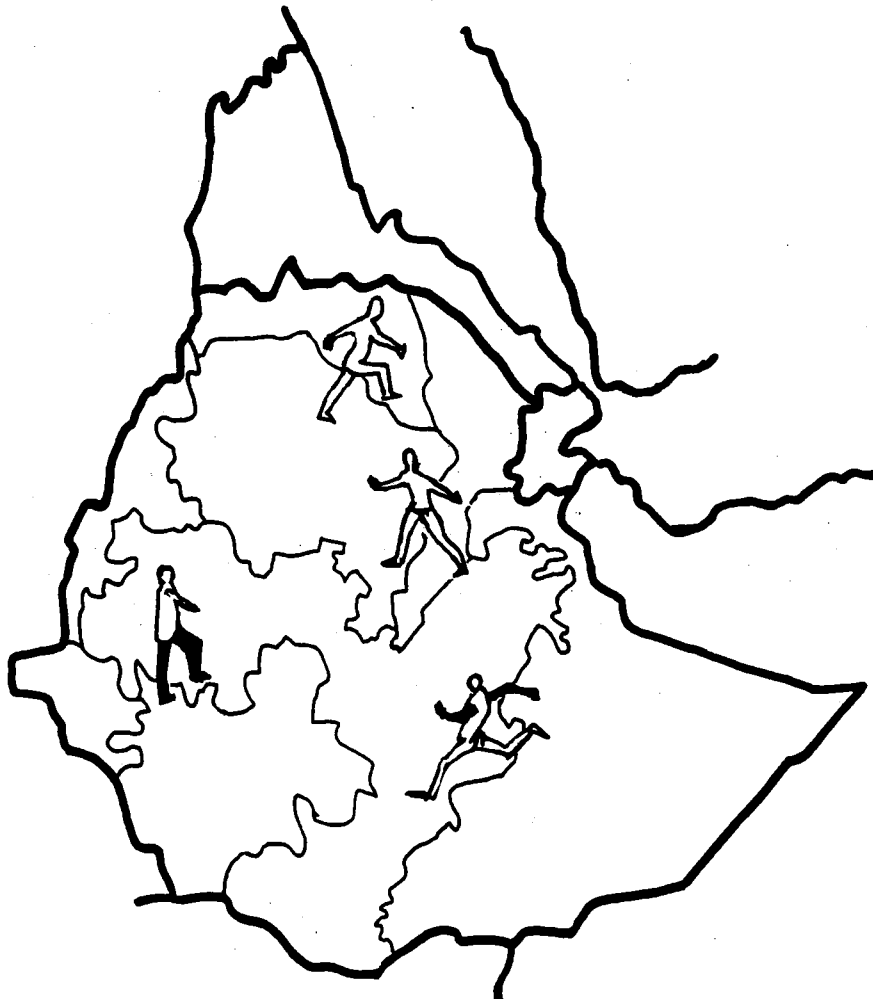
(2) *Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.*

Questions:

If you belong to Oromo region, but are offered a job in Amhara region, are you allowed to build a house there?

Can the police prevent you from travelling from one region to another?

Suppose your relatives living in Kenya invite you to visit them, and send you a ticket. Can the Immigration authorities prevent you from travelling out of the country and back? For what reasons can they stop you at the border or the airport?



Article 14

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Questions:

Does a Sudanese have the right to live safely in Ethiopia?

If the soldiers in Sudan want to arrest him, can he be safe in Ethiopia?

If a Somali refugee gets into a quarrel with an Ethiopian, shall he be sent back to Somalia?

Even if he might be in danger of being killed there?



Article 15

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Questions:

Which state are you a citizen of?

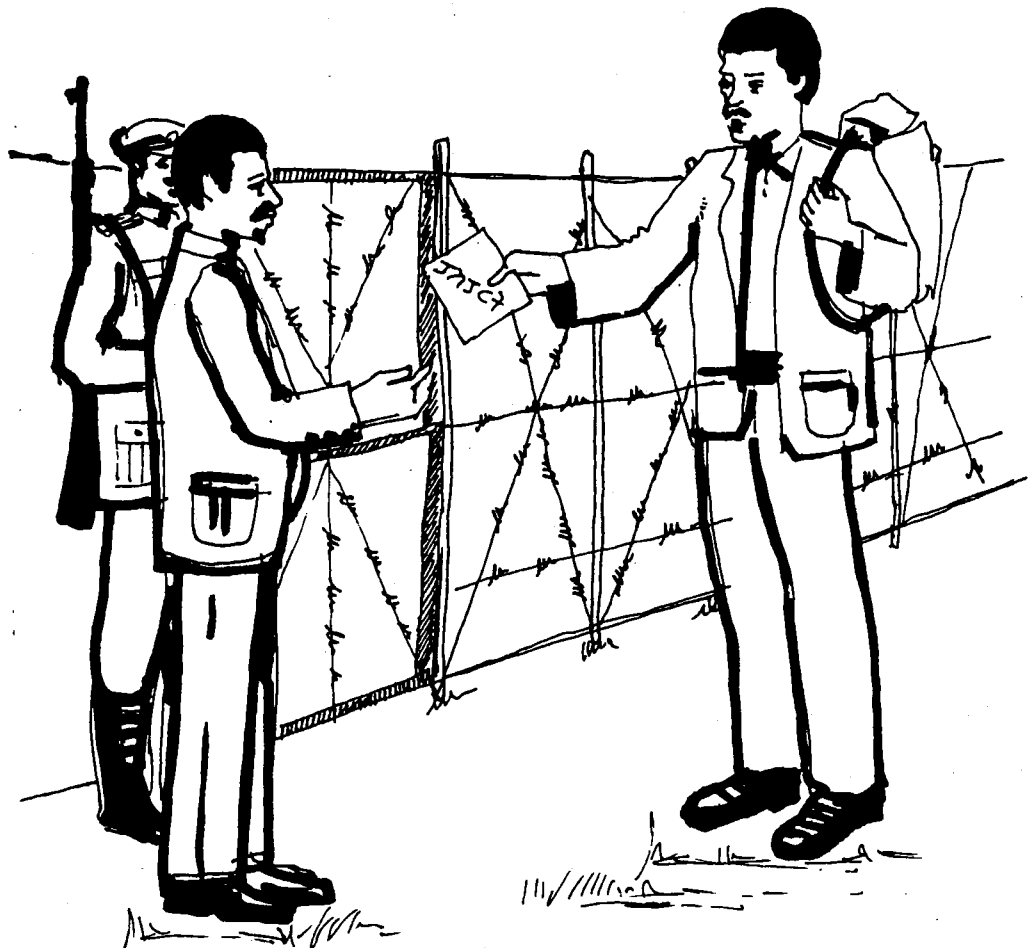
Can you get a passport if you want one?

Can you leave the country without a passport?

Can the State withdraw your citizenship and ask you to leave the country? Deport you?

What are your rights and duties as a citizen of a certain country?

15



Article 16

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Questions:

How old should a couple be before they can get married?

If a girl does not want to marry the man her parents have agreed with, who decides on the marriage: The parents? The girl? The elders? The court?

Has the girl a right to refuse being married to a particular man?

According to international law, what is the minimum age for marriage?

16



Article 17

- (1) *Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.*
- (2) *No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.*

Questions:

Can a woman have her own property?

If she is married? If she is divorced? - If she is unmarried?

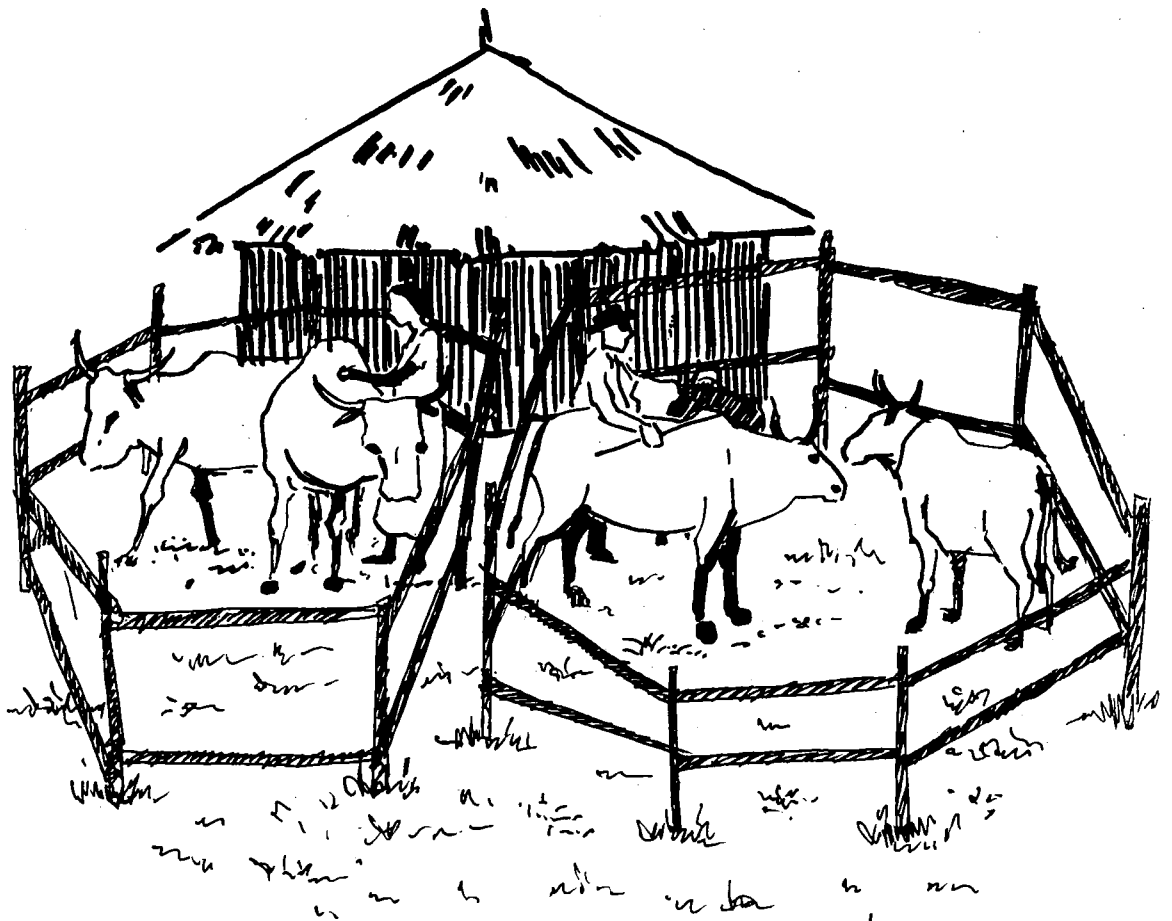
Can anyone open a bank account? Also a fugate? A woman? A peasant? A 12 year old girl?

Can the community take your land?

Under what conditions can your land be taken away? Do you have the right to get compensation if your land or other property is needed for communal purposes?

Do you know people owning property in association? Is it good or bad?

17



Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Questions:

Do you have the right to change your religion?

Are all religions equal?

Can you decide on the religion of your children?

Can you decide on your wife's religion?

If your wife is converting to another religion, can you prevent her?

18



Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Questions:

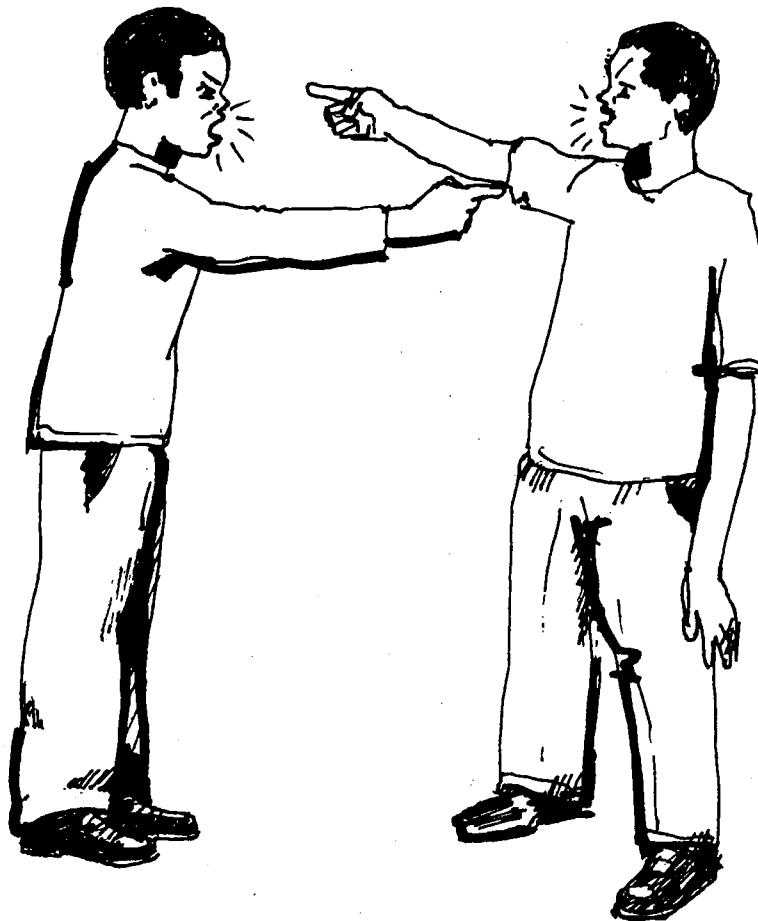
Do you allow your wife to hold her own opinions about female circumcision?

If somebody says he does not accept your opinion, is he a betrayer? A fool? No more your friend?

Can you impose your opinion on land distribution on others? On your wife? Your relatives? Your servants?

Can a woman insist on having political preferences different from her husband's?

19



Article 20

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Questions:

Should everybody be allowed to go to a peaceful assembly?

Can you be punished if you participate in a demonstration?

Can the community compel you to belong to a mahber? An edir? A debo?

Can the community exclude you from going to an assembly? Why?

20



Article 21

(1) *Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.*

(2) *Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.*

(3) *The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.*

Questions:

How can you use your right to take part in government?

Through election? Through speech, writing in papers,- through questioning your representatives?

What would you wish to tell the Government if you were given a day to meet the Prime Minister?

Do you have the right to criticise your leaders? Do you have the power to do so?

21



Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Questions:

Are old people who are too weak to work, a burden on society?

Should they be provided with food and shelter?

In Europe they have a saying: He who does not work, shall not eat either. Is that a wise saying?

Should the State provide for the old and the sick? If not, who should give them what they need? The community? Neighbours? Their children? What if they have no children?

Should healthy people be allowed to beg?

Should the State provide for those who can not work?

Where should the resources come from?

22



Article 23

(1) *Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.*

(2) *Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.*

(3) *Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.*

(4) *Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.*

Questions:

What do you need to feed yourself and your family with your own work?

Access to land? A job? Oxen? Seeds?

Can human beings live without working?

What should be done so everybody can work and is able to feed himself and a family?

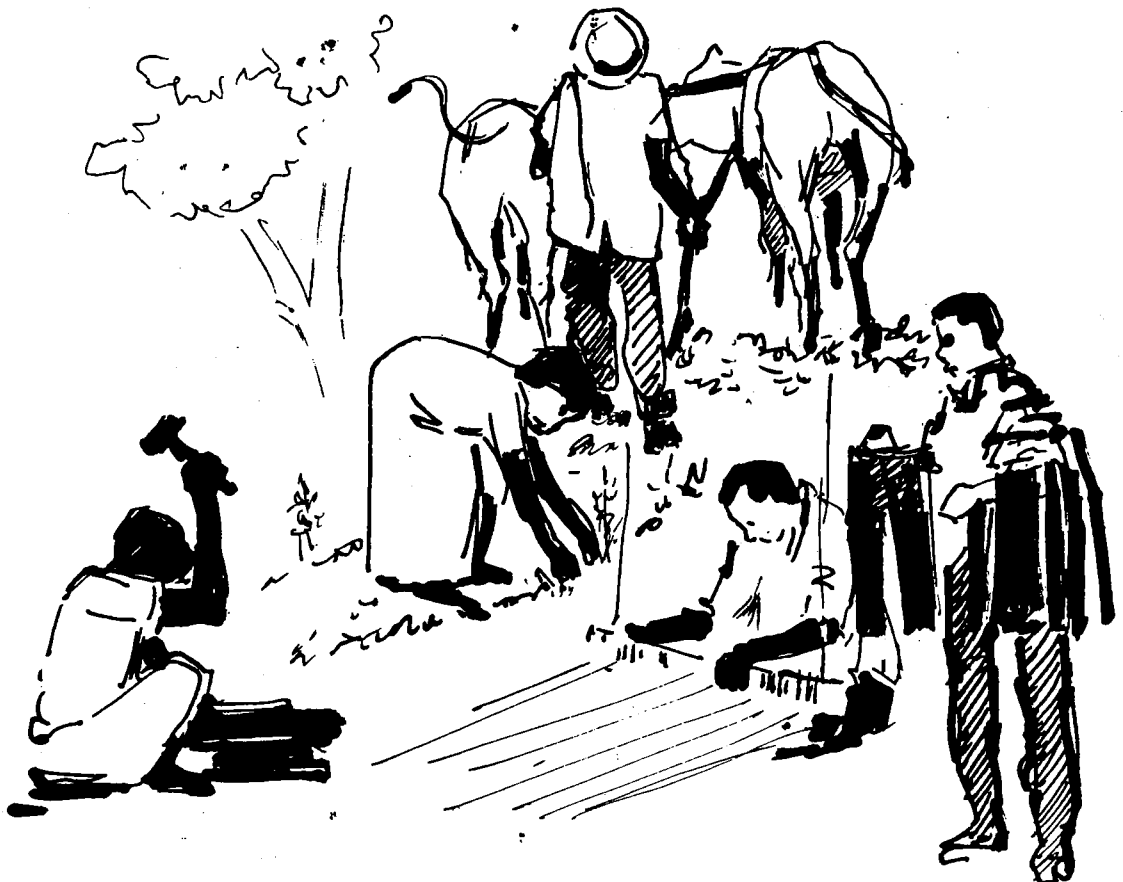
Can the State supply jobs to all the jobless?

If you have a paid job, what is a fair payment?

Do you have any influence on your salary? What can you do to influence it?

Who represents your interests as a worker? How?

23



Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Questions:

If you work hard, do you have a need for resting?

Do the women have time for a rest in between? Should they have a rest?

What could be done to give women time for some rest in between?

If you have a paid job, do you get free days paid?

Can you ask for holidays if you need some rest?

Can you get free time with payment when your sister is getting married?

Should people be allowed time during working hours to go to funerals? How often?

Is there maternity leave with payment for women?

24



Article 25

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same protection.

Questions:

What do people need to live a reasonable life?

Food? Health? A house? Clothes? Education? Medical help in case of sickness?

Do all people have access to all that?

Do all people have a right to all that?

Who can give them such rights? Who can provide it?

Has the State resources to give all that? Where can they be taken from?

If people wilfully destroy values and resources, are they violating your rights? Even if it is not your property that is destroyed?

Is a child born to an unmarried mother as important and loved as one of a married couple?

Is it his fault that the mother was not married?

25



Article 26

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Questions:

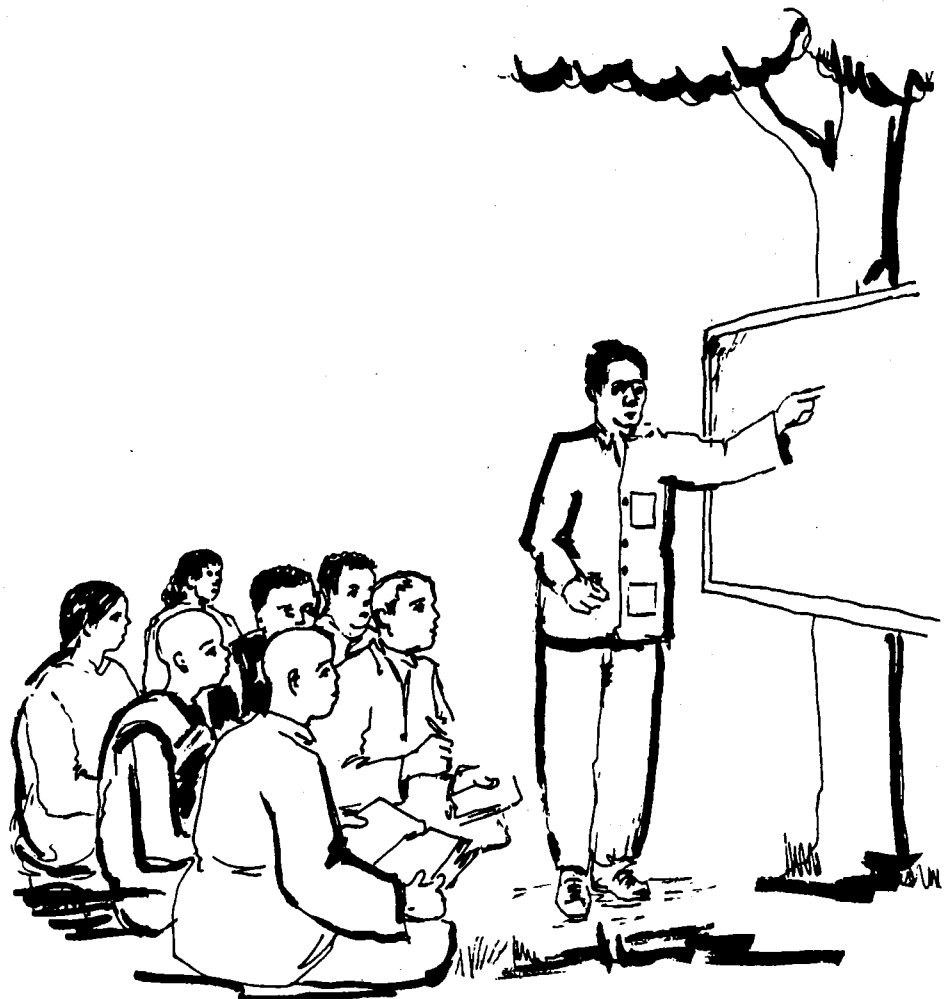
Does every child have the right to go to school?

Does every child have the duty to go to school?

Why are there so many illiterate people?

Can a teacher refuse to have your child in his class?

For what reasons: Because you can not pay? Because he disturbs the others? Because he beats the others? Does a child who disturbs the class so the others can not learn, violate their right to education?



Article 27

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Questions:

Can the community exclude some of its members from dances and celebrations and music?
For what reasons can you be excluded?

If you disturb the performers? If you misbehaved? If one of them does not like you? If one of them says you are not singing well?

Can you be denied to practice your culture because it is primitive?

Should you be allowed to throw the head of a sheep into the river for cultural reasons?

What is culture? Are you excluded from your community's culture?

Is it good to have different culture? Why?



Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Questions:

Do all people in this world enjoy all human rights and freedoms? Why not?? Because of poverty? Wars? Dictatorship? Quarrelling? Squandering of resources? Bad weather? What should be done to achieve the Human Rights for all people in the world? What can you contribute to making the Human Rights a reality for all? Intervene if people intend to solve their problems through violence? Stop people from squandering resources? Contradict anybody who advocates violence? Work for reconciliation? Help each other??

28



Article 29

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

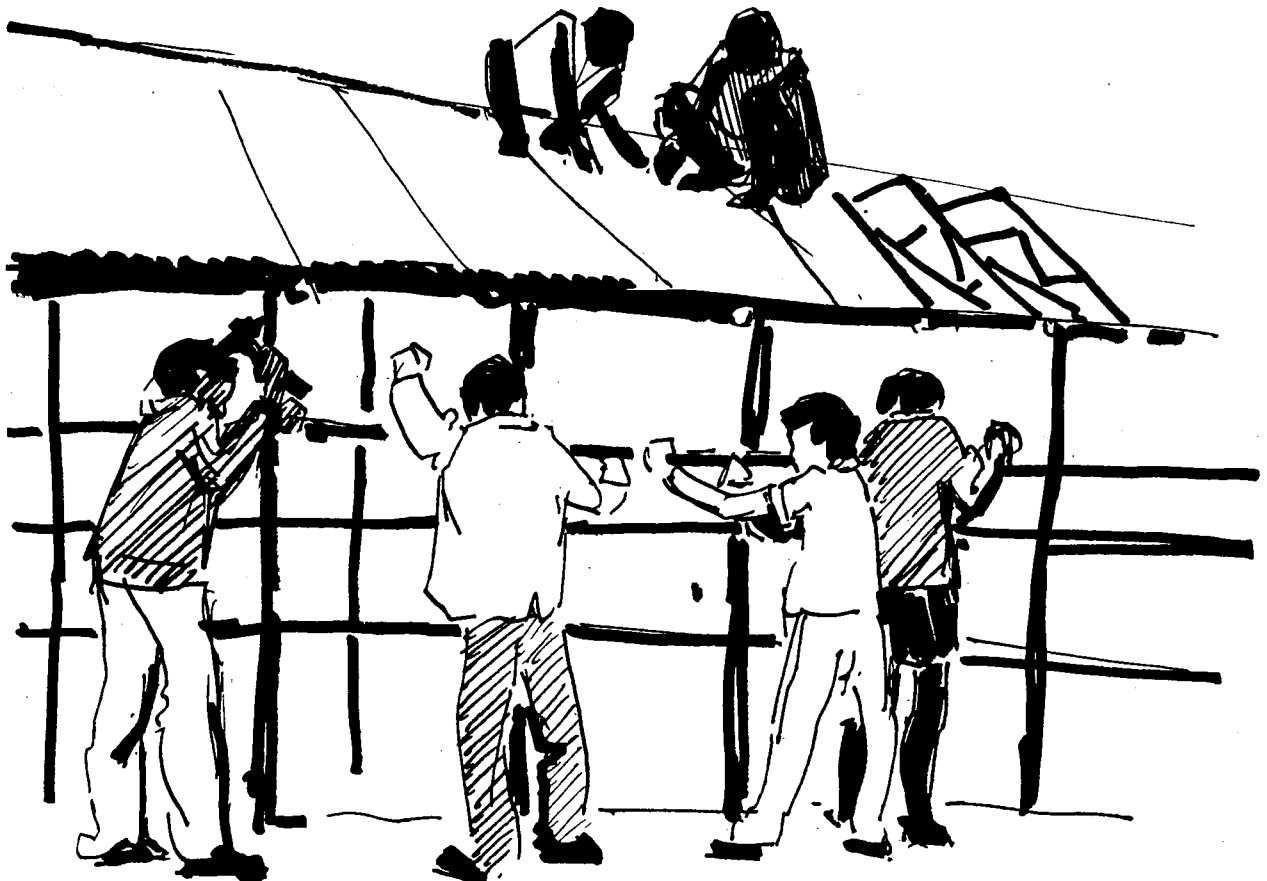
Questions:

What can the community do if some persons do not want to take their responsibilities?
Very often the rights of one person may get at the expense of another. What can be done to serve both?

Can the community restrict your rights?

Under what conditions can the community limit your basic rights?

29



Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Questions:

Can your community give your land to a limit project for developing a modern farm?
Can the community take your land for a dam to have water all the year? Under what conditions?

Do you have the right to cut firewood in a community forest? Can the community restrict that right?

Do you have a right to clean water?

Do you have the right to take your cows into the river for drinking? Even if the river is used for fetching drinking water for other families?

How can conflicts about rights be solved?

Can you demand your right if it implies the violation of other people's rights?

What can be done to solve conflicts between your rights and those of others?

30



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