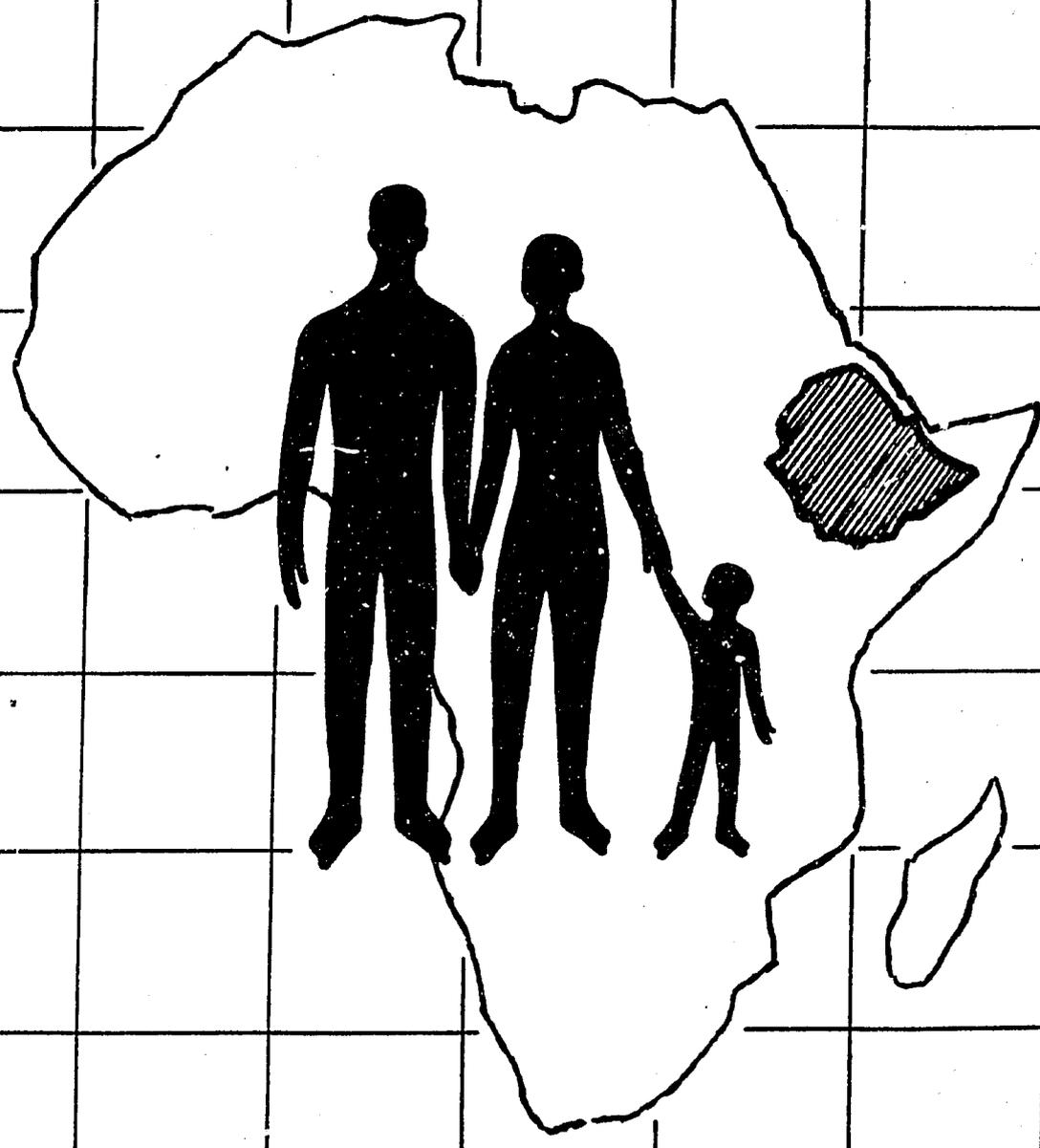


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Human Rights Education: Strategies for Fostering Participatory Democracy in Ethiopia

Proceedings of a workshop
November 9-11, 1992
Addis Ababa



Sponsored by:
The Inter-Africa Group,
The Fund for Peace
The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights

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STRATEGIES FOR FOSTERING
PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY IN ETHIOPIA

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The Co-sponsors of the workshop wish to dedicate this report to all the victims of terror in Ethiopia. We hope that our workshop represents a modest step toward ensuring that the suffering and many sacrifices made will not have been in vain.

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to the organizations whose support made this
workshop possible:**

***The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the
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The Fund for Peace

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INTRODUCTION

The Ethiopia workshop, entitled "Human Rights Education: Strategies for Fostering Participatory Democracy in Ethiopia", was co-sponsored by the Inter-Africa Group, a regional human rights and humanitarian organization based in Nairobi and Addis Ababa, and two New York-based organizations, The Fund for Peace and The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights. The objective of the Ethiopia workshop was to introduce the concept of human rights education to the Ethiopian participants, offer some concrete experience from other parts of the world, and inspire efforts on behalf of human rights education after the workshop.

The workshop agenda focused on devising strategies for educating various sectors of Ethiopian society about the rule of law (with particular emphasis on the new constitution now being drafted) and women's rights. These issues were considered to be timely and of great importance because writing the constitution is now a primary national focus and women's rights should be one of its integral components. It was further felt that the focus on women's rights was essential not only because women's rights are routinely violated and the last to receive the attention of male-dominated governments, but also because of the crucial role that women play in conveying morality within the family. Such a role might be naturally expanded to also include human rights education.

The three day program included role playing and simulations designed to demonstrate the power of non-traditional educational techniques; smaller working group sessions to develop strategies for human rights education; and demonstrations by foreign experts. Panel discussions on both the Rule of Law and Women's Rights were designed to answer the following questions:

1. Who were the target populations for education on this issue?
2. Which educational techniques/methodologies would be most effective in conveying the human rights message to each of these target populations?
3. Which institutions or groups would be capable of doing human rights education?
4. How would these human rights educators be activated and trained? What kind of support would they need?

Over 75 Ethiopians participated in the workshop sessions, including several government officials (heads of the Women's Commission of the Prime Minister's Office and the Constitutional Commission); educators; representatives of various religious organizations; women interested or already involved in grassroots women's empowerment activities; and representatives of existing

human rights organizations¹. We invited four foreign experts to share their expertise with Ethiopian human rights activists and potential activists. The experts were from Colombia, India, Uganda and the U.S.--all lawyers with extensive experience in teaching about constitutionalism and/or women's rights. Unfortunately, due to the declaration of a state of emergency in Colombia just prior to the commencement of the workshop, our Colombian expert was unable to participate. The other three experts gave extremely enlightening presentations on their work and acted as human resources throughout the three-day session. Discussions were animated and sometimes controversial, but always constructive.

¹ These consisted of Abugida (Ethiopian Congress for Democracy), the Addis Ababa Law School's human rights center, Forum 84, the Ad Hoc Peace Committee, the Ethiopian Human Rights Council and the Ethiopian Community Development Center.

DAY ONE: OPENING PRESENTATIONS

Representatives of The Inter-Africa Group and The Fund for Peace welcomed the participants, and made a few remarks regarding the program, the human rights educational materials displayed, and the importance of human rights education. These opening comments were followed by papers designed to launch and set the parameters of the discussion on the two substantive topics of the workshop.

Paper #1:

The first paper was delivered by Ato Shiferaw Wolde-Michael, the former Minister of Justice and a distinguished law professor who has already developed a preliminary national plan for human rights education in Ethiopia. The paper was entitled "Reflections on Education about Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Ethiopia". Ato Shiferaw began his presentation with the question "why is human rights education necessary?" and answered it with general observations on the mixed African human rights experience. He also noted that elections on the continent had been controversial, and in many cases fruitless. From this experience, he posited, we learn that "we do need to educate ourselves--not our neighbors--but ourselves first." This, however, would not be as easy a task as one might first imagine. Although the term "human rights" might sound simple, there was much debate about its meaning and content. It was a complicated issue in that human rights abuses might be committed because the perpetrators believed what they were doing was morally right. Human rights education, therefore, should be addressed to victims, as well as perpetrators of abuses. "The limits of tyrants are proscribed by the endurance of those they oppress."

Ato Shiferaw went on to examine the current environment for human rights education in Ethiopia. He referred to a painful human rights past and the lack of a working democratic tradition. On the positive side, however, he pointed to the "relative freedom" Ethiopia was currently experiencing; the Transitional Charter; and the new laws being promulgated on the press, regional governments, etc. As a nation, Ato Shiferaw stated, it would be best to "bury the past". To lay it to rest, however, Ethiopians should first define precisely their agonizing history with regard to human rights: what happened. "We must erase the rust and then paint...To ensure that the freedoms we have now are sustainable, we must study our history that has brought brother against brother."

The objective of human rights education, according to Ato Shiferaw, should be to "create a new person who is conscious of human rights, active in asserting them, irritated by violations and ready to see to it that the rights of others are also respected." "We can create a good environment for human rights," Ato Shiferaw warned, "but unless human rights happens in the hearts of people, it [human rights education] cannot succeed." Ethiopians, he noted, were not sufficiently "irritated" by violations.

Human rights educators and educational materials should disseminate knowledge about the dignity of the person. Emphasis should be placed on the absolute value of the individual and

community and the universality of the application of human rights. South Africa, he noted, was a democracy of sorts, but only for whites. Emphasis should not be placed on ethnic, religious or geographic origin. The components of human rights education would include: the history of human rights; the history of abuses of human rights; the price paid to recognize human rights; and the heroes of the struggle for human rights. The advancement of human rights would require struggle, and it would be important to know about human rights instruments that could be mobilized for this purpose.

Human rights education should help communities and individuals to transcend themselves--to "walk out of self". This orientation was particularly important in a country with many different ethnic groups. Ato Shiferaw bemoaned the fact that, in Ethiopia, professors who disagree with each other can barely sit together. Methods of conflict and dispute settlement (as well as their advantages) must therefore be an integral part of human rights education for children and adults alike.

Ato Shiferaw also mentioned a number of specific structural prerequisites to an institutionalized respect for human rights to which priority attention would need to be devoted. In particular, he placed importance on educating about: the formation, role and functioning of political parties; the role and importance of civil society; and the role of various institutions, including an independent judiciary, in ensuring government accountability.

On the question of who should be educated, Ato Shiferaw stressed that the general public must be reached, but also felt that certain groups would need the special attention of educators due to either: a) the position they held which might influence the pace and direction of the democratization process; b) the vicarious role they could play in furthering the education process; or c) their underprivileged status in society, which marginalized them from the politico-legal life of the country. The first category would include the leaders of political and national organizations active in the country, members of the press, judiciary, law enforcement officials, etc. The second category might include leaders of political parties, professional and indigenous organizations, community elders, religious leaders; women's leaders, teachers and human rights activists. The third category would include the urban poor, the rural population and women.

All available vehicles for human rights education ("formal, informal and non-formal") should be utilized. Outside of government, schools and community groups, private organizations such as the bar, NGOs, religious bodies, etc. should become educators. Ato Shiferaw noted that, methodologically speaking, there were many lessons to be learned from Mengistu's regime and the ideological machinery of his party. "The use of discussion forums organized in work places, schools and big farms can be replicated in the form of human rights clubs. Posters, banners, pictorials, newspaper columns, and a host of other materials might be used to keep human rights in the limelight and to further the education process."

Whatever the mechanisms, the process of teaching and learning about human rights should be participatory:

The education process should not...be limited to expounding existing systems and structures. The education of human rights and the rule of law must be one that allows learners to see themselves and their place in society in a new light, that enables the learners to understand their potential and the possibilities and means of changing existing situations, and that empowers the learners to promote their interests....It must show that these issues [human rights and the rule of law] are not only related to the day-to-day life of each of us, but it must also show that the favorable disposition of these issues is one prerequisite for achieving a better and fuller life.

Ato Shiferaw closed by noting some preconditions for a fertile environment for human rights education and making some recommendations. First, he said that to ensure that human rights are fully understood by the people, the standard of living must be improved--"the hungry stomach has no ears". Additionally, the role of the state in the economy had to be changed. The government's role as employer must end since "he who pays the piano player sets the tune". The international community should continue to monitor human rights conditions and avoid "falling in love" with individual personalities and subsequently "confusing the trees for the forest". Foreign and local NGOs should build relationships and continue to network. All should work toward the ratification of the human rights instruments.

Finally, Ato Shiferaw recommended that a human rights day be established in Ethiopia--perhaps on the anniversary of the promulgation of the Transitional Charter--and that human rights awards be established. In addition, he urged the creation of a human rights museum where "human rights education can be comprehended and supplemented by taking our children there to learn about their history". He suggested that a prison in Addis Ababa be converted for such a purpose, since it was an actual site of atrocities.

Paper #2:

The second paper, entitled "Educating about Women's Rights as Human Rights" was delivered by Taddellech Haile-Michael, the head of the Women's Affairs Commission of the Prime Minister's Office and a former political prisoner of 12 years under the Dergue. Picking up a thread from Ato Shiferaw's paper, Wo. Taddellech emphasized that Ethiopians must bring the past into the service of the future. She stressed that there was an enormous amount to learn from the past and reminded participants that Mengistu did not invent human rights violations. "Our history for a long time has been based on abuses of human rights... It is our lack of tolerance that has caused all our problems."

Wo. Taddellech spoke of a recent demonstration in which the children of human rights offenders demonstrated for the right of

their parents to be brought to court. "I started shivering when I saw this; I was so happy. When we were in prison, our children had to hide...." Not so long ago, she noted, such demonstrators would have been shot. Wo. Tadellech emphasized the necessity of establishing a new tradition of tolerance and teaching this to the next generation of Ethiopians.

Turning to the subject of her paper, she noted that traditionally, Ethiopian culture was aggressive regarding women. Though Ethiopia was a founder of the United Nations and had ratified the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the country remained one of the worst violators of women's rights.

As long as there are no rights for women, Wo. Tadellech continued, there would be no development. Respecting women's rights would lead to real progress in development, which would in turn enhance respect for the rights of women and men. 47% of the population was under 15 years; 51% of these were girls. Wo. Tadellech pointed out that women were simply too big a constituency to continue to ignore. Ethiopians must take advantage of the current climate to press for policies that would give women equal opportunities. The Charter was a starting point, but Ethiopians would have to actively nurture it.

According to Wo. Tadellech, women had been deprived of all opportunities. Evidence of this fact could be seen in the low percentage of women in the professional and technical fields and the low percentage (12 out of 100) of girls who graduated from high school. The obstacles to equality for women were cultural, economic and legal. Wo. Tadellech observed that in most parts of the country, women were considered "inferior, incapable of sound thinking, and subordinate to men." Customarily, the place of women in Ethiopian society was in the home. "The denial of equal opportunities to use our skills and talents outside the traditional sphere has restricted our active participation in important social and economic activities, making us unproductive in most walks of life and thwarting our ability to prevent human rights violations."

The legal system just reinforced this inequality, as the legal system was derived from the customary practices of a "backward" and "feudal" Ethiopia. Discrimination against women was actually codified in the family and pension laws. Family law, for example, emphasized the role of the male as head of the family, which set a precedent for male dominance in other spheres of life. There was little that the woman was allowed to do on her own. She was unable, for instance, to participate in cooperatives in her husband's absence. This might in turn result in a loss of her access to credit. The pension law was also discriminatory: a husband could not receive the benefits of his wife's pension after her death because the wife was not deemed the head of the family.

The economic status of Ethiopian women was similarly poor, Wo. Tadellech reported, as they had been "in the forefront of the suffering caused by natural and man-made crises". The number of women in the formal economic sector was insignificant; they were concentrated in the informal sector where legal procedures, capital

and higher education were not prerequisite. Though women worked longer hours than men in the rural areas, their labor was considered "unproductive", with the attendant low status this label bestowed. Women would not have equal rights, Wo. Taddellech asserted, until they enjoyed equal opportunity and access to land. She suggested that increasing women's economic status and earning potential would also enhance women's status within the family. To accomplish this, investments in women's education and health would have to be increased.

These laws and policies would have to be revised, obstacles regarding their removal studied and strategies for overcoming them devised. Wo. Taddellech saw the new constitution as an extremely important opportunity for deleting past discriminatory provisions and including new articles which promoted women's rights. The constitution should, for example, include the explicit right of women to education, land, etc. Women should have a role in the constitution-drafting committee. In addition, there should be a new policy of integrating women--and a mechanism for doing so--into all areas of policy-making and related activities. Development officials should be educated about women's rights and the importance of women making decisions about development. Putting resources into research in science and technology would also be very important in raising the status of women.

It would not be enough to simply change laws and policies, however. Ultimately, it was attitudes that had to change. Ethiopian tradition, Wo. Taddellech remarked, was filled with obstacles. Long-standing patriarchally-based attitudes relegating women to inferior status would not be easily removed, even after the introduction of education and more modern ways of life. Changing women's own attitudes toward their "proper" role in society would take time. It would have to start with developing their consciousness about the underprivileged nature of their condition so that they could shed unconscious acceptance of male chauvinist beliefs and "create space for new thoughts".

Wo. Taddellech saw the primary audience for education about women's human rights as: decision and law-makers; community and religious leaders; relief and development workers; school teachers; and mothers and fathers. Implementation of educational programs should be done in a "humanistic way, with minimal social, material and human life costs". Wo. Taddellech recommended that those concerned focus on changing attitudes through consciousness-raising and demonstrating the importance and developmental advantages of raising the status of women.

Education on women's human rights should be both formal and informal. Naturally, women's rights needed to be integrated into the curricula of schools and universities. Wo. Taddellech stressed, however, the importance of women as educators in the informal sector. Mothers, she noted, had a crucial role to play in developing sensitivity to human rights in their children. She warned, however, that if the mother herself--the child's role model--did not have rights, she would raise children who were not "justice sensitive". Other important vehicles for women's human rights education would include the use of magazines, posters,

newspaper columns, radio and television programs, film screenings, theatre and art and sports festivals. These informal mediums of education, she asserted, play a "more than negligible role" in shaping the awareness and attitudes of people...".

Wo. Tadellech stressed that human rights education must be institutionalized, and that this would require the establishment of appropriate organizations, as well as the mobilization of resources. Such organizations would be charged with, among other things, monitoring abuses against women, and their governing bodies should be diverse, balanced and willing to work with international human rights NGOs and bodies. These organizations should not restrict their focus to government-sponsored or tolerated abuses, as socio-political institutions had also perpetrated "inhuman acts".

The need for women to organize around all of these issues, she noted, was obvious, but here too, there was an obstacle. Ethiopian women's most recent experience of organizing as women was forced on them by the Mengistu regime in the form of REWA, the Ethiopian national organization for women. This body was misused by the state, however, and never was interested in genuinely advancing women's rights. One of the lessons of this experience was that there should never be only one women's organization. Women were a diverse group with different interests. "Leaders would like to organize for us," said Wo. Tadellech, "but we should organize ourselves. The tendency for everyone to want to decide for others has caused many of Ethiopia's problems."

Existing institutions with potential for fostering women's human rights education should not be overlooked. Wo. Tadellech mentioned several entities within Addis Ababa University that she felt could lend some of the professionalism necessary to the task of women's education: the Law School; the Center for Research, Training and Information for Women in Development (CERTWID), the Institute of Development Research and the Faculty of Education. She saw the development of a steering committee to study the full range of institutional possibilities as the first step. Such a body would need professional assistants in the field, a research budget, office facilities and reading materials on the subject. International organizations such as the United Nations should provide technical, financial and other material assistance.

Discussion:

A lively debate among the participants about the issues raised in these two papers ensued. One participant disagreed with Wo. Tadellech's characterization of the pension law as discriminatory, suggesting that the laws themselves were good laws but the problem lay in their application. This participant also pointed out that a woman was the "boss" in the home, and that to the extent that there was some discrimination against women, it was simply "part of human nature". "If a wife loses a husband," he stated, "the law imposes a waiting period for remarriage of about 6 months. The man, on the other hand, can marry right away." According to this participant, this seeming double standard was really for the protection of women so there would be no disputes about paternity.

Wo. Taddellech responded by reminding the participant of the ramifications of the fact that only men can be heads of households. Despite assurances from the Dergue in 1974 that equality would be created between the sexes, agrarian reform distributed land on the basis of household, and the head of the household was male. Women consequently had no access to land, and further, she insisted, were not considered as full citizens or individuals. Wo. Taddellech further challenged the participant's assertion that the laws themselves were "good", stating that her office had identified 24 discriminatory articles. Although she admitted that discrimination in practice varied from place to place and nationality to nationality, she insisted that women should have the right to be regarded as citizens and as equals--after all, there was no distinction between the sexes when it came to taxation!

There was also much discussion about the issue of whether and how the past experience of human rights violations should be used as an educational tool. Some participants understood Ato Shiferaw's comment that "the past should be buried" to mean that it should not be fully studied and used as an educational tool. Ato Shiferaw corrected this impression by assuring participants that he meant it was important not to dwell on or live in the past. In order for Ethiopians to put the past behind them and for healing to occur, they would have to look honestly at their human rights history and analyze how it developed the way it did. In this regard, Ato Shiferaw stressed the importance of documenting the outrages of the past, and the necessity of prosecuting those responsible for human rights crimes--former government and guerrilla forces alike. Following these measures, the nation would be advised to consider compensating the victims. Participants seemed to agree with these formulations.

There was also some debate about Ato Shiferaw's specific proposal of converting one of the main prisons in Addis Ababa into a human rights museum. Several former detainees felt strongly that it would be insensitive to those who had been incarcerated there to convert the place where they suffered so much into an educational center for children. These participants preferred to see their former prison house the perpetrators of the crimes committed against them. Another participant did not oppose the prison/museum idea, but suggested that this institution become a center where violators would be sent for rehabilitation. Ato Shiferaw responded that he liked the dramatic impact that the prison/museum would have, given its former use, but the point was to establish a place where Ethiopians could show their children, OAU leaders, and others their past history of violations.

One participant cautioned that too much emphasis on the past could introduce a tradition of comparing current human rights conditions only to those of the past. It would be terribly important, he stressed, to be conscious of the danger of accepting too low a standard of human rights because it was still better than that of the past. Another participant added that Ethiopians should not mete out punishment to past perpetrators the way these violators of human rights had done to them, but rather should hold themselves to a higher standard in the administration of justice.

Another participant helped to clarify the issue of how influential the past should be by suggesting that a balance be struck between accountability and healing. "The past," he offered, "has relevance to the present, but should not dominate it. When someone drives a car, he should sometimes look at the rear-view mirror, but one should not always look in the rear-view mirror or one will crash!" The past should be used as a means to "elaborate on the future".

A fourth participant offered a solution by suggesting that each institution or organization involved in the promotion of human rights decide what its emphasis vis-a-vis past, present and future would be. Organizations concerned with research might naturally gravitate toward the past, monitoring organizations to the present, and ones interested in human rights education to the future.

A psychologist commented on the concept of creating a "new man" which was touched upon in both presentations. He reminded participants that Lenin had also attempted this. Looking back some 18 years, he recalled that a number of leftist groups were competing for the title of "most legitimate" and "closest to Lenin". All groups emphasized that people were either revolutionary or counter-revolutionary. Everything, he stated, was seen as black or white. There was a great danger, however, in this type of categorization which would generally lead to the creation of "in groups" and "out groups". This essentially psychological dynamic was also a feature of ethnocentrism, and could lead to violence and aggression, he warned. The psychologist pointed out that even in the workshop, participants were characterizing themselves as "the ones who care about human rights" as apart from those who do not consider human rights or who disregard them. It was good, he said, for participants to care about human rights, but they must guard against becoming an exclusionary group.

Another psychologist announced that she was "scared" of terms like "target group", "human rights education", etc. She was more interested in empowering people, and saw the task before the group as one of enabling human beings to know themselves so that they could determine what relationship they wanted to have with various institutions. She felt that the group should focus its attention more on how people can be motivated to demand their own rights. Furthermore, a discussion of women should be a top priority since they, especially, "have been made to deny themselves--not know themselves". The asymmetry that existed between men and women, she continued, had been created more by social factors than by biology. So the task of human rights education, she concluded, should be to make those who now feel alienated feel empowered. Such education, she believed, had to begin very early in life.

Turning back to the subject of Wo. Tadellech's presentation, another participant added some specific abuses against women rooted in culture on which education would be crucial. Among her examples were genital mutilation, forcing girls to marry too young (sometimes as young as 8 years), and the common Ethiopian saying that "women should be beaten by their husbands". She remarked that both speakers saw education as a primary means of addressing these and other injustices, and urged that all children, starting with

pre-schoolers and continuing up through the university level, be taught that men and women are equal; that all ethnic groups are equal; and that all religions are equal. Respecting differences should be a key component of any human rights educational program and the media should play a large role in transmitting this notion.

Referring back to the concept of creating a "new man", another participant suggested that the group also talk about the evolution of the "new woman". "We need to learn to be more assertive," she stated, "we must organize and exchange our experiences.... We know that we are oppressed but we accept it. We should not accept it any more." She went on to demonstrate how the school system contributed to the oppression of women and suggested that the Ministry of Education revise text books which cast women and girls only in domestic roles while men and boys were seen as thinkers and providers. It would also be necessary to alter the socialization process at home where girls were taught to serve their fathers and brothers.

Speaking more generally about the environment necessary for a polity respectful of human rights, another member of the group emphasized the importance of building a proper civil society. Members of such a society must be aware of their rights and their responsibilities if leaders were to be held accountable. One right that she saw as particularly important was the right to organize, starting at the grassroots level. People should organize independent of the government, supporting it when it is good, and opposing it when it misbehaves.

The morning session ended with a question for Ato Shiferaw regarding the relationship between ethnicity and human rights. Ato Shiferaw replied that human rights was individualistic, rather than ethnicity-specific.

Presentations by the Foreign Participants:

During the afternoon of the first day, two of the foreign human rights educators made presentations on their experiences which were followed by questions and discussion. The first presenter was Clarence Dias, President of the International Center for Law in Development, and a human rights lawyer, scholar, educator and activist from India. Mr. Dias began by observing that the Asian experience was similar to that of Ethiopia in the existence of "haves and have nots" and the fact that the "law of the ruler had been the rule of law". In striving to create better paradigms, he listed the following statements/questions/truths as informing the Asian human rights education movement:

- o Was it enough to live and let die? (In other words, was education without action enough?)
- o Those who have less in life should have more in law
- o You have shown me the stars (Meaning educators must avoid teaching people about rights and thus raising their expectations, without also teaching them how to realize those rights)

- o Education must take a person from the "right to know" to the "power to act"
- o The struggle of man over power is the struggle of memory against forgetting
- o A woman's reach should exceed her grasp
- o What the mind can conceive, can be achieved

Human rights, he stressed, was not just about abuses. There was an affirmative side of human rights which addressed human dignity and empowerment. The most important right was the right to be human. The right to be a woman was an integral part of the right to be human. One could not understand human rights, however, without understanding human wrongs. Because people had internalized so many autocratic messages antithetical to human rights, the process of education involved an unlearning process, as well as a learning one. "We must de-colonize our minds," he insisted. "The roots of our colonization are so deep, we don't even know that we are colonized...so first we must liberate ourselves from ourselves before we can educate others."

Human rights, he continued, was too important to be left to governments or lawyers alone. Several human rights education conferences in Asia had led Mr. Dias to conclude that human rights education also needed to be "recaptured" from the human rights educators who seemed to feel that all that was required of them was to "tell people what they think they do not know." This group would include the international system (the United Nations, African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, etc.) and the human rights centers (at Harvard, Yale, etc.). This point was apparently made at a conference that Mr. Dias attended where participants used the alphabet as a technique for critiquing human rights education in its current state: "A" was for too academic; "V" was for verbose; "U" was for useless; "P" was for patriarchal and patronizing; and so on. Human rights education, therefore, should not be a process of "putting in" (i.e. lecturing to a passive audience), but rather one of "drawing out". It should be based on "self-learning" and a participatory approach.

Mr. Dias went on to ask a series of questions and provide brief answers: why was human rights education necessary? Because it was a vehicle for conveying values and empowerment. What was the human rights component of human rights education? Teaching the international human rights covenants, the institutions and machinery, and the skills relating to human rights advocacy (i.e. protests, civil disobedience, etc.). Human rights education for whom? Victims and potential victims; violators and potential violators. Human rights education by whom? In many cases education should only be undertaken by the community itself; but in other cases it could be a partnership with governments, NGOs and others.

How should human rights education be accomplished? By adopting what Paulo Freire, an innovative Brazilian educator, called the "pedagogy of the oppressed". Mr. Dias mentioned a growing trend in Asia toward adopting a regional approach to human rights education. As a region, Asia had set several topical priorities for human rights education including a focus on specific disadvantaged groups such as Asian migrant workers in the Persian Gulf and women migrant workers in Japan, Hong Kong and the Philippines, many of whom worked as prostitutes. Human rights education in the non-formal sector was happening at the grassroots level in the context of street theatre, cultural festivals, traditional folk drama, the reinterpretation of folklore, etc. In Sri Lanka where the youth had been decimated or severely traumatized, the government and a number of NGOs formed a partnership to create a forum for youths to air their grievances and create a legal reform package. Human rights educational work had also been done around the issue of violations by development agencies and foreign companies by developing a "dirty dozen" campaign in which the twelve worst development projects in Asia were publicly named.

It was particularly important for Ethiopians to look at human rights educational experiences in places where transitions to democracy were occurring and civil society was being rebuilt. The needs of such societies in Asia included: developing methods of controlling lawlessness and violence (both state and non-state); eradicating the culture of fear (this was of particular concern in Nepal); restoring rights of expression, association, organization; restoring [or creating] pluralism; and re-instituting a forum for discourse and dissent. Mr. Dias expanded a little on the concept of eradicating the culture of fear, citing the relevance of how a country deals with past human rights offenders. The Asian model had been to recognize a troubled human rights past, conduct an inquiry and document abuses. The offenders would then apologize and submit themselves to punishment, at which point society accepted them back into the community. This process had provided an element of healing and reconciliation.

Women's rights were another priority that had been regionally identified. Specifically targeted issues in Asia included: violence against women, including custodial rape (i.e. in police stations, etc.); inequality, gender-based discrimination, exclusion and abuse (particularly in the work place); and women in development. Asians were also mounting a campaign to have women's rights regarded fully as human rights.

Finally, Mr. Dias discussed some of the basic values and principles used in institutionalizing human rights education in Asia. They included: "justice as an obsession"; "remembering the forgotten"; affirmative action, particularly regarding gender; and leading by doing (establishing human rights organizations which reflect human rights values vis-a-vis gender, participation and hierarchy).

The second presentation was made by Elisabeth Dreyfuss, a law professor at the Cleveland-Marshall College of Law in Cleveland, Ohio in the United States. Assistant Dean for Community Education

about the Law, Ms. Dreyfuss is also Director of the University's Street Law Program, which trains law students to teach human rights and domestic law in simple terms to high school students. Ms. Dreyfuss started by saying that though she was trained originally as a teacher, she went to law school in the aftermath of the United States Civil Rights Act of 1964. It seemed to her that educating about the Civil Rights Act was almost as important as its passage. Her goal as a community educator, therefore, was to teach youngsters how to use the law--to empower them, since they are often a voice that is not heard. Empowering children was, in her view, particularly important when one considered the rampant problems in the United States of child abuse, incest, teen pregnancy, maternal health, etc.

Ms. Dreyfuss advocated changing the role of the teacher from an authoritative figure to that of a facilitator. The goal of education should be to help children take control of their lives. Children should become involved in their own learning and encouraged to talk about issues, such as health, that affect their lives. In the United States, for example, guns were one of the five major killers of youth. Young people, then, should be part of the problem-solving process in this area. The music and video culture catering to American youth was highly political and had the potential to lead to political action. Ms. Dreyfuss cited the influence of the Rap group Public Enemy's song about the state of Arizona's refusal to make Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday. According to Ms. Dreyfuss, young people responded to this song in a variety of ways. For example, football teams refused to play in the state. Ultimately, a referendum was held on the question. It would be particularly important for Ethiopia to focus much of its human rights educational attention on youth, she noted, since a significant percentage of the population was under the age of 15.

Ms. Dreyfuss identified several principles of law-related education: youths should be educated about their legal status; the curriculum should not be abstract but rather relevant to the children's actual needs; the application of theory should be encouraged so that children actually go into the community and act on what they learned in the classroom as a part of the learning process; youths should be permitted to participate in the governance of the school, helping to set the rules, for example; youths should be regarded as actors and organizers. Mediation techniques were identified as another important aspect of law-related education. Youths in the United States, for example, needed to develop skills in dealing with problems such as unwanted touching, racial slurs, etc. Children needed to be taught that conflict resolution leads to new understanding, rather than compromise.

Developing basic skills that would serve youths in their day-to-day lives and negotiations was another crucial aspect of law-related education. Such skills included: information gathering; the ability to suspend judgment; neutrality; active listening; the ability to form problem statements; and the ability to know when to act and how to organize.

Ms. Dreyfuss noted that there were a number of street law programs now functioning in South Africa. Children were taken out of their usual environment and put together with other types of children with whom they normally had very little contact (usually different racial groups). The group would then be given a task, which was to write a constitution for an imaginary space colony. All types of political, ethical and human rights issues would arise and be debated by the youngsters as they attempted to reach consensus about the content of the new constitution. The kids, she remarked, always came up with solutions that adults never would have thought of. Issues of abuse within the family and women's rights were also explored in the street law curriculum. In Chile, the street law program operated in such non-traditional sites as an abandoned children's shelter. According to Ms. Dreyfuss, these street law programs, whether they were in the United States, South Africa or South America, created a different kind of youngster--one that knew how to get information, assess it, and use it to change their situation and help create new policies.

Due to visa and transportation difficulties, the third foreign participant, Hope Mwesigye, did not arrive in time to give her presentation on the afternoon of the first day. We nonetheless recount it here for purposes of making this report more coherent. Ms. Mwesigye, a lawyer and social scientist from Uganda, is the Founder and Executive Director of the new Uganda Women's Resource Center which, in addition to serving as a clearing house on a wide range of women's issues, trains paralegals to assist in making the law accessible to women at the grassroots level. She was also a staff attorney and educator for FIDA, a prominent women's rights advocacy organization in Uganda.

Ms Mwesigye began by observing that even in Uganda, a country that had acceded to most of the relevant human rights instruments, women's rights were not articulated as human rights. FIDA, the women's advocacy organization with which she was first involved, was originally founded in 1974 to address women's human rights. It was never really able to function, however, due to the political turmoil that gripped Uganda in the 1970's and 1980's. The group was rejuvenated in 1986 when Museveni came to power, and began doing modest radio and television programs. The programs generated a lot of questions on the part of women on how they could obtain the rights that they were hearing about in the media. At this point, FIDA realized that it was raising people's hopes without empowering them.

It was decided that a legal aid clinic would "give some meat" to their consciousness-raising activities. Although the clinic was especially geared to indigents, many wealthier women had no financial resources once they were outside the home. Therefore, FIDA would never send a person away without at least providing advice. Those with the means to hire private lawyers, however, would be referred if further lawyering was necessary. Originally, the majority of cases brought to the clinic involved maintenance (child support), affiliation (children born out of wedlock) and inheritance and property rights.

The FIDA legal aid clinic was unusual in that it did not use the conventional approach of bringing a lawsuit to obtain redress. FIDA's method involved inviting the party who was the subject of the complaint (usually the husband) to come to the FIDA office where both sides of the story would be fully aired. FIDA lawyers would then engage in mediation, since most problems related to the family to which most of the woman would be returning. Ms. Mwesigye explained that women usually got a better deal through mediation than they would through the court system, since the relevant laws were old and largely obsolete. (The law, for example, only entitled women to US\$2 maintenance for her child which covered almost none of her expenses!) The mediation process was considered more effective in dealing with the men, since going to court was considered an embarrassment. Mediation was also preferable because it had the effect of educating both men and women about the law. In cases where payments were involved, FIDA effected the financial transfers between the parties, which also enabled the institution to monitor its own effectiveness. Ms. Mwesigye stressed that FIDA mobilized women and men because women's rights also affect men. In her experience, men had received the FIDA program very well. They had been willing to respect women's rights once they were made aware of them.

FIDA had also organized a number of legal education campaigns. Laws were restated in simple English, translated into local languages and broadcast in the media. FIDA had written news pamphlets, enacted role plays, held workshops and launched "know your rights" campaigns. After an evaluation of its effectiveness, the organization modified its program. It prepared guidelines on women's rights and the constitution, and human rights seminars were organized through the local "resistance committees". FIDA advocated a chapter in the new constitution specifically dealing with women's and children's rights, arguing that this would also give women a basis on which to challenge other laws that discriminated against them. The organization also argued for a particular clause in the constitution making international conventions, including the convention on women, self-executing. (Self executing treaties and conventions automatically become domestic law without any additional domestic legal or bureaucratic procedures.) FIDA also carried out research on law reform, soliciting the views of the public, as well as the experts. Part of FIDA's education process was to ask the people being educated to give their views and recommendations.

Ms. Mwesigye explained that FIDA focused its education campaign mainly on the issues identified in the course of work in the legal clinic. One problem, however, concerned the issue of violence against women. Once FIDA began to educate on this subject, the organization was barraged with complaints from people who "were not interested in hearing about it". Accusations were hurled that all FIDA lawyers were divorced and thus malcontents. FIDA maintained, however, that violence against women was a clear human rights abuse. "What is the difference," Ms. Mwesigye asked, "between torture and being beaten to death by your husband's hand?"

One of the greatest obstacles to the full success of FIDA's educational programs lay in the difficulty of mobilizing people to come to the Center. Both lack of time and transport were problems here. Ugandans were also naturally suspicious of FIDA at first because of their many past experiences with organizations which failed to keep promises. Nonetheless, large numbers did manage to make it to FIDA offices, and when they returned to their communities, they spread the word that FIDA was a serious institution. Another problem was the language barrier. FIDA's lawyers unfortunately did not represent all of the country's ethnic groups, which meant that when FIDA lawyers traveled in the regions, they sometimes had to use interpreters whose translations inadvertently distorted the law.

It was for these reasons that Ms. Mwesigye started another women's human rights project, the Uganda Women's Resource Center, to train women within various communities to become paralegals, and to empower them to provide legal assistance to local women. The Resource Center's approach had the advantage of avoiding the criticism that, as an elite group, it was too far removed from community realities.

Another problem Ugandan educators encountered was that of religion. Ugandans were Catholic, Protestant and Muslim. These faiths had their own laws, especially regarding marriage and divorce. Where these religious laws conflicted with civil laws, religious law usually prevailed, as it was more deeply ingrained in the people. FIDA taught Ugandans about their option to choose the more liberal, civil laws, but the organization had to be careful not to be too intrusive in this sensitive area. Although FIDA had tried to work with religious leaders on these issues, it had encountered great resistance. Only the existence of the AIDS virus had caused some religious leaders to become more progressive by occasionally permitting women to more easily leave husbands who were promiscuous and therefore might be infected.

Then there was the problem of attitude. According to Ms. Mwesigye, most Ugandan men did not see much wrong with raping and beating their wives--these were considered part of the marriage contract. People in the legislature also needed to be sensitized to women's human rights. Finally, there was the problem of continuity. Educators would go to a village and raise people's hopes, and then it would be two years before they could return. By this time, the original lesson would be forgotten. It was crucial, Ms. Mwesigye observed, that educational programs be sustainable. This was the purpose of the paralegal training being undertaken by the Women's Resource Center.

Ms. Mwesigye ended her presentation by discussing some strategies for women's rights education. First, she noted that research to identify areas of oppression and discrimination was essential, followed by lobbying for legal reform. Second, legal literacy programs should be designed in such a way as to allow for continuity, or, alternatively, should be self sustaining (as in the case where paralegals from the same community as their intended beneficiaries were trained to carry out programs). Third, national educational materials should be standardized to minimize

conflicting information. Fourth, grassroots organizations should be promoted to encourage community improvement and self development, giving the highest priority to the full participation of women.

Finally, in order to integrate women's rights into the larger human rights context, Ms. Mwesigye suggested that participants approach women's rights education in a manner consistent with the diagram in her presentation outline, which was distributed to the group. The diagram consisted of five circles, each inside another. The smallest, most inner circle of the diagram contained "individual" and "inherent" rights. This circle was surrounded by a larger one containing "household and family" rights which included "gender relations of power/decision-making" and "time allocation". This circle was surrounded by another labeled "community" and subtitled "customs, practices and attitudes". This circle in turn was surrounded by a "national" circle, subtitled "laws, legal institutions, policies". The largest circle was labeled "international" and included the human rights charters, treaties and covenants.

Women, she noted, were visible at the household level, but only barely visible at the community level and completely invisible at the national level. Although national laws affected women, they were most oppressed in the household. If a woman's rights were to be respected at that level, the other levels would come more easily. She recommended, however, that specific policies be designed to address each of the circles.

Discussion:

The discussion was launched with a question regarding Ms. Dreyfuss' presentation. Her target group was youth, but the participant wanted to know whether street law programs ever dealt with "people on the street". Ms. Dreyfuss responded by saying that some street law programs had worked with juvenile delinquents and adult convicts. She also mentioned the teacher-training component of the program which targeted, among others, health professionals and corrections officers.

Another participant wished to know about the impact of the street law programs. In answer to this question, Ms. Dreyfuss referred to the institutionalization of the course and its popularity which she felt was one measure of its success. She also noted that children in the magnet school tested better, that a higher percentage of these students pursued a higher education, and that they were able to attract scholarships.

Another question was posed on how to enlist the support of journalists for human rights education. One possibility that was mentioned was creating an organization of journalists for human rights, although this option presupposed a certain level of governmental tolerance and at least a core group of journalists sufficiently interested in human rights. Another suggestion was to create a special human rights education program for journalists interested in human rights. But these methods had sometimes proved ineffective in Asia because journalists' pieces on human rights

did not get into the newspapers. An alternative strategy, suggested by Mr. Dias, would be to simply compile clippings either from the local or international press (or some combination of the two) in such a way that the combination and sequence would speak for themselves with no additional editorial comment. This strategy was used successfully in Nepal and provided an excellent means of bypassing censorship laws.

Following Mr. Dias' response, a series of questions were posed to him. These questions included: What was meant by "recapturing human rights education from the human rights educators"? How had human rights been taught at the grassroots level in a transitional period such as the one Ethiopia is now experiencing? How was the culture of fear, passivity and indifference overcome? And what could the international community do to protect human rights educators?

On the issue of recapturing human rights education from the human rights educators, Mr. Dias explained that human rights is often taught in a very dull way. The other problem concerned the elite status of human rights educators which tended to reinforce hierarchy rather than break it down. With regard to the question about methods of grassroots education, Mr. Dias pointed out that in countries like the Philippines, Nepal, Bangladesh and Thailand, the transitions to democracy were backed by mass movements, and so human rights education was done in a very active way through peasants' organizations, workers unions, etc.

Crucial to dealing with the culture of fear in Asia had been the process of "truth-telling". Dealing with the past and having a fair and balanced process whereby responsibility for wrong-doing was established was critical. Asian societies had developed a range of sanctions that were not vindictive but were dis-empowering for offenders. One option, for example, was to transfer police officers guilty of human rights crimes to remote regions of the country. In addition to such measures, it had been important to put in place a set of rights guarantees, restructure the police and security forces, and set up grievance and complaint mechanisms with provision for confidentiality. Once these mechanisms were in place, victims felt more comfortable coming forward and disclosing information about powerful persecutors. These measures provided a powerful vehicle for overcoming the culture of fear.

Human rights educators operating in repressive environments should develop solidarity mechanisms and common strategies. Information on Burma, for example, could be smuggled out of the country to groups interested in conditions there. Information about action taken or new strategies generated by outside groups could then be smuggled back into the country, providing an important morale boost. Mr. Dias concluded with the admission that there were no easy answers, but that if the dangers of doing human rights work were allowed to prevent people from seeking to control their own destinies, nothing would ever change.

A final question was put to Mr. Dias regarding methods of institutionalizing human rights. He responded that he would not rush to institutionalize--that it was better to start with identifying the important issues and debating them. He recommended that working groups be developed with common interests. Such groups might provide the basis for lobbying efforts and, ultimately, human rights organizations. At this stage, however, coalition-building between groups would be advisable.

Mr. Dias concluded his remarks by reminding participants that women's rights had been marginalized in the human rights struggle. Therefore, a conscious effort should be made to impress upon human rights groups the inherent relevance and importance of women's issues to their mandates. Three demands regarding women's human rights were being brought to the June 1993 human rights conference in Vienna: that the Conference recognize rape as a human rights abuse; that, like slavery, patriarchy be abolished (the importance of this demand was the symbolic linkage between slavery and female subjugation); and that a declaration be made stating that discrimination on the basis of gender is illegal. To deal with the latter issue of discrimination, human rights groups would also call for a special rapporteur.

One Ethiopian woman commented that the conditions of women that Ms. Mwesigye had described in Uganda were almost identical to Ethiopia. Although she was interested in Ms. Mwesigye's comment about self-executing treaties, she wanted to know how to change the practices that have always been ignored by the law. What could be done when the community remained unconvinced? How could education be started in the household if the community was still so deeply entrenched in traditional ways?

Ms. Mwesigye answered that the law by itself could not solve a number of problems. Another Ugandan women's organization with which she was involved, ACFODE, had an interdisciplinary membership which went to schools and villages and educated students and parents about the household. Education definitely should not be restricted to the legal realm. There should be integrated programs with family planning organizations, for example. "In Africa," she commented, "we have a problem: we think government will do everything for us--even in the household." An important task of education would be to show people that this was not so. FIDA had been involved in several integrated projects. For example, it had worked with the Uganda Women Development Trust Program--an organization extending credit to women--to provide legal aid in cases where credit problems arose.

Another participant wanted to know how effective the Women's Ministry had been in helping women to organize themselves for legal aid, credit, farmer association programs, etc. In what areas had the Ministry been active and what manner of assistance had it provided? Ms. Mwesigye answered that the Ministry was supportive of all the women's organizations, but that it did not coordinate or interfere with them. The Ministry did not implement programs,

but it did identify organizations that could, and sometimes allocated funds to such organizations. A non-governmental coordinating body was also being established.

The gender issue, another participant pointed out, obviously transcended political and ethno-cultural differences, but had Ugandan women been able to bridge those differences to recognize their common gender interests? According to Ms. Mwesigye, politics had not been a problem. Ugandan women, she observed, were trying to fight cultural divisions, given the central role that such divisions had played in subordinating them. The participant followed up by asking the group which organization in Ethiopia would take responsibility for following up on these issues. She hoped that the Women's Commission would take this initiative. It was further suggested that a followup workshop be held to focus exclusively on getting women organized.

The first day concluded with a description of the simulation planned for the second day by Daniel Woubishet, one of the five local participants who agreed to work with the organizers to facilitate the more participatory sessions of the workshop.² Mr. Woubishet explained that the bulk of the following day would be spent in smaller groups working on simulating a human rights education lesson plan. The purpose of the simulation was to give participants a taste of the nature of the task; to begin the process of brainstorming about priorities in human rights education particular to Ethiopia; and to create more opportunities for people to actively participate by breaking up the group into smaller parts.

Each of the four smaller groups, Mr. Woubishet explained, would spend the morning (3 hours) developing a plan for teaching the other three about their particular topic. It would be up to each of the groups to identify the population it wished to educate (the other three groups would then simulate that population) and decide what lessons it wished that population to learn or what action it wished the population to take. Participants were further instructed that the methodology they chose should not require props or resources not available in the workshop (films or text books, for example). After lunch, each group would have 20 minutes to present its lesson plan, which would then be followed by discussion.

²The other facilitators were: Abraham Abebe, Ibrahim Idriss, Taye Atske Sellassie and Isaac Kifle.

DAY TWO: PARTICIPATORY EXERCISES IN HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

The second day began with an actual human rights education lesson conducted by Ms. Dreyfuss. The objective of the lesson was to help the workshop participants identify the specific rights that are most relevant and pressing for Ethiopia. Ms. Dreyfuss asked the group to divide into smaller groups of 5-6 people each. She then asked participants to imagine that they had decided to leave Ethiopia for a new country which had never been inhabited. In order to establish the best, most humane society, their task was to draw up a list of rights which everyone in the new country would be guaranteed. First, participants should make their own list of at least three rights that should be guaranteed. Next, participants should discuss their individual lists in the small groups and select 5 rights that each group agreed were the most important. The 5 priority rights would then be listed on large pieces of paper and displayed around the room for the larger group to assess.

Once the small groups had accomplished the tasks described, each sub-group reported to the other participants on the reasoning behind the choice of their five rights. After all the groups had presented their priority rights, the larger group discussed the various lists, noting where there was consensus, as well as where some rights might be seen as subsets of others and could therefore be grouped together. After a process of modification and consolidation by the larger group, the following rights were identified: the right to life (physical integrity); the right to survival (sustenance); the right to redress and due process; freedom of expression, association and movement; the right to equality; the right to education; the right to organize; and the right to property.

The organizers then asked participants to reduce these eight priority rights or rights categories to four human rights issues or areas on which they would like to work for the rest of the day. The group chose: the rule of law; gender and justice; equality in cultural diversity; and the right to organize. Participants then divided into four groups on the basis of their interest in one of these topics. To facilitate the development of the lesson plan, the groups were given guidelines developed by The Fund for Peace. Groups were instructed to identify: the principal target group to be educated; three things that they wanted the "class" to know upon completion of the lesson; and the best methodology for teaching the target group identified.³ Once this work was completed, the groups were to spend an hour practicing the lesson plan and developing criteria for determining whether the lesson had accomplished its earlier-cited objectives. The organizers stressed that these guidelines were meant to facilitate, not dictate, the process, and that groups should feel free to replace them with their own system. Each group was chaired by an Ethiopian who had been briefed about this exercise and how to guide the process prior to the

³A copy of the guidelines for the simulation are included in this report as Appendix A.

commencement of the workshop. The foreign experts and conference organizers were also divided among the four groups to assist in the simulation process.

Each group presented their lesson plan in the afternoon session. After each presentation, the "class" or audience was given time to provide feedback on the effectiveness of the lesson and make suggestions on how it could be improved or varied. This exercise was clearly the highlight of the workshop. Presentations were both informative and, in some cases, extremely entertaining, and the discussions that followed were provocative and constructive.

Group One: Rule of Law

The "rule of law" group chose to educate a class of senior law enforcement officials (military, security and police) by putting on a play about a suspect who is denied due process. The educators were members of the army's medical team who were already sympathetic to human rights concerns. The group thought that the fact that the educators were fellow officers would give its lesson more credibility with the target population. In this group's role play, the educators became abusive authorities and a victim was chosen from the class of security agents (the audience). The idea here was to reverse roles so that members of the security forces would feel the helplessness of the victim and the arbitrariness of the violator. The cast of the "play" included two security officers, a victim, a prison official, a defense lawyer, a judge, a narrator and relatives of the victim.

The plot was simple. In the first scene, a victim was arbitrarily and abusively snatched from the audience, and verbally and physically abused en route to the prison. He was not informed of the reasons for his arrest, although later it was revealed that he was the innocent victim of mistaken identity and had therefore been wrongly accused of being a thief. In the second scene, a relative of the victim went to see a lawyer and recounted what she had witnessed in the middle of the previous night. Next, the lawyer went to the prison and asked to see the prisoner. He was refused access to his new client. The lawyer proceeded to petition the court and was successful in obtaining an order that the prisoner be presented to the court. The lawyer returned to the prison with the court order, and was told by the prison official that the courts' authority was irrelevant in his domain. The lawyer returned to the court, relaying this message, and the court angrily ordered the prisoner's release. The lawyer returned to the prison only to again be told that the authority of the court was irrelevant. The narrator then concluded the skit by announcing that the justice system has failed and the victim would be indefinitely detained.

The objective of the play was to demonstrate the importance of following the law, since otherwise justice would be at the whim of individuals who might or might not have the country's best interests regarding security in mind. (In this case, neither justice nor security were served, as due process would have revealed that the real culprit was still on the loose.) The play

was also designed to teach law enforcement officials that they are charged with implementing rather than interpreting the law, particularly where issues of physical integrity and habeas corpus are concerned.

At the conclusion of the play, the narrator asked how the victim felt. Then he asked the class whether they could identify all the laws that were broken during the course of the play. (How well the class identified the laws that were violated in the play was considered by the group to be one way to measure the effectiveness of the lesson plan.) The narrator (a lawyer) then listed the laws that were missed by the class. Finally, the narrator enlisted the class' help in brainstorming ways to train the security forces' rank and file to respect the law. (One idea that the group had discussed while planning their simulation was to have the class of senior officers actually write a training manual for their subordinates. This would hopefully involve them more fully in thinking about the human rights issues inherent in their work, give them a greater investment in upholding the law, and develop a valuable tool for educating the rank and file that would have credibility because of its security agency origins.)

The discussion began with one participant questioning the decision to make high level officials the target group. He noted that the security officials might just as easily have agreed with the arbitrary treatment exhibited in the role play. Under a state of siege, for example, they might see such treatment as utterly justified. The simulation, therefore, would only be successful with officials who were pre-disposed to respect human rights. Several other members of the "class" were not clear on the "rule of law" group's objectives. Another participant felt that the portrayal of the victim was not realistic because he had asked if the security officers had a warrant for his arrest and no Ethiopian would know about his or her right in that regard. This criticism suggested to its author that the target group would more productively have been the general public.

Group Two: Gender and Justice

The "gender and justice" group exercised their democratic right within the workshop not to do a simulation because the issue of gender was too sensitive. Instead, they had decided to use the three-hour morning session to brainstorm about the problems of women in Ethiopian society, and how their status could be improved. There had been consensus on several ideas which the group wished to convey to the class. The women's group stressed the fact that when they talked about equality, they did not mean to imply that women were the same as men. Women should, however, be able to identify and provide for all their needs. The objective of the gender group was, therefore, to develop awareness among women, and to change oppressive attitudes.

The gender group identified the training of trainers as a priority task. Such trainers could in turn train other women in the areas of leadership, democratic rights, self development and democracy in the family. The special needs of various communities could be identified through waredas and professional associations.

The target populations for such education would be school children, housewives, men, teachers, community leaders, law enforcement officials, employers, government agencies, the mass media and rural extension teams.

Methods of educating about gender equality would include the use of women as role models, staging educational theatre productions and using "home agents" (like social workers) who have access to members of the family to initiate discussions about female empowerment. Gender equality educators should make use of posters and pamphlets, organize symposia and utilize social gatherings for propagating knowledge of women's human rights. Trainers would likely come from the following spheres: teachers, women in development programs, women's institutions and women's leaders and volunteers.

The gender group felt that it was critical to have a center which would serve as a base to organize these activities. It would also be important to evaluate educational efforts to ensure that they were having an impact. One possible means of measuring the success of educational efforts would be to observe gender dynamics in the work-place before and after the onset of women's education, perhaps making use of a questionnaire. One might test the impact on government agencies simply by assessing to what extent the needs of women had been taken into consideration. The operative questions would be: had the community changed its behavior? Had the law changed? Had traditional practices changed?

Feedback on the gender group's presentation began with the suggestion that a task force be established to look at existing laws in the country and produce a study with recommendations on what should be done. (Another participant appealed to the lawyers present at the workshop to assist in this process.) One method of ensuring that women became conscious of their rights would be to involve them in the process of drafting new laws based on equality. This participant urged the women in the gender group to look into who could organize this kind of effort, and suggested that the Ministry of Justice could provide one avenue. He noted that the experience of the U.S. and the U.K. demonstrates that women's rights came only after a long struggle. Ethiopia should not reinvent the wheel; potential women's rights educators should explore ways to shorten the time period required for women's rights to be realized.

Another lawyer responded to the emphasis on studying laws with the comment that he did not believe that the main problem for women was guaranteeing their rights in law. He was confident that the new constitution would ensure that women and men were equal in law. The problem, he anticipated, would be in the application, where poverty and tradition would become major obstacles to implementation. He recommended that each person go back to their own community and talk about this problem. "Let's know ourselves," he suggested, "and sort out our own problems in our own communities. Then let's go to the government." This participant felt that, as urban elites, it was inadvisable to be organizing peasant women and better to operate in areas that were familiar.

A non-Ethiopian participant observed that Ethiopian women had some advantages which they should not overlook. Women were imprisoned alongside men. Women made up a significant portion of the rebel forces, so it was not just men who liberated the country. She urged women to organize, pressure their government, demonstrate, and demand that they be the beneficiaries of the society they played an integral part in building. For women to be empowered, another participant argued, they must be visible. They should have their own institutions and their own way of doing things, and then become vocal. A representative of the Center for the Research and Development of Women noted that the Center had both the mandate and the facility and funds to do work in the area of women's rights education.

Efforts to organize women, though all-important, would not be successful unless they occurred in the context of a strong civil society, another participant insisted. "Peasants live as a community, not as men and women", she asserted. "How can they be organized when they work 16 hours a day? They don't have 10 minutes to talk to you!" She lamented the fact that there was not one woman who fought for liberation in the current government. Another member of the group agreed and pointed out that women's empowerment in large part would revolve around their access to technology/time-saving devices.

The highlight of the workshop from an organizer's perspective, however, came when one of the participants who had been skeptical of the importance of focusing on women's issues at all confessed that he realized that he had been behaving in a chauvinist manner. He said that the workshop had really sensitized him to the importance of women's rights. He also complimented the women on the gentle way in which they had raised his consciousness, saying they had done it in a "non-threatening way" so that he did not feel like a "second class citizen." Given his own experience, however, he urged the women to take men's fear into account when challenging them to change their attitudes. Another [male] participant stressed the need to avoid the counterproductive effects that might result from too strident a campaign. "Scaring men", and for that matter, women, should be avoided, since a backlash could occur which would simply prolong the status quo. The suggestion that "subtle" approaches be adopted was rebuffed by one woman who vehemently disagreed that women should be "subtle" in their efforts. There was nothing subtle about their oppression and they had waited long enough. "We have to say 'wake up!'" she argued.

Another participant wondered whether the problem was so much defined by gender as by strength and weakness. He noted that superior physical strength and financial resources might be more indicative of power than sex. He noted, in this regard, that weaker men were also dominated by stronger men.

Group Three: Equality in Cultural Diversity

The equality in diversity group adopted the role of an NGO involved in civic and human rights education. The rest of the workshop participants were parents, students and lecturers who had come to a college to hear what the NGO had to say. The NGO's

methodology took the form of a debate between two ethnic groups from Dembe Dolo which aired their grievances with regard to each other. The class was told that the tension between the Oromos who numbered 50,000 and the Gurages who numbered only 5,000 had to do with balancing majority and minority rights. One member of the cultural diversity group explained the format and rules which would govern the debate, including the fact that another group member would be monitoring the time that each side had to lodge their complaints and rebuttals. Three judges would then pronounce a verdict and explain their reasoning.

The proposition that was to be debated was the Oromo contention that if minorities were unwilling to assimilate to majority rules and customs, they should be resettled--forcibly if necessary. The Oromos complained that though they were the majority, Gurages had dominated them economically and politically. Representatives of the Oromo side were given the first opportunity to present their case. They were given four minutes to air their grievances, an excerpt of which follows:

We represent the indigenous people of this land. We want the Gurages to leave because of our economic, social, political and cultural conflicts. Gurages are ethnic settlers in this area. They dominate the commercial center of the economy and they have, over the past many years, been exploiting our resources....They have economically colonized our people. They buy our agricultural products at cheap prices and sell to our people consumer goods they buy from outside at high prices. They buy our land and leave our people with no means of production. Our people go to them for credit; they have indebted our people...and left us in a vicious circle of poverty....They are transferring the wealth of this area to their home area...at our expense. They have more access to social services, education, etc.. We are deprived of that opportunity. Morally and culturally, they have destroyed our traditional values by corrupting our society....They look down on our population.... They don't even want to speak our language....We are fighting for our self respect....If they cannot treat us with respect, they must find another land....

The Gurages were then given a few minutes to rebut:

A long time ago, we came to your region, destitutes. We had no money, but we started working, and eventually, we started bringing in better food, dress, blankets for your families, scarves for your wives. We started planting vegetables so you could eat balanced food; we brought medicine for the community, hotels so that other people could come....We brought in transportation. We made you collect more coffee than you used to. We opened shops, and everything was from our sweat; we have never used violence or force to evict anybody. Everything we own was sold to us willingly by the Oromo people. And we have always used your language to communicate with you. But we are also entitled to keep our own culture--our

minority identity....We are all Ethiopians--all of us are supposed to be brothers. Who would buy your coffee if we were not here? Who would have contributed to your schools?...As to owning property, giving loans: all my neighbors came to me to collect loans because they had nowhere else to go. I give them loans, but I don't force them to pay me back with money; I accept coffee, produce, etc.. So I think that you just want to get rid of us, not because you hate us, but because you want to take over our property.

Each side was then given another brief opportunity to respond to the other's charges, ending with the Oromos' final rebuttal in which they insisted that the Charter provides for self-determination, and thus gives them licence to be the masters of their own destiny.

The debate was followed by the opinions of the three judges. The first judge said that he wished to begin by congratulating the two groups for deciding to seek a peaceful resolution to their dispute through mediation. It suggested, in his opinion, a "moral and ethical conviction". Then, stating his belief there had to be a way for the two groups to live in harmony, he ruled for the minority's right to stay where they were. The Gurages' minority status made this judge feel that there was an added imperative to protect them. "Every ethnic group," he asserted, "has the right to use their own language....Gurages are human beings." He stressed, however, that this opinion should not be viewed as a decision against the majority Oromos, but rather one that was for harmony between the two groups in the community. The third judge, like the first, found in favor of the Gurages, but not "against the Oromos".

The second judge announced that his decision would be derived from international law. Under such law, he found no basis for special protection of a group, only non-discrimination. This made it difficult to decide in favor of the Gurages. Gurages, therefore, should leave, but according to due process. Only in the event that an order to leave the territory--arrived at through due process--was ignored by the Gurage could force be used.

At the conclusion of the debate, a member of the cultural diversity group highlighted several points about their presentation. He explained that the objective of the lesson had been to make people aware of the problem and demonstrate that tolerance could be shown and mediation could resolve a crisis. The issues about which they debated were intended to raise questions about the legal meaning of the term self-determination. Was it equal to secession, or was there a difference? How should the cultural rights of one group be balanced against those of another, as well as against the rights of the larger Ethiopian society? The group had decided that public understanding of this distinction was of crucial importance in order to remove misconceptions. The issue of the forced displacement of minorities had also seemed like a relevant topic for Ethiopian participants.

The spokesman for the cultural diversity group also informed the class of the strategy that lay behind their choices for the simulation. As an NGO, they had decided that it would be most effective to approach an educational institution with a broad reach. The university setting provided the opportunity for students and faculty to be influenced, while attending parents might be prevailed upon to pass the lessons learned on to their children. The judges for the debate could even be drawn from the faculty of the university where such a simulation was staged. Some elements of the debate that he felt were important were the following: the debate was relevant to those attending the class; it had incorporated some history, so important factual information was conveyed; the format was pluralistic; and the method was participatory. He concluded by pointing out that a mock trial would have been a better vehicle for conveying the information they wanted the class to grasp, but it would have been impossible to stage in the 20 minutes allotted.

Feedback on the debate simulation started with the comment that the model might have been stronger if, instead of judges (who only consider legal matters), the group had chosen to use elders who would also have lent morality, stature and conflict resolution skills to the process. Another participant added that the simulation was excellent, but was missing a moral, as opposed to legal, judgment. The third judge clarified that he had planned to render a moral judgment in addition to his legal ruling, but had forgotten.

The discussion that followed focused on the extremely sensitive issue of ethnicity and group rights in Ethiopia. It was noted that ethnicity was the biggest cause of human rights violations in Ethiopia. Grave concern was expressed about the potential for Ethiopia to sink into the ethnic abyss now plaguing former Yugoslavia, though someone pointed out that the ethnic cleansing occurring there was not a natural outcome of the application of self-determination, but rather the outcome of the mis-application of the concept.

Several participants felt that the Charter and the new map of the country had had the effect of inflaming the ethnicity issue. One participant claimed that these products of the transitional government's policy were directly responsible for the displacement of people who had lived in certain areas of the country their whole lives. Most of the group agreed that the ethnicity issue was a "large and burning" one, and that minority rights, though left out of the hastily constructed Charter, should be explicitly defined in the new constitution. The precise meaning of "self-determination" would also need to be made absolutely clear in the new document.

One participant stated that ethnicity was not, in itself, a source of conflict in Ethiopia. The problem, he insisted, was that people are "asserting themselves" without understanding that the exercise of their rights must not infringe on the rights of others. Another participant clarified the debate by saying that it was not ethnicity, but the politicization of ethnicity, that was causing Ethiopia's problems. "But let's be frank," he said, "our society

is full of prejudice." "We should not deny that we have ethnic problems", a third participant stated, "We have problems in Wollo between Oromos and Afars, Oromos and Amharas, etc.." He urged the group to move from description to action.

One participant brought the group back to the issue of how education about these issues could be accomplished. He suggested that the priority population for education be the urban elite because they are the people who exercise leadership. Another participant felt strongly that religious people should be enlisted as educators because everyone is taught to respect them. Because the issue of ethnicity, though explosive, was said to be hidden, a third member of the group suggested that educators make use of the media and informal gatherings to create forums for dialogues and debate "to bring the issue out of the closet".

Group Four: The Right to Organize

Like the Group Two, Group Four also decided to change the rules, answering the questions posed by the guidelines instead of doing a simulation. The members based their formulations on a number of assumptions: 1) the pre-existence of a democratic government; 2) commitments on the part of government and opposition forces to respect each other's rights to organize around issues on which they disagreed; and 3) the close of the era of public fearfulness. Group Four's methodology would be to adopt the role of a national organization of former farmers seeking to organize farmers in various local communities to defend their economic rights. They would call their NGO "Sons and Daughters of Farmers" and the class or audience would play the role of local farmers.⁴

Citing the lack of tradition in organizing independently from the government, the presenter for Group Four noted that organizing at the grassroots level would be very difficult. Their objectives, however, would be to improve the economic well-being and life of the farmers; to act as a pressure group at all levels to influence policy makers on farmers' issues; to advance the cultural rights of the farmer community; and to empower farmers to fully exercise their political and civil rights (including to elect and recall leaders). To accomplish these objectives, the NGO would build relationships with community elders, churches, traditional social groups based on the funeral ("eder"), local teachers and local radio stations (if in existence). Focusing on the market place where farmers congregate, the NGO would use posters and role playing to attract the farmers' attention. A participatory atmosphere would be created and farmers would be encouraged to identify their problems and "become solution makers". Answers should come from within the community rather than from "the experts" outside.

⁴Group Four's presentation actually vacillated between a simulation and a description of one strategy for educating their priority population.

Prior to undertaking farmer-oriented education, "Sons and Daughters of Farmers" would have to identify farmers' problems and explain the benefits of being organized. Such benefits might include the creation of a local cooperative which could: increase purchasing power; obtain access to credit; lobby for fair pricing and the right to decide what to grow; and cut out middlemen so that local farmers would benefit directly from their labor. The "right to organize" group felt that the farmers' first demand should be to own the land on which they labored. This would ensure, they claimed, that the land would be environmentally protected and developed properly. Farmers would also protect their rights by organizing to elect people who would represent their interests.

The group would measure its effectiveness by staying in the community and observing whether a change of attitude had taken place and whether farmers had in fact organized. They might also make use of a questionnaire. Group Four then speculated on the probable issues/problems facing Ethiopian farmers: rural inputs; access to land; access to credit; and pricing policies. The ironic reality of the farmer was that the more food he or she grew, the less money he or she made. As a farmers' NGO, the group stated that they should be prepared to answer the following likely questions from the community: "what kind of mechanism can you offer for organizing; what can we do when the 'hand of the state' comes down hard to foil our attempts to organize; and what can you do to protect us?"

A participant from another group, taking the role of a local farmer, asked the NGO:

who are you to tell me what to do? You are an outsider. I have my church, my elders... Why do I need you?

The NGO responded:

We are an association of farmers who have organized on a national basis, so we do go into communities other than our own. We want to show you that you increase your strength and improve your standard of living through organizing.

Group four reminded participants, however, that they would consult and work with community leaders and the church to avoid this kind of sentiment. Another participant asked:

As a farmer, how do I start an organization? Do I need permission from the government? Do I need management training? How do I start?

There seemed to be some confusion among participants at large about the need to register. The NGO answered that it was necessary to make a petition to the appropriate agency of the government which would then have 90 days to respond. If, after 90 days, there was no response, the application would be automatically approved. If the government denied the petition, the new organization could

take the government to court. Another participant said that since there was no law regulating advocacy groups, it was not necessary to apply for permission to establish a group; one need only notify the relevant government agency of the new organization's by-laws and then incorporate. A third person believed that since there had been no law repealing the laws of the past requiring registration, it was still necessary and it could take a very long time.

DAY THREE: OBSERVATIONS AND STRATEGIES FOR THE FUTURE

Observations:

The morning of the final day of the workshop began with some observations from the foreign participants. Mr. Dias observed that human rights education was a strategy for doing human rights work, especially in countries where direct activism was too dangerous and human rights education was regarded as less threatening. "Human rights education is human rights work," he stressed. The "rule of law" group, therefore, should have ended its simulation by bringing the role play back to human rights and the Universal Declaration. He also noted that it was important to avoid "legalese" and stick to language that lay people could understand. The main problem he saw with the "rule of law" group's simulation, however, was its "misguided objectives". The class, in this case senior officers of the police, security forces and military, already knew that they were not supposed to violate human rights. In the case of the "gender and justice" group, he noted that although the women thought that they were not following the instructions to do a simulation, brainstorming was, in fact, an education pedagogy. The "cultural diversity" group, he continued, showed that human rights education did not have to be passive and that multiple strategies and solutions could be conveyed.

Mr. Dias observed that the objectives of human rights education might vary. Some educators might be most interested in values formation, others would be more interested in mobilizing the "students" to some type of particular action. In all cases, however, human rights education should generate truth, compassion and, where appropriate, indignation and shame. (Social shame, he noted, was the most effective sanction against violators.) Mr. Dias mentioned three broad methods. The first--learning by doing--could be a dangerous method if educators were to plunge unknowingly into action. This could have a counterproductive effect. The second method mentioned was learning by sharing. This method had been used widely in Asia where many forums had been organized for people to identify common problems and potential solutions. The third method was learning by caring. The participant illustrated this method using the example of the Bhopal industrial catastrophe. It was one thing, he said, to read about it in the newspaper. It was quite another to actually go to Bhopal and witness first hand the human devastation. The "direct exposure" method served as a strategy for creating an alternative kind of lawyer. One would expose lawyers to the scene and give them an opportunity to internalize it. This would usually develop a high level of commitment among those exposed.

Human rights education, he thought, was political in the best sense of the term, in that it attempted to challenge the power structure. Almost by definition, then, it was likely to endanger the activist. The more successful the activism, the more vulnerable the activist. Thus, developing a safety net for human rights educators would be very important. Human rights education would also require the development of materials. The effectiveness of these materials would depend on how participatory the process of making them was, and how much input was received from indigenous

people. Finally, education should not be focused solely on the content of human rights, but also on strategies for their realization.

Ms. Dreyfuss called participants' attention to the importance of debriefing as a regular part of human rights education. The lesson plan, in her mind, should rest on three pillars. The first: a clear statement of the objectives. For example, the student should be aware of x,y and z rights; the student should understand the relevance of those rights to his/her life; the student should be empowered to act to ensure those rights. Second, the model should be participatory, using the members of the "class" as resources for the training. Educators should shift the responsibility for learning to the student. A good example of a participatory device would be the mock trial because the class would become a team with the teacher as the coach. The bored student suddenly would find him/herself playing the lead attorney on a controversial case. Another advantage of the mock trial was that it would easily lend itself to media coverage. Any device requiring a performance would be effective because everyone would have to participate. The teacher would merely play the role of facilitator. Third, it was important to evaluate whether or not the educational objectives were achieved. To do this, it would be necessary to develop criteria for the evaluation. The evaluations should be as creative as the lesson itself.

Turning to the actual simulations, Ms. Dreyfuss pointed out that the "rule of law" group used one of the most powerful educational strategies: role playing. The strategy of putting someone in someone else's shoes was commonly used in psychology. She wished to offer one caution, however. If a person was to be cast in the role of a brutal police officer, that person must also be "released from the role". Otherwise youngsters might be teased about the role they played. The "magic" of the "rule of law" group's simulation, she continued, was that it mobilized all the resources of the group--everyone participated.

The challenge for the "gender and justice" group was to make people see something that they have not seen before. The strength of their presentation was that they took the workshop from one level of knowledge to another in a very short time. The strategy was brainstorming, which should be a starting place, and not the end, of a lesson plan. Commenting on the "cultural diversity" group's simulation, she suggested that debate might not have been the most productive strategy in a society that desperately needed to find common ground. Mediation would have forced each side to put themselves in the shoes of the other. She further recommended that on a topic as emotionally charged as ethnicity in Ethiopia, it might be wise to make the two groups fictitious. The dynamics could be the same, but she would avoid naming them Oromos and Gurages. By the time the fourth "right to organize" group made their presentation in the early evening, she observed, the larger group was ready to discuss what was really relevant to the topic at hand: what laws were applicable to organizing? How could voluntary associations organize? She ended her observations by stressing the importance of the careful preparation and presentation of lesson plans.

Strategies for the Future:

Next, participants were asked to divide into the same four groups assembled for the simulations the previous day. Instead of doing a lesson plan for a class, however, the groups were given the rest of the morning to develop several strategies for educating multiple priority target groups on their particular rights area. The purpose of this exercise was to begin the process of developing year one of a national action plan for human rights education in Ethiopia. The groups "reported out" to the rest of the workshop participants after the lunch break.

The "rule of law" group started their presentation by stating that their target groups would be high-level law enforcement agents, as well as the law enforcement rank and file. (The group included judges in the law enforcement category.) Noting that their choice of high-level officials as a target group for the simulation had received some criticism, they nevertheless maintained that these officials did not have the human rights information that they needed to act responsibly. Sometimes, they asserted, law enforcement officials thought that the laws were merely written for foreign consumption and that they didn't really apply to them. They themselves certainly did not expect to be held to the law; instead, they followed "unwritten laws" unknown to students who had studied law abroad. These officials should be made to understand that the laws "on the books" applied to them, and that it was their job to give these laws effect.

The group then went on to define its objectives. It was most important that laws regarding physical security, arrest and detention be fully understood and implemented by officials. Rights guaranteed by these laws included the right to be arrested with a warrant, the right to be brought to court, the right to be tried in an open tribunal, the right to counsel, the right not to be tortured, etc. A further objective would be to ensure that the law enforcement rank and file understood that if a superior issued an order which violated human rights laws, the subordinate's higher duty to the law required that such an order be disobeyed. The rank and file should also be made aware that they have rights vis-a-vis their superiors. The group also hoped that their education efforts about the rule of law would result in the realization that dangers arise from failing to carry out the law: officials, officers and subordinates would be subject to punishment.

The methodology for educating law enforcement personnel would involve repeated human rights courses which would be integrated into the curriculum at the police academy. A continuing education program on these issues should also be initiated. Publicizing past and current violations by the law enforcement sector would also serve to educate by using the "shame factor". Thus, if a police officer failed to inform a detainee of the reason for his or her arrest, or harassed the detainee, the officer would be named and the behavior would be publicized as violative of human rights.

The other important target population identified by the "rule of law" group was the general public. Raising awareness among the population at large was necessary if people were to feel that they had rights vis-a-vis established authorities and that they could defend these rights by legal means. Such consciousness-raising would be particularly important in the coming year, as only public awareness would ensure that basic rights were enshrined in the new constitution and other legislation.

The "rule of law" group felt that religious institutions should play a key role in disseminating information about human rights to their constituencies. Mutual assistance organizations like the earlier-mentioned "eder" institutions, labor organizations, women's and youth associations could play a similar role. In fact, these institutions should be encouraged to develop human rights agencies within their ranks. It was pointed out, however, that resources would be necessary to give some effect to the rights about which people were being educated. It would be inadvisable to teach people about the right to counsel, for example, if, when they asserted that right, they discovered they could not afford a lawyer. Resources for the establishment of legal aid clinics should go hand and hand with education; otherwise people would become skeptical about the practical applications of human rights education.

The "gender and justice" group started by noting that no men had joined their group. The women identified their objectives as educating women about the constitution and bringing them into the constitution-making process to ensure that women's rights would be protected. They saw their first task as assessing existing laws--particularly those having to do with family and labor--for gender bias. Careful consideration would also need to be given to the need for new laws and policies regarding women. For example, should women advocate for a policy allowing three-month maternity leave in a new labor law? Although at first glance, such a policy would seem to advance the rights of women, it was possible that the policy would simply prevent businesses and others from hiring women in the first place.

Potential women's rights educators should also assess traditional and religious values regarding women, including: the moral and social problems caused by girls marrying as early as 8 years; female genital mutilation; and the 15-16-hour work days of many women in the country. On the basis of their findings, potential educators would then develop a further research agenda and start creating educational materials based on these issues. Training of trainer sessions would then need to be organized in various sectors of society so that education about women's rights could occur in all communities. Likely trainers included school teachers and university professors, social workers and members of women's groups. Logical institutions to support training efforts included the Red Cross Training Center, the ECA and the Ministries of Culture and Social Welfare. Training centers, however, would have to be identified in rural as well as urban areas.

The group stressed the importance of these trainers educating a wide variety of actors, including curriculum writers, other school teachers, professionals, policy makers, religious institutions, employers, journalists, opinion molders such as artists, other home agents and parents. Workshops, seminars, and informal group discussions held at universities, schools and kebeles, as well as wide use of the media, were seen as the major vehicles for conveying women's rights education. In particular, the group advocated a program for television or radio on which women would be interviewed live on a variety of women's topics. Wide use of visual educational aides such as posters, slide shows and film were strongly recommended.

The "gender and justice" group felt that there should be an accountable institution to coordinate this wide array of activities, follow up on problems and evaluate the effectiveness of any educational programs initiated. The group imagined that six months would be required to do the initial assessment, at which point training and actual educational programs could begin. To begin, however, financial resources would have to be identified, and the United Nations and The Fund for Peace were mentioned as potential donors.

The "cultural diversity" group followed by identifying a number of sub-topics on which they thought educators should focus. The first topic was ethnicity in the context of law enforcement and the administration of justice. Law enforcement, the group maintained, should be carried out to the maximum extent possible by local actors to minimize abuses based on ethnic tensions. A study on human rights violations tied to ethnicity should be undertaken and, when completed, should be used to educate law enforcement officials.

The second area of the ethnicity problem to be examined by educators should be language, religion and educational rights. The target groups would be "the various communities with ethnic identities". The educational strategy would be to discuss the principles and practical problems of ethnic groups vis-a-vis each other and the individual in the indigenous languages of those being addressed. The third area for education was equality and justice in resource allocations in an ethnically diverse society. In this case, the target group for education would be policy makers and the individual communities concerned. Here, the status of resource allocation would need to be documented. The findings would then be publicized in order to enable groups to lobby the government for equalization of the now-uneven distribution of resources.

As earlier emphasized by this group, it would also be important to clarify and refine articles of the Charter relating to self-determination and group vs. individual rights for inclusion in the new constitution. The target groups for education on these subjects would be drafters of the new constitution, and the public at large which should be empowered to discuss and adopt it. The EPRDF's "map" provided another vehicle for community education. In particular, the implications of the map in border areas might be examined. Border area populations and the policy makers involved in drawing the map would provide target groups for

education in this instance. One methodology might be to invite the communities in conflict over the map's boundaries to submit themselves to mediation. (The spokesperson for this group referred to this as "anticipatory conflict resolution".) Groups would be invited to make recommendations on how the map could be modified to meet everyone's needs.

The academic community should also be recruited to organize forums on the human rights aspects of ethnic diversity and regional arrangements. Dialogues could then be created between academic institutions and government officials. Human rights education should also empower local communities to use the new regional administrations. Finally, women should be specially targeted for training in conflict resolution techniques. Since men were the primary source of conflict, the group thought that women would have a unique role to play in this area. The "cultural diversity" group presenter ended his remarks by saying that it was obvious that all of these forums, studies, educational sessions, etc. should be captured in the media to provide the maximum multiplier effect.

The fourth group, referring to all the previous presentations, noted that none of these activities could be carried out without the right to organize. Disliking the term "target", they referred to "priority populations". For the "right to organize" group, male and female farmers were the most important group to educate about this right, since they represented the vast majority of the Ethiopian population and were the most powerless. The objective of education would be to empower farmers to have a substantial role in making the decisions that affected their daily lives.

As they stated in their presentation the previous day, their methodology would entail approaching male and female elders, indigenous leaders and teachers at places where they could be found "naturally grouped" (mosques, churches, schools, etc.) and explaining the objectives of human rights education in connection with the right to organize. Next, the cooperation of these community leaders would be sought in identifying the community problems around which farmers might organize. Based on the feedback from these sources, educational methodologies would be refined or newly created. Anticipated methodologies, however, included: role plays to introduce the idea; poems in the local language; use of the local media; and the use of all types of visual aides.

The "right to organize" group recognized that a number of community meetings would be necessary to gain trust and secure commitment to organization-directed human rights education. It also recognized the need to be prepared for the many problems/dangers that might arise as a result of organizing activity. The components of a work plan for educating farmers about the human right to organize would include a workshop to sensitize northern and indigenous groups of the right and the need to organize. Out of this workshop, they hoped a consultant group would emerge to assist indigenous NGOs. Ideally, this consultant group would become a Center which ultimately would strengthen its activities by establishing branch offices in every region of the country.

The workshop ended with a discussion about what would be needed to put these plans into action and what role the international community should play in helping to make these plans viable. A representative of one of the Ethiopian human rights organizations, Abugida, told the group that his organization had attempted to start a human rights educational program but had come up against a problem which could be common to all Ethiopian groups. First, the organization had tried to organize a program for women, but only three women had shown up. Then it tried to organize youth, with the same result. He hoped that next time Abugida organized such a session, all the participants present at the workshop would attend. He also announced that Abugida would be doing human rights education about the constitution both before and after promulgation. "People must know what to ask for once the constitution is in place," he said. Forum 84, another Ethiopian human rights group, volunteered its offices to be a center for human rights education.

It was suggested that a core, interdisciplinary group be formed to work on "co-opting" curriculum writers and teacher trainers. These people would serve as an advisory team to those who taught and wrote curricula, as well as generate actual teaching materials for all different educational levels themselves, and develop models to be utilized by various NGOs. A second participant added that another core group made up of the representatives of different civic organizations, academic institutions, etc. should work on follow-up mechanisms. Cooperation between organizations was crucial since it would be difficult for one group to undertake the entire educational agenda due to the lack of resources.

One participant observed the current lack of confidence in NGOs in Ethiopia and the lingering fear surrounding the whole issue of human rights. Given these obstacles, he felt that launching a serious human rights educational effort would require "building on confidence". The task of human rights education, therefore, should be taken on by an organization that has already established confidence. He suggested that the University Law School human rights center provided the best prospects for creating a clearing house for materials and methodology development. This center could then be used by the NGOs. Another participant reminded the group of the University's history of abuse by various Ethiopian governments, as well as of Mr. Dias' warning that too much institutionalization too early could curtail progress. "Let's not institutionalize at the university," a third participant said, "no one should steal the agenda. All of us in our diversity should contribute."

Another participant (who was not affiliated with any of the human rights groups) reminded the group of the sensitivity and suspicion still surrounding concepts like human rights and democracy in Ethiopia. These were topics still considered to be political matters for politicians and others with political agendas only. Any successful human rights educational effort would have to take this seriously into account. The method of conveying the message of human rights to the dubious public should be designed with great care. The group should consider questions such as "how

do we establish trustworthiness?" One way, he offered, would be to be "consistent in our behavior". "We must also be knowledgeable," he noted. Given the sensitivity of the enterprise, this participant felt strongly that controversial groups should not take the lead. A representative of one of the human rights organizations responded to these cautionary remarks by saying that everyone would accuse those taking the lead of ill motives at first. "We cannot let that stop us; let's just try to reach the people," he pleaded. "We cannot worry about image formation." He urged cooperation and collaboration, insisting that they would help create and reinforce democracy.

A representative of the university pointed out that it was not enough to establish an organization. One must have resources to carry on activities. Groups with no office space, budget, etc. were not really in a position to promote a successful human rights educational campaign. Another problem, according to this participant, was that some of the human rights groups were not even known to each other. The media would be a crucial factor in helping groups to know and trust each other. If the government would not permit all groups access to the official media, then citizens would have to create their own.

On the subject of resources, Ms. Mwesigye offered some funding insights, mentioning some of the major international organizations which support the kind of work that the workshop was meant to promote: the Ford Foundation, SIDA (Swedish aid agency), DANIDA (Danish aid agency) and CIDA (the Canadian aid agency).⁵ She strongly recommended, however, first mobilizing resources from among the small community attempting to organize the effort--just enough money to support extremely modest accommodations. This way, it would not be necessary to wait for external donations to get started.

Several women in the group urged that a committee be formed immediately to study Ethiopian laws and organize a lobbying effort in connection with the incorporation of women's rights into the new constitution and legal reform in general. Such a committee would provide the foundation for a women's rights group that would work on other women's issues down the road. Wo. Tadellech noted that the Women's Commission had already started this work, but that other groups should get involved and work independently. She argued that it should not be the task only of the Women's Affairs Office. She appealed to the group to stop theorizing and start acting and organizing. Lawyers should organize as lawyers, doctors as doctors, etc. "We must stop expecting others to do it for us," she said.

"But how do we actually register and start to organize ourselves?" another participant asked. Before Wo. Tadellech could answer, another participant responded by saying that she wished to applaud the earlier statement that "we are used to waiting to receive instructions from the government". She stressed that "we must overcome this habit", and pointed to the kebele structure,

⁵We would add NOVIB, the Dutch aid agency, to this list.

which, although misused in the past, might be more positively utilized in the current atmosphere. "Our past experience was bad, so we sit and wait," she said, "but our right to organize is in the Charter--let's try it. Let them tell us it is wrong."

Wo. Tadellech pointed out that groups had already started to organize themselves. Women's credit associations and self-help groups had been established, started talking to each other and drafted their constitutions. They had then gone to her office (Women's Affairs), which was responsible for registering women's organizations, and had been granted a licence for one year. According to Wo. Tadellech, there had been no problems in registering women's groups.

Ms. Dreyfuss concluded the session by raising the example of Tianaman Square where people simply mobilized--without organizations and without funds. She urged Ethiopian participants to accept that they could choose to be activists every day, by themselves, if necessary.

POSTSCRIPT

The Fund for Peace, one of the co-sponsors and primary organizers of the workshop, brought with it copies of over 30 human rights education materials from around the world. The materials were painstakingly selected from a much larger pool acquired during the year. All copies of the materials disappeared within the first few hours of the first day, indicating a real hunger for written texts, methodologies and articles on the subject of human rights education. Additional sets have been distributed since the workshop.⁶

At the close of the workshop, we asked the participants to do a written evaluation to help us assess its effectiveness. The evaluations were overwhelmingly positive and enthusiastic.⁷

⁶Please see Appendix B for a partial bibliography of the materials provided.

⁷Please see Appendix C for a copy of the evaluation form. 44'

APPENDIX A

Guidelines for Facilitating the Simulation

- 1) Appoint someone to take notes if you do not have one of the rapporteurs in your group.
- 2) Intervene only as necessary.
- 3) Keep track of the time and be sure that the group moves through the process efficiently enough to develop and practice the lesson plan in the 3 hours allotted.
- 4) Remind the group of the task at hand if the discussion loses its focus.
- 5) Be sure that all members of the group are able to participate.

Guiding Questions and Suggested Time Limit

- 1) Who does the group want to educate? (Priority target population-- Keep in mind that the workshop participants who are not in your group will act as the target population when you present your lesson plan.)
- 2) What are the specific objectives to be achieved with this lesson? (You want the target population to know____; understand____; analyze____; be able to____; be familiar with____; etc.)
- 3) How will the group educate this population? (methodology, including the method of presentation to the other workshop participants in the afternoon).
- 4) Who is best suited to carry out this education? (Remember that group members are the educators in this simulation, and will therefore assume the role of whichever educators are chosen.)
- 5) What resources are essential or would enhance the lesson?
- 6) What criteria will the group use to evaluate whether it achieved the three specific objectives earlier identified?
- 7) Practice and refinement of lesson plan developed.

Before the group begins its lesson plan, it will need to inform the other workshop participants of who they are as a target population, as well as what role the educators have assumed.

These are only meant to be guidelines. If the group is successfully developing a lesson plan using different steps, do not impose these.

APPENDIX B

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

On the display tables, you will find a number of human rights educational materials ranging from articles about the field itself and brochures on some of the organizations doing rights education in other parts of the world, to methodologies and actual text books and other materials that have been used to teach human rights. We thought that these articles, texts and brochures might help to generate some ideas for the creation of more authentic Ethiopian materials.

Unfortunately, we were not able to transport sufficient copies of each document for everyone, but anyone who would like a copy of any material that has run out can fill out the enclosed order form and give it to a representative of the Fund for Peace. We will see that it is sent to you immediately upon our return, free of charge. (Please do not take the last copy of any one piece until the close of the workshop so that everyone will have had a chance to see whether they would like to place an order.)

Many of the materials pertain specifically to constitutionalism or women's rights, since those are the two substantive topics of the workshop. However, a number of the text books and articles deal with human rights education more generally. What follows is a short description of some of the more weighty materials to give you some sense of what is available:

1. Street Law (National Institute for Citizens' Education in Law). An excellent text book for educating about the law in simple terms. The book is aimed at the formal school system and focuses on U.S. law, but could be instructive as a model with many useful lesson plans that could be easily adapted.
2. Teaching Human Rights (School District of Philadelphia). Somewhat outdated but a useful guide for introducing international human rights to young kids.
3. Human Rights for All (Lawyers for Human Rights, South Africa; and National Institute for Citizens' Education in Law). One of the more innovative texts for teaching international human rights. Comes with lesson plans and a teaching manual.
4. Amalungelo Oluntu/Human Rights (Community Law Center, Durban, South Africa). Simple written and pictorial guide to understanding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for use in formal or nonformal educational sectors. Done in two languages: English and Zulu.

5. Teaching about Human Rights: Issues of Justice in a Global Age (Center for Teaching International Relations). Slightly outdated text book aimed at students grades 7-12 (ages 12-18 years) with some very imaginative lesson plans. Despite its publication just prior to the end of the cold war, this text could be extremely useful as a model.

6. Working for Justice and Human Rights: A Practical Manual (Hotline Asia/Oceania; Commission for Justice and Peace, Bangladesh). A very useful guide for teaching human rights at the grassroots level. Provides information on practical organizing techniques for human rights consciousness raising. Particular emphasis is placed on teaching about economic, social and cultural rights and some attention is given to teaching from a religious perspective.

7. Life in all its Fullness: The Word of God and Human Rights. This text will be most useful to human rights educators who seek to use Christianity as the vehicle for education. Looks at the Bible for the foundations of human rights thinking; cites passages of the Bible that pertain to human rights concepts such as peace, justice and freedom. Text ends with study questions for each of the 12 rights areas found both in the Bible and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

8. Initiating Human Rights at the Grassroots: Asian Experiences. (Asian Cultural Forum on Development). An excellent compilation of some of the actual materials that have been used for grassroots human rights education in Asia.

9. Women, Violence and Human Rights. Good overview of strategies devised by women from all parts of the globe for organizing, networking, educating and combatting violations of human rights directed at women. It includes a useful directory of women's organizations.

10. Women, Empowerment and the Law (OEF International). An extremely useful workshop report on grassroots teaching techniques used in Zimbabwe. Includes specific ideas for lesson plans, as well as strategies for raising consciousness about human rights generally.

11. Toward a New Constitution of Nepal: Norms and Constitutional Options (International Human Rights Law Group). Report compiled to assist the Constitutional Commission and the people of Nepal in constructing a constitution that would effectively promote and preserve human rights. Report identifies 10 constitutional elements critical to the protection of human rights and examines relevant international legal principles and the constitutions of 15 countries around the world with respect to these elements.

12. Guidelines for Submission of Memoranda on the New Constitution (Uganda Constitutional Commission). Document explaining to the Ugandan public and NGOs the issues in need of debate concerning the writing of the new constitution. Might have some interesting lessons for a similar Ethiopian document.

13. Guiding Questions on Constitutional Issues (Uganda Constitutional Commission). The list of constitutional questions on which the Ugandan Commission wanted feedback from the public.

14. Decade of Human Rights Education (brochure). The Decade is an NGO initiative to launch a people's (as opposed to U.N.) movement for human rights education. The Decade seeks to create an international framework that will: link efforts in human rights education around the world; promote the prestige, visibility and legitimacy of human rights education; deepen world-wide human rights consciousness; strengthen existing educational efforts; serve as a catalyst for new efforts; and create networks of solidarity. For further information on the Decade, please see Clarence Dias or Leah Leatherbee.

15. Human Rights Education Bibliography (Amnesty International). A well annotated bibliography of human rights educational materials from around the world. Includes in most cases the price of the publication and the address of the publisher.

We have also included numerous brochures of NGOs engaged in human rights education and some of their educational materials, including xeroxed copies of "know your rights" pamphlets. This is where you will find the bulk of the materials on women's rights.

APPENDIX C

HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION WORKSHOP

EVALUATION FORM

The Fund for Peace, Inter-Africa Group and the Jacob Blaustein Institute would like your anonymous evaluation of the workshop. We will use these evaluations to design any future programs on human rights education in Ethiopia. Thank you for your time and candid criticisms and suggestions.

1. Was the pool of participants sufficiently diverse? (In answering, please consider gender, ethnic diversity, geographical background, professional background, age or any other measures that you feel are important.)

2. How did the number of participants affect the efficient functioning of the workshop? (Too many, too few, just right?)

3. Did you find that the workshop was structured in the manner most conducive to productive dialogue and brainstorming?

4. Do you feel that the workshop accomplished its objectives? Did it accomplish yours?

5. How do you assess the length of the workshop? (Too long, too short, just right)

6. How do you assess the role of the foreign human rights educators? Did you find their contributions helpful? In what ways could their expertise have been presented or used more effectively?

7. Did you find the materials on human rights education in other parts of Africa and the world helpful? What would have been more helpful?

8. Were the logistical details of the workshop (location, lodging, etc.) handled adequately?

9. Please comment generally on the strengths and weaknesses of the workshop and how you believe this type of session could be improved in the future.

10. What kind of local human rights educational activities would you like to see come out of this workshop?

11. What kind of follow-up would you like to see the co-sponsors of the workshop engage in?

12. After participating in this workshop, are you more or less inclined to engage in human rights educational activity?

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