Democratic Developmentalism and Citizenship Education in Ethiopia: A Preliminary Observation

Girma Defere[*]

Abstract: The democratic developmental state ideology emerged in response to neoliberal failures. Ethiopia is now pursuing a democratic developmental state ideology to ensure simultaneously democracy and development. In the educational curriculum, civics and ethical education was introduced in the 1990s so as to promote democracy and development in Ethiopia. The main objective of this study was to assess the role of democratic developmental state, civics and ethical education in promoting democracy and development in Ethiopia. The method this study used was qualitative methods. Instruments of data collection included: interviews, observation and document analysis. The findings of this study show that democratic developmental state has brought some successes on economic growth and social services; limitations on ensuring democracy as the space for citizens political and civil society participation is limited. Regarding civics and ethical education, some successes achieved on producing informed citizenry who can defend their democratic and constitutional rights, and accept diversity; and constraints in molding the moral values of youngsters. This study suggests that, widening the space for civil society and political parties' participation in the democratization and development of the nation, the curriculum of civics and ethical education should be revised to incorporate important issues for the development of the nation, such as, democratic developmental state and other policies philosophy as a case study so that students reflect their views. Regarding moral issues, the study found that there is moral decadence among the people which is affecting both the politics and development; hence, in order to influence the character of the young generation as the Ministry of education (2010) noted the curriculum expected to be revised should address adequately moral issues. Moreover, teaching professional ethics in all disciplines of the higher learning institutions efficiently, and working deeply on building the moral character of the wider section of the society using media, public forums, traditional and modern civic institutions so that

[*] Girma Defere (✉)
Jimma University, Jimma, Ethiopia
e-mail: girmadejimma@yahoo.com.au

democratic developmentalism, the civics and ethical education play a meaningful role towards promoting democracy and development in Ethiopia.

Keywords: citizenship education, democratic developmentalism, democracy, ethical education, Ethiopia

BACKGROUND
Introduction
The revival of scholarly discussion on the democratic developmental state in the Global South since the 1990s is associated with the failure of neo-liberal economic reforms designed by the Bretton Woods Institutions (IMF and the World Bank) in developing countries (Omoweh 2012).

The IMF and World Bank believe that the state is too weak to manage the economy in the Global South and, hence, market forces should run the economy (Ibid.). Omoweh argued that even though the majority of African states have pursued liberal and neo-liberal development paradigm since they attained independence; they have faced serious economic problems.

As a result, most African states failed to repay loans they had received from global financial institutions in the late 1970s and hence they were dictated to accept the Structural Adjustment programs (SAPs) in the 1980s. According to Bello (2002), SAPs conditions comprises: reductions in government spending on health, education, and welfare; market openness; privatization of state enterprises and deregulation of government restrictions on acceptable allocation of resources; currency devaluation to encourage export earnings to repay foreign debt; and weakening of worker protection in areas of wages and workplace conditions (as cited in Abdi 2005).

SAPs and SAP-related policies are unproductive as they do not reflect the realities in African context and other developing countries. The Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC) claimed "to be a corrective to the global debt crisis by the World Bank and the IMF" (Abdi 2005); even promoters of neo-liberalism faced serious financial crises in 2008\9.

This challenged Meles Zenawi, the late Prime Minister of Ethiopia. He boldly challenged the neo-liberal policy prescriptions and openly stated that Africa needed a paradigm shift away from the predatory state and neoliberal paradigm to a democratic developmental state. In his 2006 draft paper at Columbia University, entitled *African Development: Dead Ends and New Beginnings*, Meles compared the

neo-liberal political economy to a "night watchman state." He strongly opposed its foundation principles and openly stated that Africa needs a paradigm shift to a home-grown and more progressive one. Ohno described Ethiopia's democratic development state ideology as a political regime in which a developmental party vestiges in power for a long time by winning multi-party elections accordingly punishes rent seeking and rewards developmental actors (Ohno 2012).

According to Ane Cecilie Hess-Nielsen, "Meles Zenawi won international respect by opposing market fundamentalism and neoliberal models of development. Instead he spoke for a strong state admiring the rapid industrialization processes in parts of Asia convinced that the role of the state in a developmental phase should remain strong" (PP.14). Unlike East Asian miracles, with a developmental state that focused on promoting rapid economic growth, Ethiopia's developmentalism viewed addressing both development and democracy as essential for the state's survival.

Ethiopia's democratic developmental state visualizes two elements: democracy and development. In a nutshell, the introduction of the democratic developmental was a response to the problems caused by the neo-liberal policy prescriptions of the World Bank and the IMF (see Meles 2006). In the course of promoting democracy and development ideas among the young people the role of civics and ethical education is essential. Hence, against this background this study assessed the role of the democratic developmental state; civics and ethical education have played in this regard in Ethiopia.

Statement of the Problem

After the demise of the Cold War, liberal democracy and capitalist economic ideology have dominated the global arena. Accordingly, African states were forced to undertake Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPS) in order to cope with the prevailing conditions of the IMF and the World Bank and yet these SAPs failed to a bring transformation in Africa.

The aim of this study is to examine the role of democratic developmentalism, civics and ethical education played in Ethiopia as regards promoting development and democracy. Democratic developmentalism is the ideology that interconnects both democracy and development.

Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state in which there had been national oppression and suppression in the previous regimes.

The incumbent government strongly believes that promoting democracy and development is not a matter of choice rather of survival. Similarly, poverty is a serious problem and, hence, it is difficult to prioritize one or the other, and addressing both concerns is at the core of government policy.

The FDRE Constitution clearly stated the democratic developmentalism in the preamble, as follows:

> We, the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia; Strongly committed, in full and free exercise of our right to self-determination, to building a political community founded on the rule of law and capable of ensuring a lasting peace, guaranteeing a democratic order, and advancing our economic and social development; Firmly convinced that the fulfillment of this objective requires full respect of individual and people's fundamental freedoms and rights, all live together on the basis of equality and without any sexual, religious or cultural discrimination;…

Moreover, a third of the Constitution (articles 14-44) deals with human and democratic rights. The introduction of democratic civics and ethical education in the educational training policy should contribute to the democratization process and development of the nation. Most previous studies have regarded the roles of civics and ethical education; and just a few have been done on the role of democratic developmentalism and of civics and ethical education towards promoting democracy and development.

Moreover, most of the previous studies have focused on the theoretical aspect of democratic developmentalism (see Desta 2012; Gedion 2013) and regarding civics and ethical education, they were mainly focused on the role the subject/course play in shaping the moral values of students (see Berhanu 2012), and the role of civics and ethical education for democratic governance (see Endalcachew 2016). A recent Ministry of Education study presented in the material manual of University students and teachers mainly emphasized the limitations the subject/course has.

It is the reason of this study the problem as regards the lack of sufficient approaches regarding the role of democratic developmentalism and of civics and ethical education in promoting democracy and development in Ethiopia.

Basic Research Questions
This study attempts to answer the following basic research questions:

1. What are the features of the democratic developmental state in Ethiopia?
2. What are the achievements of democratic developmental state ideology in Ethiopia?
3. What are the limitations of democratic developmental state ideology with regard to ensuring democracy and development?
4. What are the achievements gained as a result of civics and ethical education in the democratic developmental state of Ethiopia?
5. What are the limitations with regard to civics and ethical education in the democratic developmental state of Ethiopia?

Objectives of the research
General objective: The objective of the research is to examine the role of the democratic developmental state and of the civics and ethical education in promoting democracy and development in Ethiopia.

As specific objectives, there are:
- to identify the governing principles of the democratic developmental state in Ethiopia;
- to assess the achievements of the democratic developmental ideology in Ethiopia;
- to identify the challenges of democratic developmental state ideology with regard to ensuring democracy and development;
- to identify the achievements gained as a result of civics and ethical education in the democratic developmental state;
- to identify the deficit with regard to civics and ethical education in the democratic state of Ethiopia.

Scope and Limitation of the study
This research examined democratic developmental state ideology and civics and ethical education.

The scope of the study is, therefore, delimited to institutions which are responsible this subject. It is moreover limited to only one of the key requirements theoretically acknowledged in determining success in democratic developmentalism and civics and ethical education. It is believed that a more specific area of investigation would help provide a more rigorous finding that may provide a fuller picture of the subject in question.

The research would have been excellent if it would have covered the different actors in the wider society through focus group discussion so as to generate a more valid conclusion.

Significance of the study

This study is written for academic discourse and evidence-based policy inputs with the intent that an enthusiastic quest for truth serves as a basis for teaching-learning process and the generation of reliable knowledge in the areas of democracy and development of Ethiopia.

The finding of the research may contribute to the existing fund of knowledge that may give some insights on the practices of democratic developmentalism and civics and ethical education role in promoting democracy and development in Ethiopia.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: UNDERSTANDING A DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

The most acknowledged developmental states which brought about structural and societal transformation from the 1960s to the 1980s are those in East Asia. These states invested a lot in education, health care, agricultural extension and utilized modern technology (Fritz and Menocal 2007). These states are usually characterized by a leadership which is strongly committed to developmental goals and which gives priority to national development rather than personal enrichment and/or long term political interests or short-term political gains (Ghani et al. 2005; Leftwich, 2000; Rotberg, 2004 as cited in Fritz and Menocal 2007). These states show a combination of capacities, visions, norms and/or ideologies aimed at attaining social and economic transformations.

The concept of the democratic developmental state engages also promoting democratic values. Matlosa recommends that democratic governance is the key for a sustainable economic nationalism, which is essential for the existence and functioning of a developmental state and contends that the concept of a democratic developmental state emancipates both from domestic social actors "makes liberation (of the people, state, society and economy) from domestic *autocracy* and foreign direct influence (as cited in UNDP 2012).

The developmental states experience of East Asia states initially was undemocratic or authoritarian type that did not entertain democratic process in society (UNDP 2012). For instance, according to Bolesta:

> … developmental state in Japan can be traced back to the Meiji era, an undemocratic period of time in the Japanese history, as well as the fact that in contemporary Japan it is the bureaucratic structure which is believed to manage the country's affairs and democratically elected

politicians seem to have limited influence on the running of the state. Japanese state bureaucracy, unaffected by democratic elections, as it in fact should be in a liberal democracy, seems to have a longer control over state governing than in other democracies (Bolesta, cited in UNDP Ethiopia 2012).

He argued that if the administration of the state is developmental in nature, a democratic system might be switched to authoritarianism whereby the legitimate power is drawn from developmental achievements and not directly from public elements. He further stated that it would be challenging to a developmental state to work in a fully democratic system in which people enjoy extensive political rights (as cited in UNDP 2012).

The democratic developmental state is, furthermore, one that supports broad-based alliances with society and ensures popular participation in governance and transformation processes. In spite of the fact that the democratic developmental state may be either federalist or unitary, a parliamentary or a presidential system of government, it must governed by the goals of coherence and authoritative governance, accountability, inclusiveness, stability, ability to generate consensus and popular participation (as cited in UNDP 2012).

Similarly, Desta discussed that the Commission for Africa (2010) influenced the African states to be managed by capable bureaucracy that functions in a relatively stable democratic environment in which: a) political power is exercised by all eligible citizens directly or indirectly through their elected representatives, b) majority rule respected c) human rights are defended d) adult universal suffrage is respected and e) the prevalence of the rule of law (Desta n.d). It is thus possible to contend that what the democratic developmental state requires is a political system able to accommodate diverse political interests and voices.

Desta (2012) citing the works of Johnson (1982), Wade (1990), Fingleton (1996) and Dadzie (2012), outlined the attributes of a developmental state as follows:

a) autonomous and heavily involved in a macroeconomic planning process, needed to promote structural transformation and which plays a strategic role in economic development;

b) staffed by highly qualified, professional government elites (i.e. insulated from the political process and not influenced by politicians,

workers or the corporate class through the political process) who are given sufficient latitude to develop initiatives and operate effectively;

c) selfless in designing strategic visions, planning innovative processes, formulating appropriate policies and implementing plans to transform their societies;

d) a catalyst for executing the developmental goals of the nation efficiently;

e) democratic, allowing the citizens to play meaningful roles in the country's governance process;

f) encouraging to public-private strategic coalitions or cooperatives shaped by societal forces;

g) supportive of entrepreneurs who undertake risky ventures;

h) equipped with infrastructures, trained human and social capital and politically stable environments to entice foreign investors with capital, management, and marketing expertise to invest in the country (see Asayehegn 2012).

Leftwich (2000) likewise outlined six factors necessary for the emergence and consolidation of a developmental state: First, the developmental state should be governed by political elite that is developmentally-oriented and demonstrates high levels of commitment and will in attaining economic growth. Second, the developmental state managed by a powerful, professional, highly competent, insulated and career-based bureaucracy. Third, the emergence of developmental states is associated with social contexts in which the presence and role of the civil society has been weak, negligible and subordinate. Fourth, developmental states exhibit high levels of capacity for effective economic management of both domestic and foreign private economic interests. Fifth, such states exhibit a record of an uneasy mix of repression and poor human rights adherence. Sixth, the legitimacy of the political elite to govern should be closely linked to the state's ability to perform (see Meyns and Musamba, eds., 2010).

THEORETICAL DISCOURSE ON CIVIC EDUCATION
"Education should inform and form the very being of its students, to mold their identity and agency who they are and how they live" (Chikwe 2012). According to Dewey's *Democracy and Education* (1926), the educated citizen is one able "to read the word and the world.'' A citizen should, therefore, be able to participate responsibly in the affairs of the nation and the entire world; or education that ends

in classroom does not empower the person to live critically and responsibly outside the classroom.

Benjamin Barber noted that "education without the proper skills to live with others in a civil society will not be education at all. Civic education should train students to be able to read in between the lines and ask pertinent questions, examining critically why the things are the way they are today and to seek reform or engage in political action" (cited in Chikwe 2012).

All education shares an attitude of citizenship training (Soltis 1988 as cited in Abdi et al. 2005). The main objective of citizenship education is to uplift citizens' participation in the political process (Quigley and Bahmueller 1991 as cited in Abdi et al. 2005).

Civic education enables young citizens to be endowed with and learn to use the skills, knowledge and attitudes that will prepare them to be competent and responsible citizenry.

According to Dewey, civic education is more concerned with enabling citizens who are capable enough to engage with others critically in a common inquiry for the common good and sustenance of democracy (as cited in Chikwe, 2012).

Civic education fosters students to be politically knowledgeable, empower them, and trains them to be media literate (Chikwe 2012).

Democratic civic education in Ethiopia was introduced after the collapse of the socialist led regime in the early 1990s. The post-Cold War era was characterized by the collapse of socialism and the emergence of multi-party democracies and the market economy. The introduction of democratic civic education into the Ethiopian education and Training Policy was to meet the new arising national political, economic and social objectives (as cited in Endalcachew 2005). After ten years civic education by integrating ethics designed to attain both political and ethical issues.

In the course of promoting the democratization process in Ethiopia, attention has been given to civic education. Yamada (2011) discussed that civics and ethical education should be viewed as an important means of promoting the ideas of democracy among all young citizenry (as cited in Endalcahew 2016).

Similarly, Tovmasyan and Thoma (2008) discussed that civic education works towards promoting democratic political system by equipping citizens with political knowledge (as cited in Endalcahew 2016). Branson and Quigley (1998) pointed out that to enhance the healthy functioning of constitutional democracy citizens should be

informed and aware of public affairs, learning about and reflecting on constitutional values and principles, observing the adherence of political leaders and public agencies to constitutional rules and principles and taking necessary action when such values and principles are breached.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
Research Design and Approach/Strategy
The design of this study is exploratory study that examines the role of the democratic developmental state, civics and ethical education in Ethiopia. The study employs a qualitative research approach. Qualitative data was solicited from multiple sources in order to secure the required data.

Data Type and Data Sources
The study relies on both primary and secondary data and, therefore, uses multiple data sources. As Creswell (2013) suggests, combining methods of data collection and diversifying the sources of data better enrich research, help achieve the objective of triangulation, ensure benefits from the strengths of each source of data and compensate for pitfalls of individual methods. In this research, the diversification of data sources will help ensure intra-method triangulation and also help maintain a higher confidence in the data that would further help establish the trustworthiness of the findings.

Instruments of Data Collection
Interviews: In-depth interview were used as a principal means of data collection for the study.

By using a snowballing method, careful selection of resource persons from relevant public and concerned institutions was made. My key informants were from some relevant institutions, including Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce and Sectorial Associations, Ethiopian Civil Society and Sectorial Agency and Civics and Ethical Studies experts.

Personal observation also used as a long serving course teacher, I utilized my own observations to discuss the objectives of the study.

Secondary data was collected from journals, working papers, official records, international documents and other relevant sources.

Document Analysis: The study consulted various documents and government bodies official decisions to discuss the objectives of the study.

Data Analysis and Presentation

The analysis of data involves a qualitative manipulation of the information obtained. Information gathered by qualitative methods was analyzed through interpretation.

Thematic issues were be grouped and reduced at various levels involving editing, coding, categorizing and summarizing with due care so that the risk of losing relevant information was minimized.

Data obtained from different sources was triangulated. The study applied intra-method triangulation at different levels-triangulation between data sources such as primary data and secondary data and between organizational sources which involved the triangulation of views of the government, international organizations reports, and civil society organizations.

FINDINGS ON DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTALISM: MAJOR SUCCESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMMENTAL STATE

The major successes of the democratic developmental state of Ethiopia were attained more on the economy than democracy.

The following are major success of democratic developmental state of Ethiopia regarding economic and social aspects:

•Ethiopia has become one of the fastest growing non-oil producing economies in Africa with an annual growth of about 11% since 2004 (Africa Economic Outlook report 2012).

•Growth was broad based with industry, services and agriculture growing by 15%, 12.5% and 9% respectively (Africa Economic outlook report 2012).

•Ethiopia is expected to achieve most of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) targets.

•Ethiopia has achieved strong progress in the health sector. A study by Williams (2017) showed Ethiopia had attained most of the health MDGs, including, a 67% reduction in under-five mortality, a 71% decline in the maternal mortality ratio, a 90% decline in new HIV infections, 73% decrease in malaria-related deaths and a more than 50% decline in mortality due to tuberculosis (Assefa, Damme, Williams et al 2017).

• Ethiopia's Human Development Index (HDI) score has improved only slightly over the last decade, from 0.339 in 2005 to 0.429 in 2012 and 0.435 in 2013 (BTI/Ethiopia 2016).

The proportion of people living in extreme poverty (on less than $1.25 per day) has declined to about one-third of the population. The share of the population living below the poverty line was estimated at 39% in 2012 and at 29% in 2014 (BTI/Ethiopia 2016). And the dramatic expansion of education at all levels.

Limitations

Lack of democratic culture and practices, research participants in the interview showed that the democratic space is very low, study by Freedom House's shows that freedom in the World 2014 report, Ethiopia scored very low in the categories of political rights and civil liberties(as cited in BTI/2016). Similarly EPRDF's central committee appraisal report is consistent with the above findings.

Weak civil society organizations/participants in the interview indicated that after the introduction of the New NGOs legislation, civil society's and NGOs activities were thwarted. Moreover, the culture of democracy in Ethiopia, this finding is consistent with the ruling party appraisal result which shows in Ethiopia, the civil society participation is weak (BTI/Ethiopia 2016).

Rampant corruption and rent seeking political behavior challenging the democratic development state, study by BTI/Ethiopia 2016, in 2013, the government of Ethiopia showed some commitment to combat against corruption; after the release of a World Bank study, accordingly, the Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission arrested some key officials and businessmen on corruption charges that brought he head and deputy head of the Ethiopian Revenue and Customs Authority, to be arrested along with several businessmen. As reported on the state media more than 57 federal government higher officials were accused of corruption in August 2017 (EBC news, August 2017). In major regions of the country, for example, in Oromia and Amhara similar measures were taken to address the grievance of the general public related to lack of good governance, corruption and rent seeking practices.

FINDINGS ON CIVICS AND ETHICAL EDUCATION: MAJOR SUCCESSES OF CIVICS AND ETHICAL EDUCATION

Informed citizenry were seen. Research informants outlined that civics and ethical education in Ethiopia created an informed citizenry who defend its rights. This finding is also consistent with the Ministry of Education (2010) findings. Citizens who have accepted diversity -

civic and ethical education enabled citizens to accept ethno-linguistic and religious diversity. This finding is also consistent with the Ministry of Education findings (2010). Citizens who have understood the values of democracy-citizens have got a good knowledge of democracy.

Some of the Major Limitations
Less emphasis is given to skill. According to the Ministry of Education (2010), the curriculum's 99% is knowledge oriented. This has discouraged the practice of the course.

Less attention is given to the contents of ethical issues and moral values. This has attributed to the moral decadence of young people. Moreover, it failed to incorporate important government policies. My research informants told me that the ideology of democratic developmentalism remained in the mind of the elite; otherwise, most people have little awareness of it. The civics and ethical education curriculum also failed to incorporate such issues as also found in the findings of the Ministry of Education (2010). In addition it failed to encourage citizens widely to participate in socio-economic and political spheres of the country. In line with the lack of democratic culture in the country, and the wider participation was halted.

The important values of civics and ethical education such as, saving, industriousness, and self-reliance are important elements to promote economic development disseminated to the society using informal curriculum. If unethical acts are denounced among the majority of people it is easy to deter public funds embezzled in the hands of politicians, and the general public will adhere to ethical principles and norms which positively contributes to economic and social development.

Challenges of the Democratic Developmental State of Ethiopia
The challenges of democratization and development in Ethiopia, according to UNDP (2012) include a legacy of authoritarianism, ethnic conflict and neo-liberalism, the lack of a capable bureaucracy, restricted political space, and the liberalization of the economy, promoting constitutionalism, mobilizing peoples and resources for the developmentalist project persuasively not by force.

The ruling party executive committee meeting held from December 12 - 29, 2017, identified 15 major problems related to the current political problems of the country. This study refers to some of the

major problems identified and stated by the party executive committee, as outlined in the follows:

1. The prevalence of parasitic decadence in the EPRDF leadership has damaged intra-party democracy which jeopardizes the quality and unity of opinion and action.

2. In line with the lack of intra-party democracy, the prevalence of narrow group interests has weakened both the front and individual parties to act against developmental governance.

3. The lack of an intra-party democracy has narrowed the democratic space and endangered the multi-party system.

4. The active participation of the civil society is critical to the democratic system. However, the civil society's participation has been weak.

5. Poor leadership has undermined efforts to maintain and scale up achievements in terms of good governance. High public grievance caused due to poor service delivery. There has been weakness in terms of taking quick measures on corruptions and other faults. Poor performance and ethical problems as well as populist tendencies in the implementation of mega projects have been observed.

6. To correct private and government media outlets engaged in disseminating contents that create discord among people. In particular, the dissemination of incite full contents on regional and federal media contrary to political, legal and constitutional norms shall be stopped (see http://hornaffairs.com/2018/01/101/eprdf-executive-committee-statement-15-points).

In my observation, EPRDF's central executive committee has clearly spelt out the pitfalls and the weaknesses of democratic developmental state of Ethiopia. It seems ready to ensure transformation in those listed problems. The appraisal of the committee is consistent with the study conducted by international organizations, local and foreign scholars (see for example, study by BTI Ethiopia/2016; Altenburg 2010; Merera 2007).

From the previous statements, it seems that the incumbent government is committed to promoting the democratization process in Ethiopia. If this happens, Ethiopia will repeat the successes on economic growth on democratization which is vital for the survival and strength of the nation.

As all can understand the democratization process in Ethiopia is lagging behind in contrast to the economic development which Ethiopia has increased to double digits over recent years. The

EPRDF's recent decision to release political prisoners is a good beginning towards national reconciliation and to promote steadfast a democratization process. International human rights activists such as amnesty international have welcomed the government news to on the release of political detentions and the closure of substandard prisons house (see BBC News, January 4th, 2018).

In recent years Ethiopia's democratic developmental state lacked a committed leadership as the leaders influence by narrow group interests as outlined by the incumbent government ruling committee. In reality developmental states are usually characterized by a leadership which is development oriented which gives priority for national development than personal enrichment and short term political gains (see Evans 1995).

The democratic developmental state also suffered from rent seeking. The recent wave of protests and violence across the main regions of the nation shows that there is high public discontent. The root causes for the discontent are: lack of leadership responsiveness, lack of transparency and corruption (see also EPRDF Executive Committee 15 points Statement cited in the Report of January 5th, 2018).

The poor records regarding freedom and the press, poor access to information about public expenditure, stronger standards of integrity for public officials and the lack of an independent judicial system have aggravated corruption in Ethiopia (see *The Reporter Ethiopia*).

Merera (2007) stated that: if Ethiopia is to move forward-the EPRDF needs to transform itself both from within and without. From within its constituent parts (the PDOs) should be allowed to become equal partners if they are to gain popular support; from without, the EPRDF leaders should devise a mechanism of working with independent non-EPRDF political movements as partners by creating national consensus - a sine quo non for successful democratic transformation.

Above all, the EPRDF government should initiate politics of inclusion with all the stakeholders- the organized political groups, civil society organizations as well as the ordinary citizens-so that all could go back to the drawing board and negotiate the creation of the Ethiopian democratic common home that can be based on a new social contract. Likewise the World Bank contends that a much diversified civil society presence and participation ensure both democracy and development (World Bank 2000).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS
Conclusion
For emerging democratic developmental state of Ethiopia, democracy and development are two sides of the same coin and are at the heart of the state's survival and prosperity. A democratic developmental state and civics and ethical education can be successful in Ethiopia if both communicated to the wider mass in different ways so that every citizen could positively play its share in promoting democracy and development in the nation. Policies and strategies should involve wider popular participation to ensure national consensus and every citizen should be knowledgeable and what is expected.

This study focused on the role of the democratic developmental state and civics and ethical education in promoting development and democracy. Well-trained and morally good human resources, as well as a vibrant and developmental civil society and private sector contribute much to the process of democratization and development. In Ethiopia civil society and the private sector are too weak to ensure democratic developmentalism as eve noted by the incumbent government.

The prevailing situation in Ethiopia reveals that even if the state has achieved certain successes in economic growth, rent seeking and corruption and the lack of a strong democratic culture are big challenges.

The recent (since 2013/14) waves of protests in major regions of the country have been caused by corruption, rent seeking and a general lack of good governance in the political system. The incumbent government shares these problems as its major challenges to address. As reported on the state media on Jul 25, 2017, 34 persons including high-level government officials, businesspersons and middlemen have been taken under custody on suspicion of corruption (EBC, July 25, 2017). In major regions of the country, similar measures were taken to calm the grievance of the general public. Democratic developmental state ideology requires widening the political space for civil society groups and other actors of democratization and a developmental oriented government; nevertheless, Ethiopia's developmental state is affected by rampant corruption and rent seeking. Since the coming into office of a pro- reformist Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, on 02 April 2018, introduced political reforms to promote the process of democratization and development, these reform measures include mainly: freeing political prisoners, allowing 274 bloggers websites to

function previously shut (iii) inviting opposition members and known individuals to serve as state media board members (iv) establishing a Board of National Advisory Council in which oppositions are members and (v) promise to review the anti –terrorist law and civil society legislation; and to reform the national electoral board.

Recommendations
As Ethiopia aims to achieve a middle income economy by 2025, the country should work both on development and democracy. A democratic civics and ethical education plays significant roles in equipping citizens with democratic knowledge, attitude and shaping the moral citizens. Hence, the following are stated as recommendations:
- the leadership should be committed and mobilized the popular participation to strengthened developmental ideology;
- widening the space for multiparty and civil society groups' participation to promote democratic developmental state policies by discouraging authoritarian developmental approach;
- the delivery of the curriculum of civics and ethical education should be promoted in the informal curriculum. The informal curriculum should encompass the governance of the school community and the relationships among those within it, as well as the "extra" or co-curricular activities that a learning environment provides. Moreover, community service should be incorporated into the curriculum of civics and ethical education so that students' participation in community service enhanced;
- widen the political space for multi-party democracy and ensure the active participation of civil society and the business sector in matters of national economic and political importance;
- strengthen and promote dialogue between state and private business groups and civil society;
- promote evidence-based rewards (on the basis of bench mark criteria) for the developmental private sector and civil society groups and punish rent seekers;
- teach civics and ethical education and democratic developmental state values in an informal setting in order to promote both democracy and development.

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