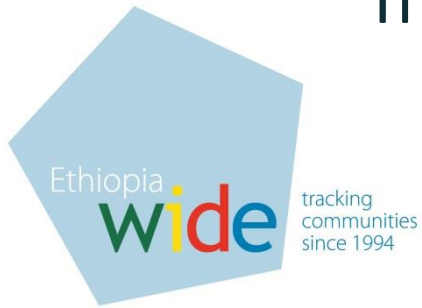


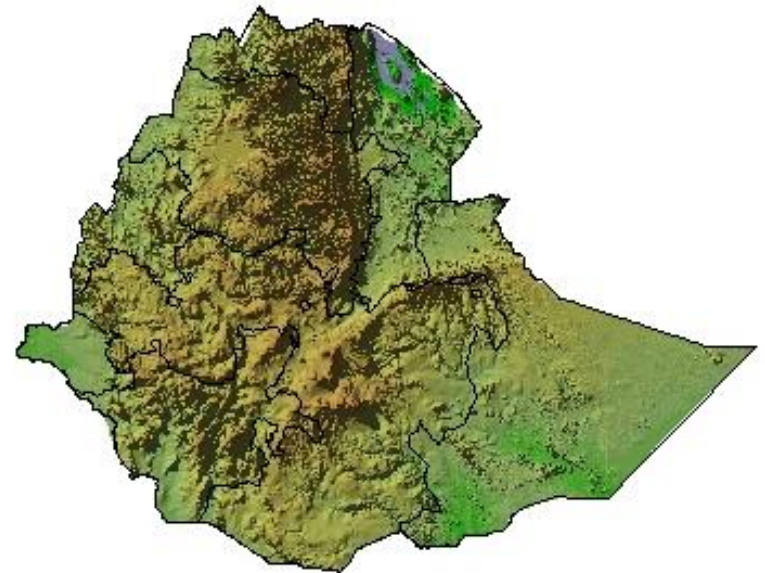
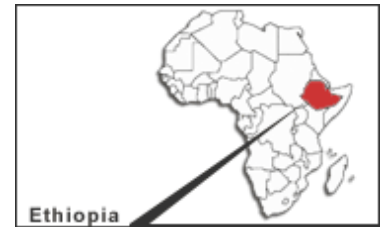
# Tracking Ethiopian rural communities since 1994: Select insights from EthiopiaWIDE



Pip Bevan, Catherine Dom, Alula Pankhurst, Sarah Vaughan  
working through Mokoro Ltd

[www.ethiopiawide.net](http://www.ethiopiawide.net)

*Mokoro Seminar at Meeting House, Oxford, 1  
November 2016*



# Outline of talk

- The evolution of Ethiopia's rural communities since 1991
- The WIDE longitudinal, qualitative, case-based study of twenty exemplar rural communities 1994-2013
- Our most recent analyses
- Part I – Changes in the communities as places, as differentiated societies, and for young people
- Part II – Changes in livelihood opportunities; changes in maternal and infant wellbeing
- Selected conclusions



# Introduction

Changes affecting Ethiopia's rural communities  
The WIDE research  
The communities and people

# Changes affecting Ethiopia's rural communities 1991- 2016

- By 2014 estimated population = 99 million; an estimated 25,000 rural *kebeles*
- 1991: military/socialist regime in power from 1974 overthrown by rebel factions led by Tigrayans
- From 1991: revolutionary democracy then developmental state
- 1995: multinational federalism
- 2002 start of *wereda*/district-level decentralisation
- From 2002 Ethiopia entered a period of rapid modernisation
  - 2002-5 The first donor-supported 'poverty reduction strategy paper' - SDPRP
  - 2005-15 PASDEP; GTP
  - 2015-20 Growth and Transformation Plan II

# Changes affecting Ethiopia's rural communities 2003-13

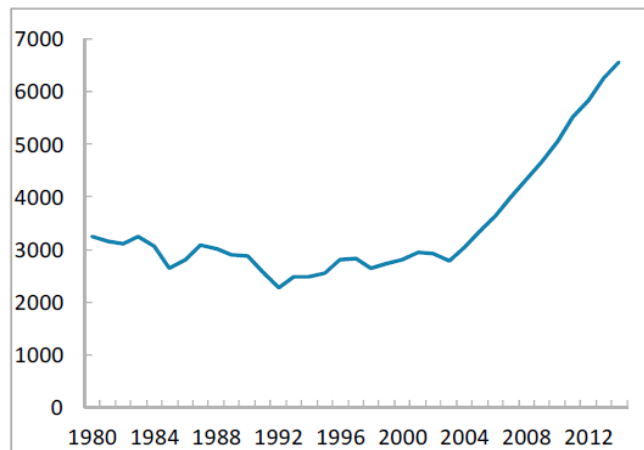
## Major modernisation processes

- Population growth; increasing life expectancies; healthier, better-fed, more educated and aspiring people...
- Increasing connectivity and relations with the outside world: urbanisation, roads, mobile phones, radio, (satellite) TV, urban and international migration and linkages..
- Increasing influx of ideas from outside: developmental, religious, political..
- Economic growth, diversifying economies, increasing average wealth and incomes, increasing economic inequality as rich get richer...
- Improvements for women, longer youth transitions to adulthood, child-rearing changes...
- Government development interventions increasingly penetrating rural communities in all domains, interacting with broader forces and local dynamics

# Accelerating development

- Under-five mortality halved between 2000 and 2011
- Largest safety net programme in Africa to address chronic food insecurity (2005 – to date)

**Figure 1. Ethiopia: GDP per capita**  
(in constant 2010 birr)

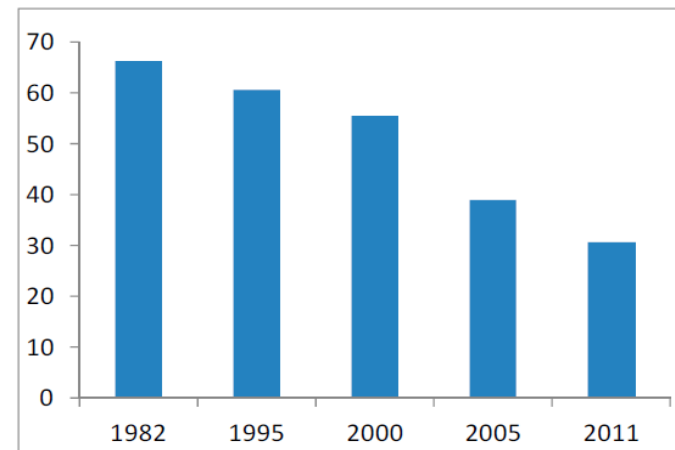


Source: IMF Staff Estimates.

**Figure 1: Percentage of primary school-age children out of school, 1999-2008<sup>2</sup>**



**Figure 2. Ethiopia: Poverty Headcount Ratio at US\$1.25 a day (PPP)**  
(in percent of population)



Source: World Development Indicators, WB.



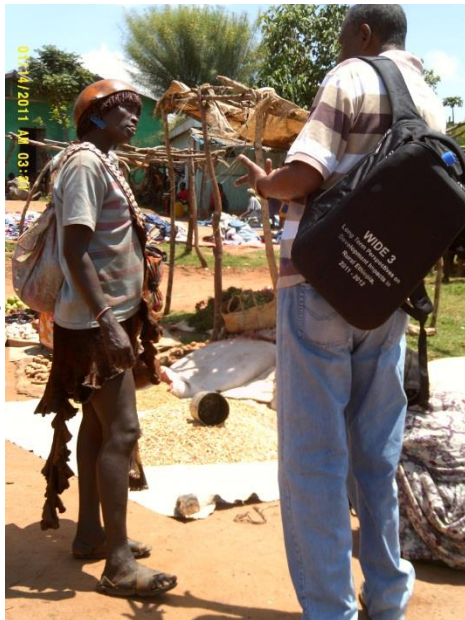
## WIDE3 researcher workshop



Nursery manager interview

## The WIDE research

Field  
worker



Visiting a  
coffee  
processing  
plant



# What is WIDE?

*Rigorous **longitudinal case-oriented** research aimed to be relevant to policy-makers and practitioners in Ethiopia*

1995 WIDE1; 2003 WIDE2; 2010-13 WIDE3

In context of rapid macro-level change esp. since 2003

? What was the *cumulative impact* at micro level

? How did GOE *policies/programmes* interact with

- local dynamics
- wider modernisation processes

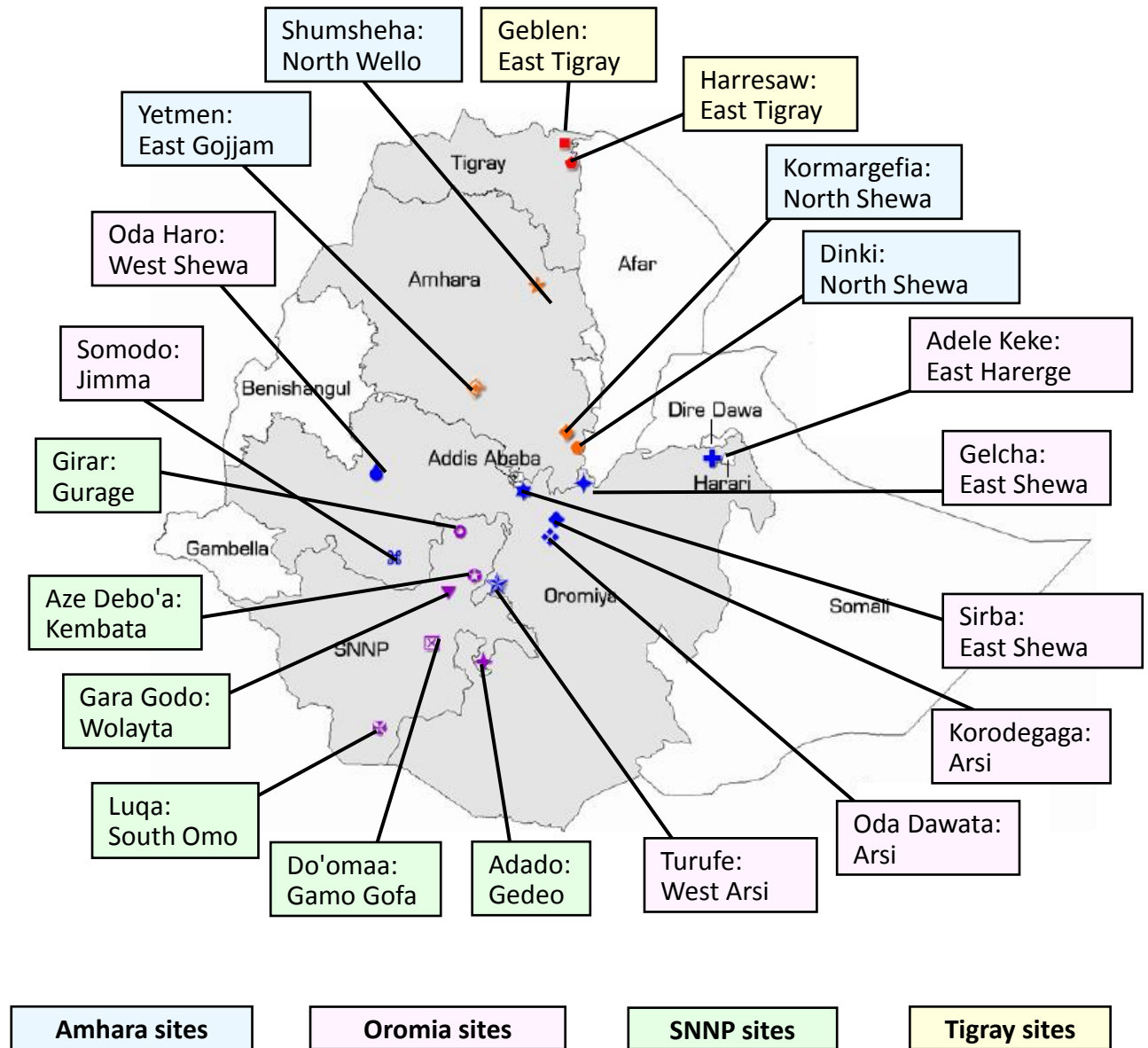
...to produce *transformation* and *continuity*

? In the different kinds of WIDE *communities*...

? ...and for different *kinds of people* living in them



# The WIDE communities by Region and Zone





Different kinds of rural communities







Drought-prone agriculture site



Pastoralist site

Coffee-producing site



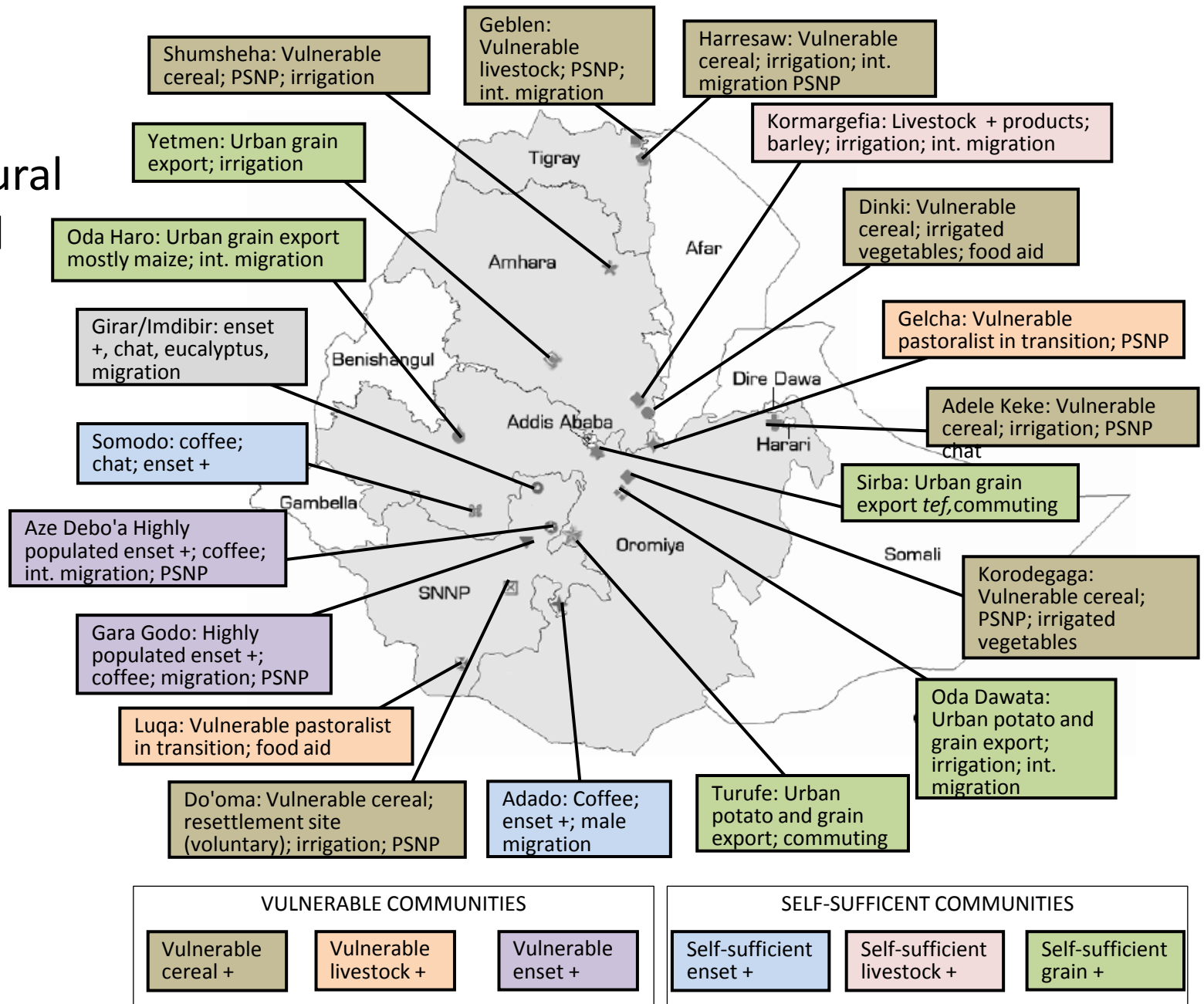
## Diverse rural livelihood systems

Cash-crop site

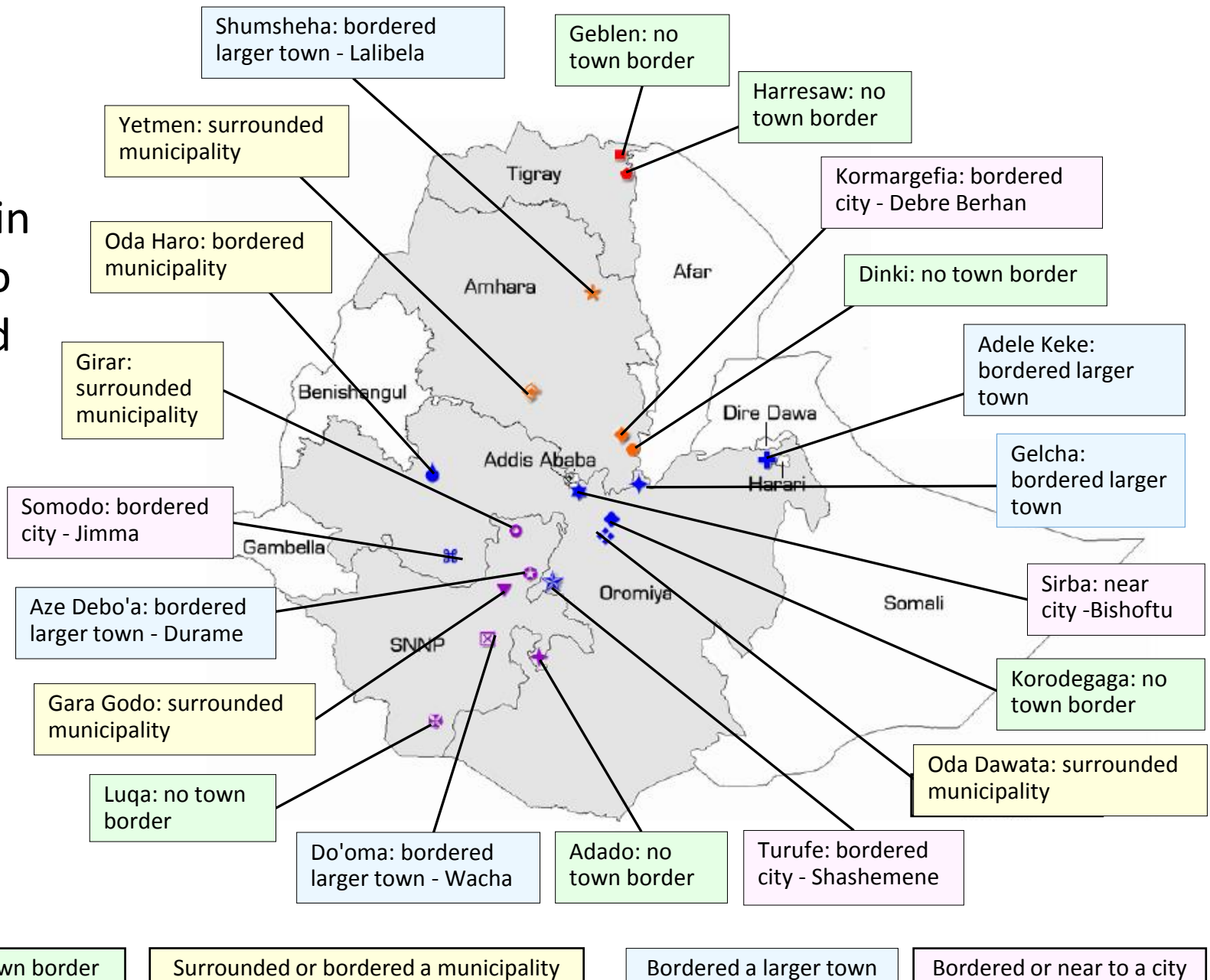




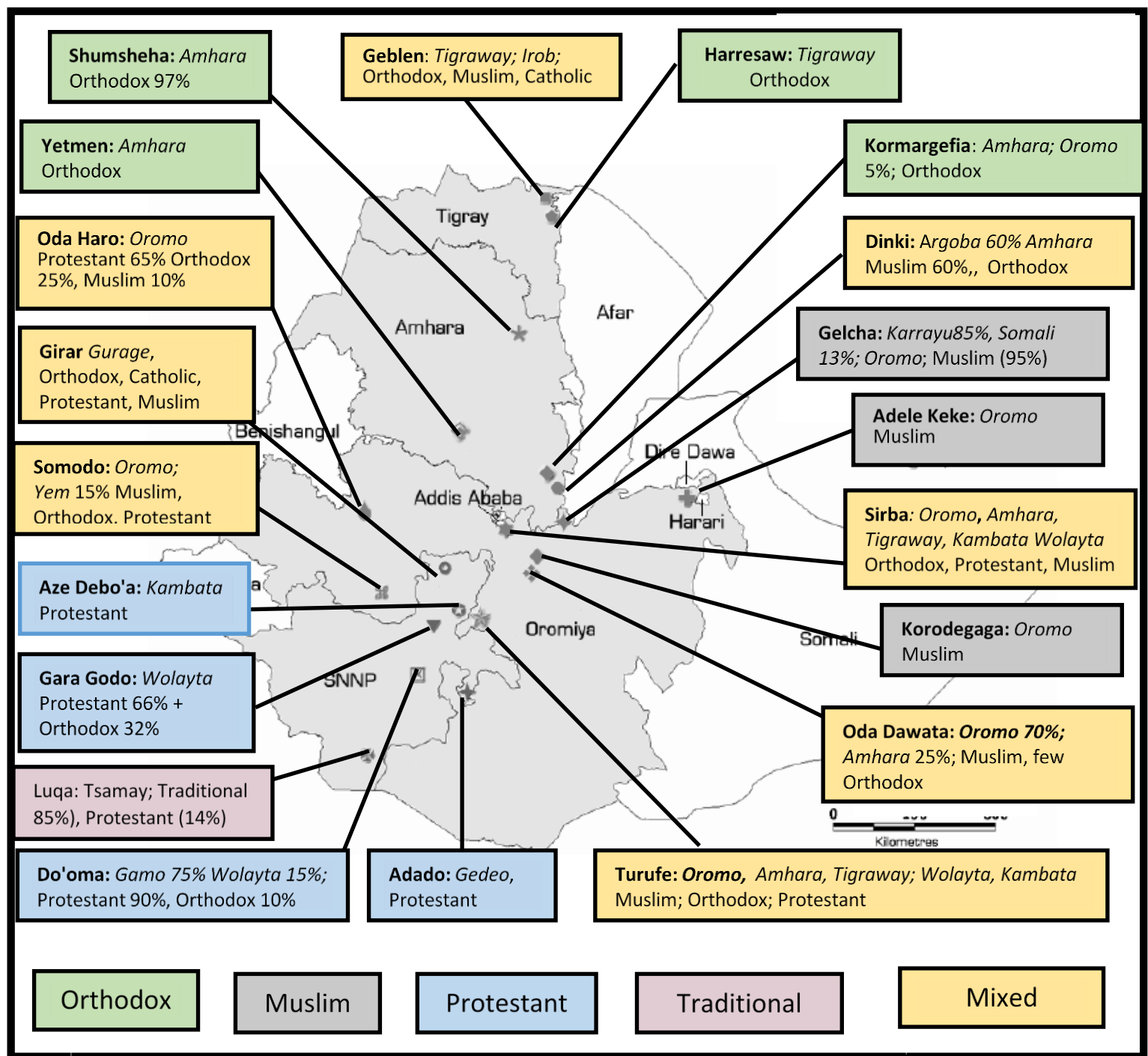
# Diverse rural livelihood systems



# Diverse locations in relation to towns and cities



# Diverse cultures and religions





Different kinds of people living in the communities





# Our most recent analyses

Nine topic-specific discussion briefs

Nine book chapters in the making



# WIDE Briefs Series II (2016)

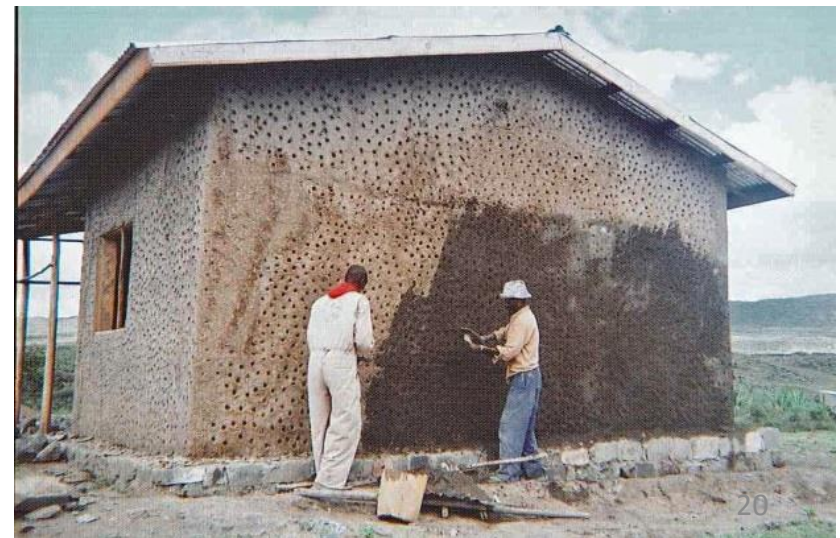
- Introducing Ethiopia WIDE and its policy relevance
- Rurbanisation, urban expansion into rural areas, and thickening rural-urban linkages
- Differentiation and inequalities in rural communities
- Youth transitions to adulthood in rural communities
- Education in rural Ethiopia 2010-13: aspiration and uncertainty
- Changing patterns in maternal and infant health and wellbeing in rural Ethiopia from 2003-2013
- Economic participation of girls and women in rural Ethiopia, 2010-13
- Moving for work from rural communities, 2010-2013
- Insights on economic success in rural Ethiopia, 2010-2013
- Diffusion of knowledge, learning, “technology transfer” and change in rural communities



Changes in the communities as places,  
as differentiated societies,  
and for young people



## Urbanisation and the WIDE communities 2010-13



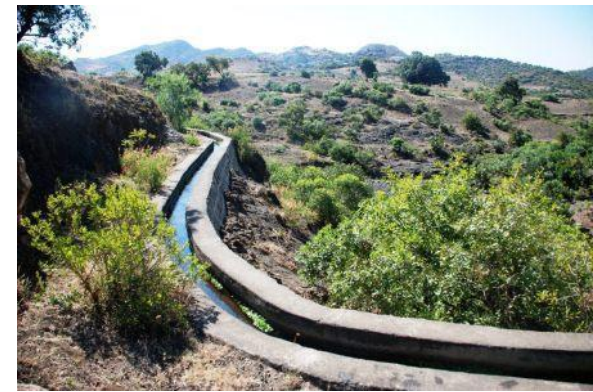


# Urbanisation processes

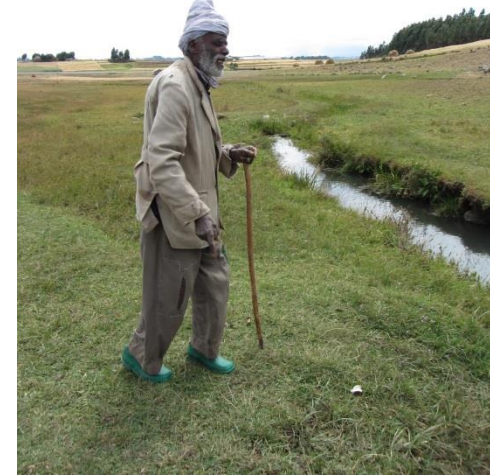
- In 2010-13 the twenty WIDE communities were **differentially** caught up in three kinds of accelerating urbanising processes :
  - **rurbanisation** within rural kebeles: around kebele centres and along roads;
  - **urban expansion** into rural kebeles from outside;
  - thickening **rural-urban linkages**.
- **Government, rural residents and private entrepreneurs** were all involved in the development of these new urban spaces.
- These **changing rural-urban dynamics** were contributing to changes inside rural communities
  - agricultural modernisation, industrialisation, servicisation, and consumerisation
  - changes in community cultures and social relations
  - changes in people's lifestyles, aspirations and well-being.

# Patterns of urbanisation in the WIDE communities

- **Internal ruralisation** much more advanced in some communities than others
- **Pressure from urban expansion** on the land of 12 of the 14 communities bordering towns; in most places those not living near the borders were unaffected
- The density and reach of **rural-urban links** to different kinds of towns (municipalities, larger towns, cities) varied considerably among the communities
- Different kinds of **urban aspirations and experiences** for different kinds of people: male/female; elderly, adults, youth, children; rich..poor
- **Biggest barriers** to accessing the benefits of urbanisation: **remoteness** and **poverty**
  - People in remote communities and poor communities had less access
  - People in remote households and poor households had less access



## Rurbanisation



# Rurbanisation: public infrastructures and 'urban' buildings

- By 2010-13 **rurbanisation** had made all the WIDE communities considerably less 'rural' than they were in 2003
- There were **differences among the communities** in internal road access, the quality of kebele buildings, the extent to which kebele centres had urbanised, access to electricity and mobile phones, and drinking water and irrigation infrastructure.
- **Fourteen** of the WIDE communities, eight of them drought-prone, had **irrigation structures and/or technologies** which had contributed to local economic growth
- **All internal roads in the twenty communities were dry-season only** and eleven had few or poorly constructed roads affecting access even in dry seasons.
- The **leading contributors** of cash, materials and labour for the construction and maintenance of internal roads, irrigation and safe drinking water infrastructure, and 'urban' buildings **were the local community**
- The quality of internal roads, irrigation structures and schools was notably **higher** in the few cases where the **wereda and/or NGOs had contributed materials, cash and technical advice**

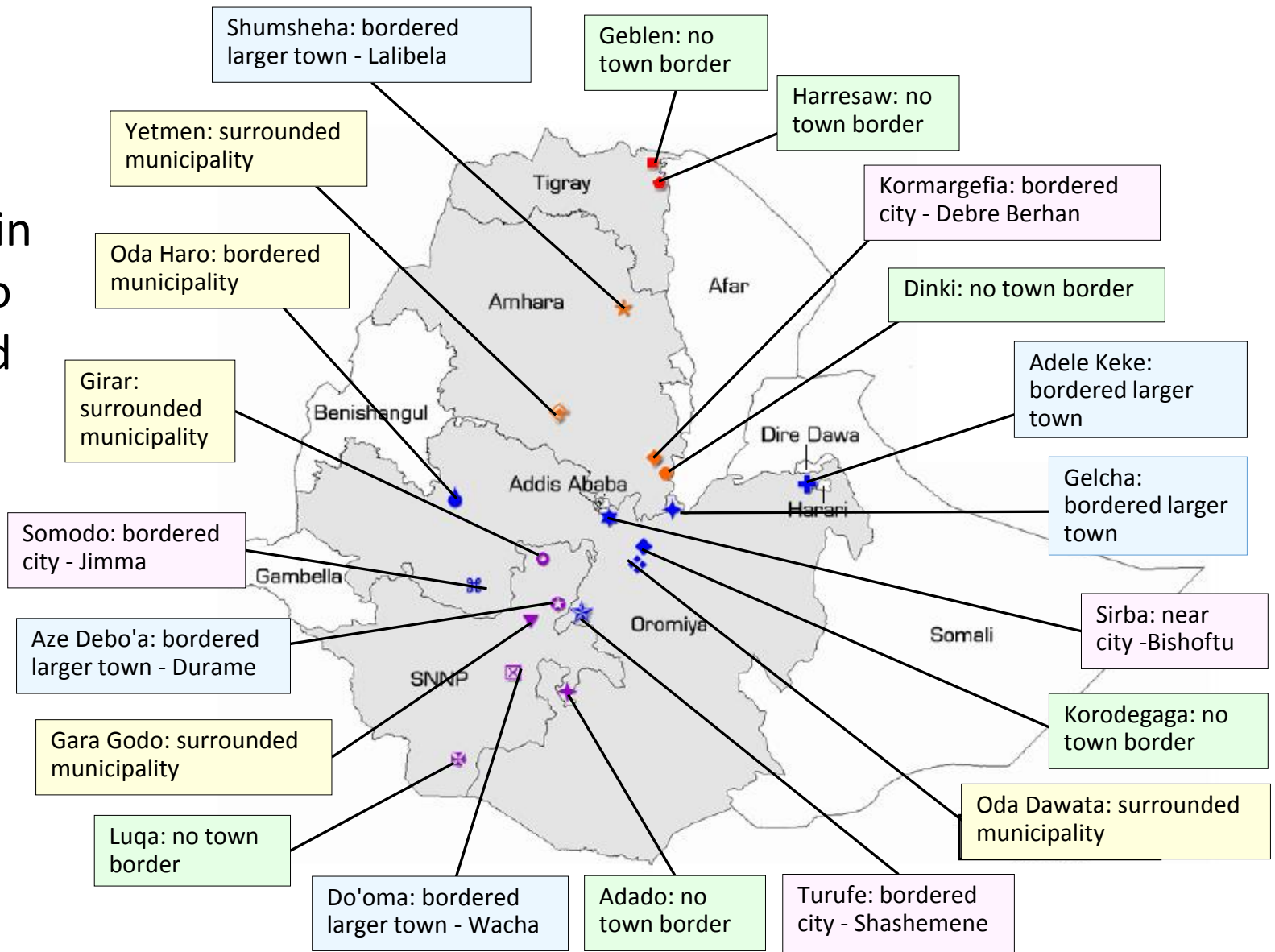




## Expansion of towns into rural areas



# Diverse locations in relation to towns and cities



No town border 6

Surrounded or bordered a municipality 5

Bordered a larger town 5

Bordered or near to a city 4



# Expansion of towns into rural land

- Actual or planned urban expansion into rural land in many of the WIDE communities was **re-figuring rural landscapes**
- Four communities had **expanding internal kebele towns** and six were experiencing **ribbon development** along main roads
- Land had been taken, earmarked or requested by **6 municipalities, 3 larger towns and 3 cities**
- This expansion process was **disruptive** and brought **benefits to some and costs to others**; a number of particular issues were raised:
  - Top-down plans from two sectors for the same large piece of community land were causing uncertainty in two communities, illustrating the need for **co-operation among ministries**.
  - **Loss of agricultural and grazing land** was a concern.
  - The **pricing of urbanising land** near centres, roads, and urban borders, was obscure.
  - Following 10-year plan announcements there was **uncertainty** about (1) when the land would be taken and (2) compensation.
  - There were a few **conflicts** between rural and urban dwellers over land and water.<sup>27</sup>



## Thickening rural-urban linkages



- **Rural exports** of crops, livestock and products, and building materials supported **consumption in towns and cities** and provided rural inhabitants with **incomes and non-farm trading and transport opportunities**
- Richer rural families **invested in urban** houses and sometimes businesses
- In WIDE communities near towns with medium and large enterprises wealthier more educated young people **commuted** for work or **migrated**, sometimes combining work and education.
- **Different kinds of people** had different kinds of urban connection, e.g.:
  - **Young people** - leisure activities, secondary and college education, commuting in some places, migration for temporary or longer-term work at various skill levels;
  - **Richer** farmers, traders, and business people- obtaining urban land and building houses locally; links with city traders in some communities
  - Farmers, business people, and consumers **buying modern goods and services**
  - Sick people using health **services**; richer people using private health and education services
  - **Poor people** migrating for work as a last resort often facing a new set of poverty-related problems



# Two important policy issues

## UN(DER)EMPLOYED YOUTH

- **Increase in non-farm business and employment opportunities** in urbanising centres (4 communities), ribbon developments (6), and to varying degrees in nearby towns
- But these communities were annually **producing many more post-education young people** than there were local opportunities for work

## REMOTENESS

- Many **remote rural communities** have little internal ruralisation, are problematic distances from the nearest town, and far from important urban markets and higher-level health and education services
- Many better-connected communities contain **remote areas**
- Investment in utilities and services in towns and urbanising kebele centres does not help **those being left behind due to remoteness**
- **Modern technologies**, including non-grid electricity, might be used to power out-reach programmes connecting remote rural people to some of the benefits of urbanisation.



Differentiation and inequalities in rural communities

# Inequalities and differentiation between and within communities

- Prevailing perceptions of inequality as being mainly urban. Yet...
- Alongside growth and transformation, increasing **differentiation between** rural communities, and **within** them.
- **Community** level - Agricultural potential, irrigation and cash crops, infrastructure development, proximity to towns and generally greater integration with market.
- **Household and individual** levels - based mainly on combinations of gender, age, wealth and status.
- At the two ends: wealthiest households forming **elite**; **destitute** barely survived from charity and food aid.
- Greater changes in sites with more agricultural potential, cash crops, irrigation, diversified economies, and proximity to towns, leading to bigger gaps between the rich and poor.



# Evolving relations between the rich and the poor

- Relations between the rich and the poor – from employment, share-cropping, share-rearing, credit and loans, to charity.
- With mutual benefit but greater advantages for the rich.
- Evidence **in some communities of declining cooperation** (drought, inflation, richer focusing on own production, shift from group or reciprocal work to hiring labour, greater internal divisions within a few communities).
- **Nascent class relationships:** farmers, and traders/businesspeople; big farmers accumulating land, and landless daily labourers.
- Categories of people who without special attention and tailored support could (continue to) **‘fall behind’**: poor with labour, women, youth, vulnerable groups (e.g. orphans, disabled...).

# Improving livelihoods

- **Poor households with some labour capacity** but less access to land, livestock and assets, less able to seize opportunities, women engaged in hand-to-mouth non-farm activities.
- PSNP in drought-prone sites; but often less support from mainstream extension services; difficulties covering costs of inputs > indebtedness > unwilling to engage with extension packages.
- More vulnerable to a range of shocks (drought, crop and livestock losses, illnesses) often leading to impoverishment.
- Rising **intergenerational** differentiation: older generation controlling access to land; longer youth transitions to adulthood (discussed later), limited livelihood options

# Improving livelihoods (2)

- Some positive changes in **gender relations** (land rights, education, health, reduced HTPs) but girls and women still carry most domestic and reproductive activities alongside economic activities.
- Female-headed households: not a uniform category but often face constraints in both farm and non-farm sectors (also discussed later).
- We suggested
  - Promotion of **non-agricultural activities**
  - Extension and credit services **tailored to needs and abilities**
  - Expanding **support to MSEs in rural areas.**
  - **Insurance schemes** (e.g. livestock losses, health care) and **subsidies for the poorest.**



# Vulnerable groups: Improving Social Protection

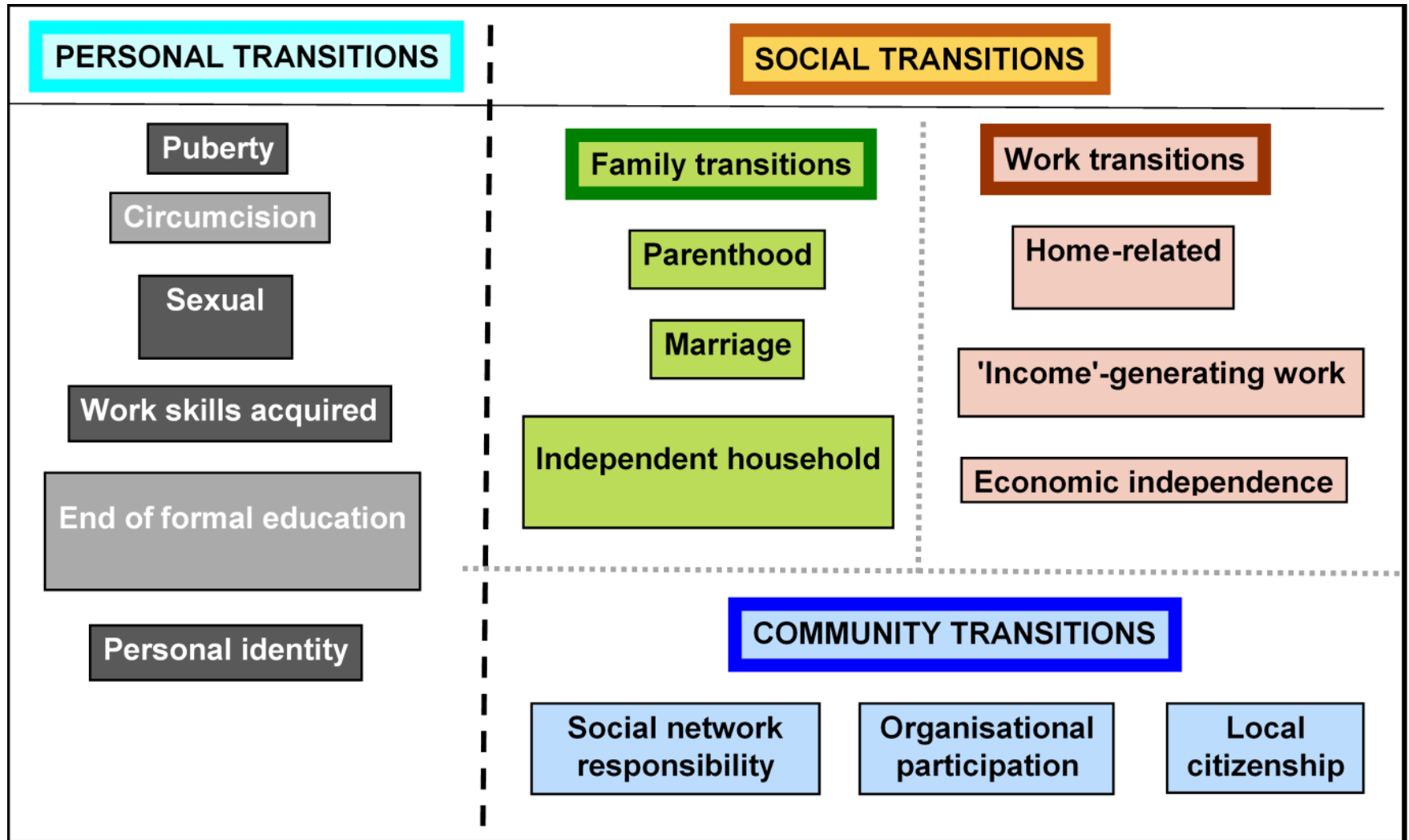
- Vulnerable groups (destitute, orphans, elderly without family, disabled) mostly supported by communities.
- Instances of stigmatisation (PLWHA, mentally-ill) or discrimination (craftworkers, in-migrants, labourers).
- We suggested an approach to Social Protection (2014) that
  - Recognises and responds to **diverse needs**
  - Builds **linkages** between formal social protection programmes (e.g. community-level social workers, pilot ‘community care coalitions’) and customary social protection institutions
  - Calls on **wide range of local actors** (*wereda/kebele*, CSOs, NGOs, private sector, community leaders, customary institutions)
  - Recognises importance of **empathy** towards poor and vulnerable people esp. by community level government agents.



# Youth transitions to adulthood



# Gendered youth passages to adulthood in rural Ethiopia: 13-15 boundary-crossings





# Understanding gendered youth transitions

- Local concepts of and practices around these 15 youth transitions have **strong customary economic, social & cultural rationales**.
- Certain transitions (e.g. female circumcision, child marriage) are subject to considerable **cultural variation**.
- Youth are thought of as young men in relation to work transitions; whilst the focus on young women is directed to personal and family transitions.
- We suggested:
  - More balanced attention - to **young women's productive roles**, and **young men's reproductive roles**.
  - More attention to **cultural rationales and diversity**.
  - More **holistic interventions**, recognising the links between all types of transitions – e.g. marriage and economic independence for young couples seeking to establish themselves.

# Girls' transitions and transforming cultural values

- Interventions focused on stopping female circumcision & pre-18 marriage.
- **Overlooking rationales and diversity** (e.g. early marriage as protection from risks for girls, way out of poverty; different for pre-, mid-, late teens)
- **Tendency to rely on bans** – Needed but not sufficient, evidence of some resistance and practices going underground increasing risks.
- We suggested:
  - **Integrated approaches** incl. understanding rationales, involving coalition of local actors, trying to convince, reaching out to men/boys.
  - For older adolescent girls: **alternative risk protection** (greater focus on access to contraception, abortion, child care); promotion of **alternative pathways** through education, training & employment.
  - Respecting **young women's agency** – e.g. special dispensation for 16-18 year-olds marriage; distinguishing forced abduction from 'voluntary abduction' or consensual marriage (young couple's own choice).

# Girls' transitions: from reproductive health to productive roles

- Initiatives for sex education, girls' toilets & sanitary materials in schools.
- Less attention to **broader reproductive health issues** facing adolescents.
- We suggested that
  - Youth sexual health should prioritise access to contraception, support with pre-marital pregnancies, abortions and child bearing; and involve young men and parents as well as young women.
- Nascent **shift in expectations** of families and girls, beyond 'just education'; yet, limited policy attention to options for training, skills development and income-generation for older adolescent girls.
- We suggested that
  - **Options for young women's productive roles** need more attention, including access to credit, greater involvement in youth and women cooperatives, promotion of MSEs, business and enterprise.

# Work & community transitions: unleashing youth potential

- **Youth work transitions affected** by resources control by older generation (land), limited employment, capital and credit for income-generation.
- Many youth involved in ***entrepreneurial activities***, especially in more integrated and diversified local economies; but ***little support***.
- Youth cooperatives rarely successful (problems of credit, training, leadership, management and competition).
- Youth organisations focus on political mobilisation, seen as irrelevant.
- Youth **involvement in community affairs constrained**, due to difficulties in other transitions (delayed economic independence and marriage in particular).
- We suggested:
  - Expanding support to **Micro and Small Scale Enterprises** to small towns and *kebele* centres to reach rural areas
  - Building on both **individual & group entrepreneurship** of young men/women
  - Learning from successful cases of youth cooperatives.
  - And that youth enhanced economic activity will over time encourage their greater participation in community affairs, esp. for young women.





# Reproductive health and well-being

Seven risks faced by young females due to their sexuality

# The risks associated with customary practices

Four of the risks were associated with **long-standing customary practices**:

- **Female circumcision**
- **Forced abduction** intended to lead to marriage
- Other **rape**
- **Early marriage** associated with sexual activity, pregnancy, child-bearing and motherhood for which the girl is not ready physically and/or psychologically

National statistics show a **reduction in all these practices** associated with **Government action**

- 1987 National Committee on Harmful Traditional Practices
- Revision of the Family Code in 2000 – minimum marriage age 18
- Revised penal code 2004 – punishments related to illegal female circumcision, rape and forced abduction

# The risks associated with modernising forces

**Modernising forces** with some consequences for girls' reproductive health and well-being

- Expanding **female education**
- Increasing involvement of girls and young women in **income-generating activities** including migration for work
- **Government action against early marriage**

In many places these changes had **reduced parental control** of their teenage daughters and contributed to:

- Increases in youthful **pregnancy outside marriage** particularly among girls at secondary school
- In places where such pregnancies were 'taboo' unmarried girls were unlikely to have **access to contraception**
- And more likely to resort to potentially harmful **customary abortions**



The WIDE evidence 2010-13



# Female circumcision in the WIDE communities 2010-13

- Female circumcision had customarily taken place at **different ages in different cultural contexts**: (1) at 7 days; (2) at or shortly before puberty often accompanied by ceremonies; and (3) just before marriage
  - **Not a problem** in 5 communities: never been practised in two communities, had been abandoned years ago in two Tigrayan communities (7 days) and ‘virtually stopped in one Oromia community (month before marriage)
  - **Ban being enforced** in 9 communities: e.g. cases of imprisonment and fining of practitioners; fear of legal measures had reportedly reduced the incidence; still different levels of secret practice
  - **Ban not** enforced in 6 communities: verbal campaigns against the practice but no enforcement of the law; 4 communities ignored the ban; reported reductions in 2
- In places with strong cultural support for the practice local **official enforcement was often half-hearted**
- Those **most vulnerable to harm from circumcision** were in the communities (1) where it happened before or in very early puberty and (2) where the operation was particularly severe (2 communities)

# Rape in the WIDE communities 2010-13

- **Rape had reduced everywhere** but was **still seen as a problem in 11 of the communities**; 8 were in remote areas
- In 9 communities it was reportedly not much of a problem any more
- **Main rape risks** to unmarried girls reportedly came from:
  - Forced abduction
  - Walking or working some distance from home
  - From teenage boys of fifteen or so
  - In town houses rented by young males attending school
  - In one community from men infected with HIV/AIDS
  - Employers of domestic servants
- Given the stigma attached to unmarried girls who have been raped it is likely that it was more common than suggested in the data; there was **no evidence of rapists suffering stigma**
- The 2004 revised criminal code was **not being properly implemented** in many of the WIDE communities, particularly those in remoter places

# Forced abduction in the WIDE communities 2010-13

- Forced abduction involves **kidnapping and rape** with the purpose of getting a wife
- In the past in some cultures it was a **recognised form of marriage** to avoid refusal of consent by the parents or girl and/or excessive wedding ceremony expenses and brideprice
- In some of the WIDE communities **voluntary abduction** or elopement was replacing forced abduction
- Forced abduction was **still accepted as a possible route to marriage in eight WIDE communities**; six of them in remote areas
- In seven of these communities rape more generally was a problem
- **Pressure was put on abducted girls to marry** to avoid family stigma and the prospect no other man would be willing to marry them
- There was **little evidence of interventions to help victims** of rape or forced abduction

# Early marriage in the WIDE communities 2010-13

- Landlessness, increasing education and income-generating activities, and independence from family among the under-18s had encouraged an **increase in the average age of marriage** in most communities
- **The age at which marriage was customarily acceptable varied:**
  - 15 or above in 12 communities
  - Under 15 in 5 communities
  - Not clear in three communities where the wereda was working to impose the under-18 ban
- **Reasons given for marriage under-18** included
  - Personal choice
  - Lack of success at school or inability to pay secondary school costs
  - Economic necessity
  - Following abduction
  - To escape onerous domestic responsibilities at home or an 'unpleasant stepmother'
  - Rich girls being 'married off' by parents



# Pregnancy outside marriage in the WIDE communities

- **The lives of young women in transition to adulthood were being transformed:** chances of becoming a farmer's wife decreasing; opportunities for education, local income-generating activities and migration for work increasing
- School attendance contributed to **declining parental control** and chances for females and males to socialise in new ways
- **Increasing independence** linked to a rise in pre-marital pregnancy which communities were still coming to terms with
- **6 communities** : possible for **unmarried young mothers to stay in the community with the child**
- **9 communities:** unmarried females could **easily access contraception**
- Most communities: **pre-marital pregnancy still 'taboo'** leading many to resort to potentially harmful customary abortions

# Conclusion

- The twenty WIDE communities had responded to interventions to eliminate practices causing harm to young females with a mix of **compliance, reluctance and refusal** depending on local cultural circumstances.
- **Law fit for purpose**; though strong case for institutionalising special dispensations allowing physically mature 16 to 17 year olds to marry
- **Policy focus**: improve the **educational campaigns** on all the risks (particularly to change male attitudes) and **implementation of the existing laws in all areas**
- WIDE data suggest high priority should be given everywhere to **rape and marriage under the age of 16**
- **Focused campaigns** could be targeted at communities where **girls from 12-14** are marrying as if they are adults, and where young and pre-pubertal girls are the subject of **female circumcision** and where the practice is more extreme.
- **More support for women affairs departments** would help: strong active women in wereda offices and kebeles had contributed to successful prevention of a number of individual cases of harmful practices

# Conclusion

- In many communities **unmarried girls who were sexually active** faced a set of linked problems involving **poor access to contraception, consequent unwanted pregnancies**, and **customary abortions**
- There was **little** WIDE3 evidence of **support from government services for girls harmed by any of these practices**
  - Damage caused by circumcision likely to be concealed to avoid potential punishments
  - Girls who were raped more likely to be stigmatised than offered counselling and modern abortions if they became pregnant
  - No reports of special services for early and mid-teen wives
- Full institutionalisation and effective implementation of **nation-wide adolescent reproductive services** would reduce unwanted pregnancies, customary abortions and marriage under 18.
- No sign of the National Adolescent and Youth Reproductive Health Strategy 2007-15 in the WIDE communities; no sign on the internet of a strategy 2016...



## Education in rural communities 2010-13

Aspiration and uncertainty

# Spectacular progress; outstanding and new challenges

- In most communities, bottleneck in access shifted from primary in 1995 to post-primary in 2010-13
- With ensuing much larger numbers of young people with some education
- Yet, **scope to make education more inclusive**
  - For the poor
  - For girls and young women
- And indispensable to make it **more 'fit for purpose'** in Ethiopia's current socio-economic context.



# Inclusive education for inclusive growth

In most sites, ‘**bottleneck**’ to access had shifted to **post-primary** – But:

- **Unequal access/achievements among sites** (hundreds of secondary or higher level leavers in better integrated or historically better served communities vs. fewer than ten secondary students in a remote agro-pastoralist community).
- **Quality** perceived as **low; worse in remote/smaller/new schools**
- **Deep access/achievement inequalities within communities**
- Poor/vulnerable youth at considerable disadvantage (costs, including ‘school contributions’), right from pre- and primary school level
- **Widespread irregular attendance**, esp. for poorer
- Many children/youth **combined/alternated work/school**.

We suggested achieving inclusive education would mean:

- Responding to the **needs of diverse and increasingly differentiated** rural Ethiopia – including poor/vulnerable
- Through a range of options **adaptable to local contexts and individual circumstances**

# Addressing inequality



## Through **addressing financial constraints**

- At **community/school level** - More support to disadvantaged areas/schools (e.g. larger grants, school feeding/incentive, teacher hardship compensation)
- At **individual level** - Scholarship schemes covering indirect costs at all levels; exempt poor/vulnerable from contributions (compensate schools)

## Through **more flexible schooling**, allowing 'drop-out-and-in' and work/school, with a wider range of modalities and bridges between them:

- Schools to adapt calendar to community patterns (harvest, markets)
- Keep alternative basic education as option; expand evening classes, ease evening/day transition
- Modularise courses, ease admission regulation
- Sponsor/expand distance education (ICT-based outreach...).



Girls at  
school...  
Changed/  
changing  
norms



Boys  
fetching  
water to  
clean  
classes in  
Oda Haro

Girls at  
volleyball in  
Oda Haro



# Girls at school... Support change underway

**Progress** with girls' education, **challenging 'conservative' social norms** but:

- **Unequal** between communities (e.g. Geblen vs Korodegaga)
- Same constraints/uncertainty as boys/young men
- **+++ gender-specific challenges** (domestic chores, lack of sanitation at school, early marriage, parents' fear of early pregnancy)
- **➔ Participation in higher grades decreasing**
- Marriage and pregnancy still most often mean stopping education.

We suggested supporting the change underway, through girl-friendly schools and combatting early marriage but also

- **Better protection against unwanted pregnancies** – systematic, age/ culture-sensitive sexual health advice (girls & boys) at school
- Specific guidance to schools & communities to **readmit young married women & unmarried mothers**
- **Affirmative action** – Priority to women for local, government-paid positions, as role models for girls/young women at school.



# Education for what?

From **mixed perceptions** of education relevance in 1995, to **high expectations** of education as path to a better life, but

- **Return to uncertainty**, esp. in communities where many have invested a lot in education but low quality → exam failure → many 'educated' rural youth with no further education and poor job prospects
- **Aspirations geared towards academic success**, TVET at best a fall-back
- Whilst premium on skills will increase in transforming rural areas.

Valorising non-academic professions is key to addressing this **mismatch**, and achieve GoE rural job creation & industrial policy objectives

We suggested:

- Strengthening **quality of formal TVET**
- Considerably **expanding non-formal/informal TVET** (many pre-Gr8/10 leavers; Government lead)
- **Addressing public perceptions!**





## Part II

# Changes in livelihood opportunities Mothers & infants' wellbeing



## Changes in Livelihood Opportunities Selected insights



# Changes in livelihood opportunities 1995-2013

- 2013 (before El Nino) - We found **economic growth** in all communities, and **more diversified local economies**.
- **More so** in communities with more agricultural potential, cash crops, irrigation, and better integrated (roads, access to market, closer to town), but even in more vulnerable sites.
- Evidence in looking at
  - **Women's and girls' economic participation**
  - **Economically successful individuals** (who were they, how did they become successful)
  - **Migration** – One of the 'new' economic opportunity.
- **Role of government interventions** in this greater economic dynamism: **limited, and mixed**.

# Women's expanding and diversifying opportunities...



- Important **opportunities in farm/non-farm sectors** (daily labour, industrial jobs, trade, small businesses etc.)
- Women's/girls' activities influenced by specific **combinations of community and individual-level factors**
- Progress limited by weaknesses :
  - In economically-focused interventions;
  - In broader 'equitable employment' and gender equity messaging and measures.

# Influencing factors

## Community level - Infrastructural developments, investments

- Driving upward economic participation of women in:
  - industrial jobs (coffee plants, shiro processing, flower farms, ...; esp. young)
  - increased trading ('petty', roadside and also larger-scale)
  - small businesses ('urban' services)
  - daily labour linked to irrigation
- **Esp. in 'better connected' communities** (good growth, improved roads, electricity, market connections, nearer urban centres)

## Individual level – Wealth, access to capital

- Women with no land/capital - Multiple (by necessity) 'hand-to-mouth' activities; or reliant on support
- Wealthier women (capital/financial security) able to invest in more rewarding activities (e.g. larger-scale trade, small business), success.



# Livelihoods support... Address gaps

- Women (esp. wives) often **bypassed by agricultural extension**; advice exclusive focus on 'female activities' (poultry, gardening etc.)
  - ➔ Ensure agricultural extension reach out to women, incl. wives, and incl. but also beyond 'female activities'.
- **'Too little' for women/girls specifically**; low effectiveness
  - ✓ *Women's co-ops*: potential, but insufficient support/resources etc.
  - ✓ *Credit*: some success; but demand >> supply; too risky for many
    - ➔ Well-targeted 'capital injection' (grants/asset transfer)
- **Young women 'missed'** by youth interventions
  - ➔ Better consider their specific needs, interests, constraints
- **Lack of support for non-/off-farm activities**
  - ➔ Expand MSE support in rural areas (for both women and men)

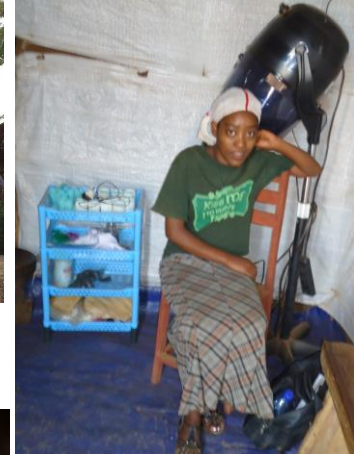
# ...Ensuring equitable and all-inclusive economic participation

- Expanded opportunities but issues related to equitable employment:
  - Unequal pay; low accessibility/feasibility for women with (or expecting) children; opportunities benefiting women but not in 'higher-grade' positions
- We suggested, in line with existing policies, consider **provisions for inclusive/equitable employment**:
  - Equal pay for equal tasks for women and men;
  - Provision of child care options, as well as maternity rights, in regulations on minimum work conditions;
  - Promoting awareness of employment rights (assertiveness/bargaining power)
  - Encourage affirmative action by investors to promote women's employment

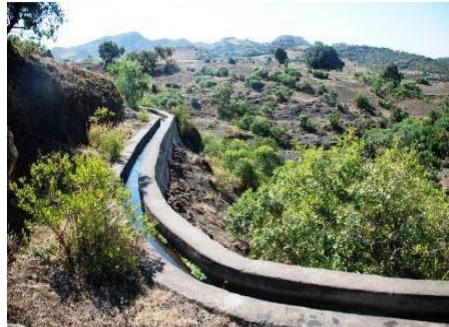
# Further influencing norms/aspirations to build on changing perceptions

- Impact of broader gender equity drive - education, land, marriage rights; **changing perceptions** (women 'not weak', role 'outside')
- **Economically successful women → further shift** ('role model' women's influence; girls' aspirations beyond customary roles)
- But **conservative norms persist; men concerns** (women 'too powerful', division of labour); competition for profitable activities.
- Reinforce **positive two-way dynamic between economic participation and shifting perceptions**:
  - ✓ More locally tailored women/girl economic participation interventions
  - ✓ Gender equity messages to men and women; addressing 'real life' situations/concerns (incl. those raised by men)
  - ✓ Broaden influence of existing 'role model' women in communities (e.g. invited in schools/media clubs to promote female trajectories)

# Economic success in rural communities in 2010-13



A great diversity of profile in farm and non-farm sectors, men & women, young & older...



# Economic success – Who, how, and effects

- **Who – Great diversity** – Older, younger, men, women, wives, women heads of households, farmers, traders, business people...
- ➔ Evidence of **more diverse, complex local economies**.
- **How - Synergy** between:
  - **Government action**
  - Broader **contextual changes** – including increased dynamism of communities (success as something to emulate)
  - **Personal initiative and drive** – making people to aspire
  - Access to some form of **capital** (land/labour, financial capital, social capital in various forms).
- Importance of **local contexts**, esp. infrastructure development & urbanisation/rural-urban links.
- Individual success ➔ **‘spill-over’ effects**: further local opportunities (e.g. farmers’ success ➔ local trade, transport business).



# Suggesting that...

- **Economic success cannot be simply replicated** through the same 'standard actions' for all; need actions tailored to local contexts, and individual circumstances.
- **Supporting individual initiatives** (alongside associations/co-ops) can contribute to stronger rural development outcomes
- **Infrastructure investments targeted to local economic niches** would support local entrepreneurs (e.g. no bridge in irrigation potential site, poor road in niche coffee-producing site)
- **More support to local traders & agro-processing investment** (links in localised value chains) would enhance mutually reinforcing effects between local farm and non-farm sectors.

# Selected government actions

**Extension services** key for successful farmers - Could be strengthened by:

- **Credit/options** to access inputs to support better **input use**
- Further tailoring to **local contexts** ('alternative' cash crops, irrigation)
- **Irrigation infrastructure development** to boost private investment
- Greater **focus on livestock extension** (vet care, breeds); livestock insurance schemes.

Financial capital critical yet **credit often hard to access** (collateral, red-tape, loans too small)

**Access to land** is key for big farmers' growth but can be controversial

We suggested

- Encouraging **MFIs to adopt business-friendly approaches** and adapt collateral types (e.g. title deeds for high quality rural assets/houses)
- Strengthening **institutional mechanisms for land rental** – would also protect more vulnerable people & help address tensions around land

# Risks, resilience, sustainability

- Economic success was possible for a range of individuals in a variety of different local contexts,
- But **vulnerable** to fluctuations (e.g. in product price) and shocks (e.g. drought or poor rains affecting production and costs/return balance).
- Successful individuals **managed risks by diversifying** within and across farm/non-farm sectors.
- Diversified portfolios also **enabled them to cross-invest** from one to another activity.
- This suggests:
  - **Caution in promoting specialisation** in economic activities at both community and individual levels (risks of mono-cropping if failure; of trading only one product if prices collapse).
  - That **access to a range of insurance types** (health, livestock etc.) would help secure economic success.

# Rural mobility – rising with rural development

- **Expanded & more complex migration:** more people (women & youth), diverse destinations in (towns, factories, farms)/out of Ethiopia, varying durations (commuting, seasonal, years...)
- As a product of communities' development and **higher aspirations**.
- **Young people** faced with limited local opportunities, wanting to 'change their life'.
- Decisions by **individuals** or as **household strategy**.
- Variable outcomes.

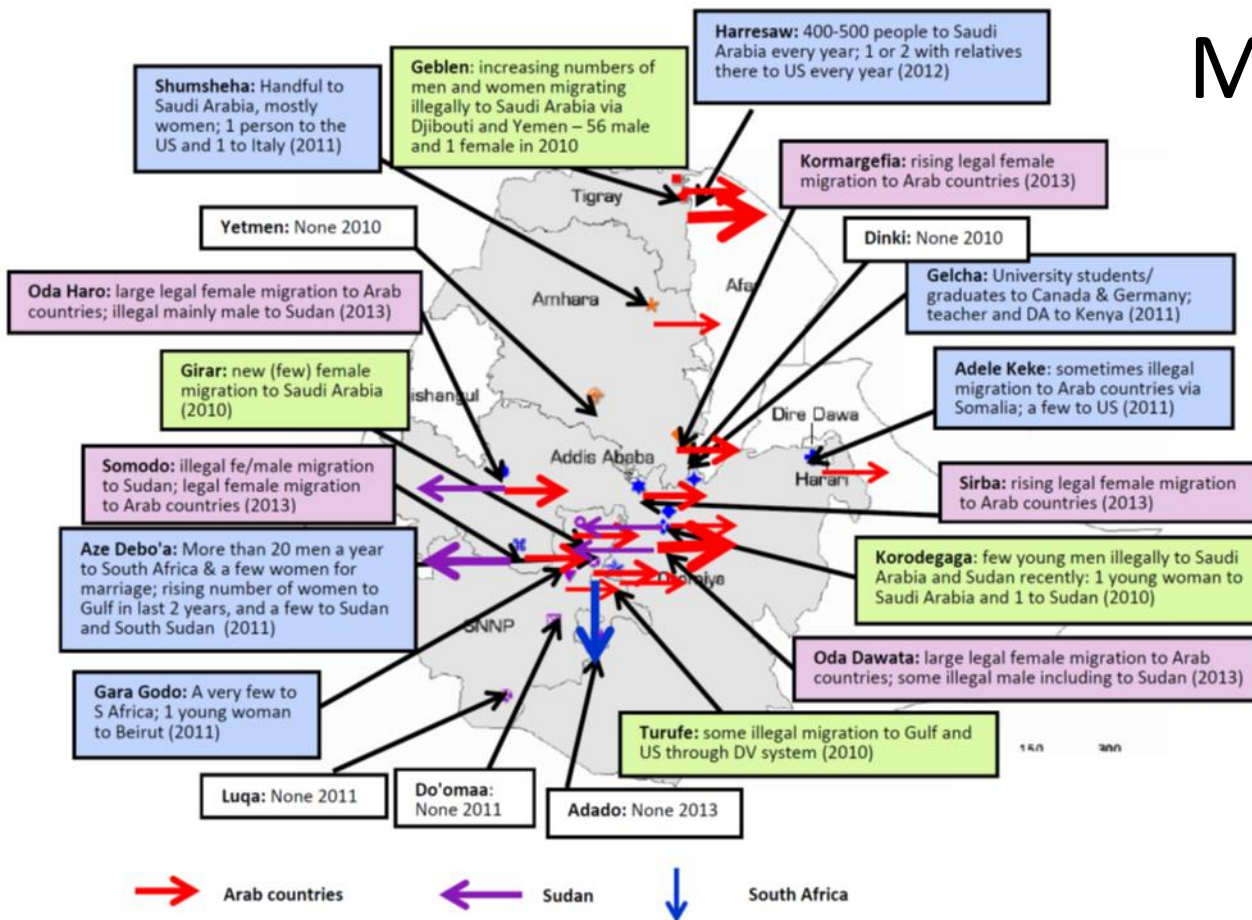
## Urban/industrial migration

- In all communities; 'important' in twelve.
- Costs small compared to migration abroad; reduced pressure on local resources (land), one fewer mouth to feed.
- But **often precarious life, small returns, exploitation** (esp. women, in domestic or hospitality work, sometimes mixed with prostitution).

# Migration abroad

**Migration abroad**, important in both striving/struggling communities; gendered pattern – feasible legally for young women, not young men.

Costly so poorer people make riskier choices to be able to travel.



**When successful, considerable positive effects** (individual, hh & community): wellbeing (housing, diet, clothing, health care), social protection (support to elderly parents, siblings), human development investment (siblings' education), local economic investment, diversification and strengthening of rural-urban links.

- Irregular migration was risky; legal migration not without risks too; **risks known but insufficient deterrent for many.**



# A sensitive policy issue...

WIDE evidence: **well-managed rural migration can contribute** to rural development as well as GOE economic transformation goal.

We suggested considering:

- **Strengthening migration management capacity** through clear policy and research to understand its evolution.
- **Measures to maximise returns** of successful migration, e.g.
  - Cheaper transfer & better saving conditions
  - Use of remittances to subscribe to insurances (formalising social protection effects) or as collateral for credit (multiplying economic investment potential)
  - Advisory services to migrants/households to select worthwhile economic investment
  - Including possibly co-financing local infrastructure development to boost local development (Gurage tradition).

# A sensitive policy issue... (2)

WIDE evidence suggests that **both urban/industrial migration & migration abroad are likely to continue to increase** with rural development.

And **women's mobility is a potential asset** at least as important as men's (changing/ed social norms etc.)

Hence the **importance of improving migration experiences**. We suggested:

- Better information on and preparation for available jobs, enhanced migration management, strengthening/enforcing legal frameworks for both urban/industrial and abroad migration.
- Giving urban migrants access to support to SME development.
- Developing formal financing options for poorer would-be migrants.
- Special attention to ensure women benefit fully from migration (e.g. focus on minimum work conditions in domestic and hospitality jobs; easing young women's access to independent banking options).
- Seeking ways to expand legal job opportunities abroad for young men.



Reproductive health and well-being

Mothers and infants

# Improvements in mother and infant well-being 2003-13

Comparisons of WIDE2 data (2003) with data from WIDE3 (2010-13) confirmed EHDS statistics, indicating **improvements in the health and well-being of mothers and infants in rural communities since 2003.**

These improvements resulted from a **range of interacting modernisation processes related to government interventions across key sectors** leading to :

- increasing rural wealth and incomes
- improvements in rural infrastructure and services
- modernisation of rural attitudes
- improvements in rural women's education and status
- social protection in drought-prone communities
- the Health Extension Programme
- increased rural access to modern reproductive and curative health services.

However, there were still many problems; in particular mother-baby couples in remote places, in poverty, and during droughts were at risk of harm

# Issues

- 15 months of the **pregnancy-infancy cycle** when the **mother-baby couple** face a number of joint risks:
  - 9 months of pregnancy;
  - delivery;
  - 6 months of (ideally breastfed) infancy
- Issues important throughout the 15 months: remoteness, poverty, drought, seasonality effects, quality of drinking water, women's work
- **Pregnancy issues:** being pregnant, complications, Ante-Natal-Care
- **Delivery issues:** maternal & infant deaths & birth injuries
- **Post-natal issues:** Post-Natal-Care, infant illnesses, maternal physical and mental health
- This presentation focuses on drought, poverty, remoteness, and Ante-Natal and Post-Natal Care and deliveries

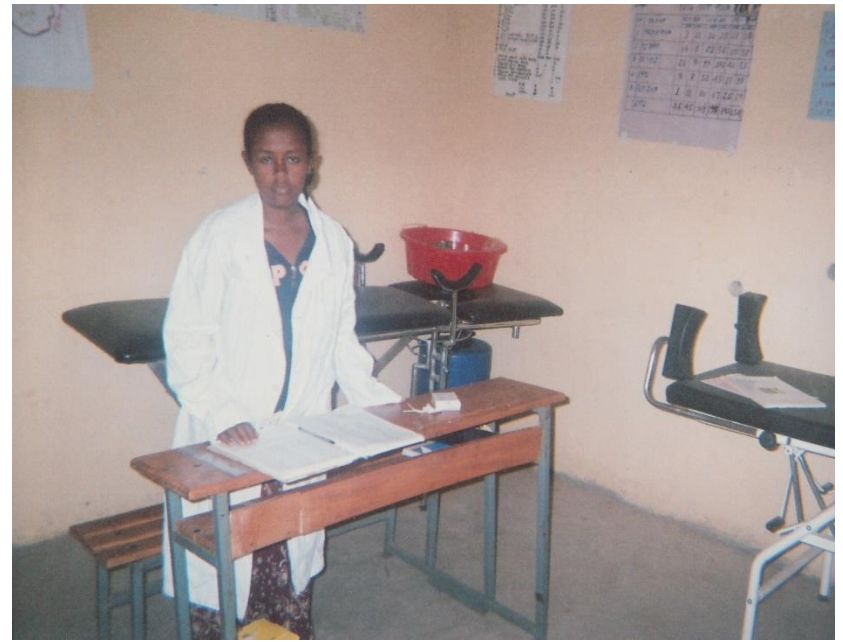




The WIDE evidence on  
drought, poverty and  
remoteness



- **Droughts** led to food and water shortages, and in some places heavy income-generating activities for women such as firewood selling
- 2003-11: *Ten* WIDE communities suffered severe droughts in 2 or more years
- June 2016: *Thirteen* of the communities affected by the El Niño drought
- **Poverty**: big differences in **community wealth** - in four WIDE communities in 2004 **absolute** rural asset wealth scores were 1.61, 2.57, 3.11 and 4.59 (max 5)
- Big differences in **household wealth**: in same communities in 2004 **relative** productive asset wealth scores assessed 34-44% of the households as relatively poor including 5-9% destitute
- Many cases of **poor pregnant women and mothers** with inadequate diets doing heavy and time-consuming work and not using health services
- **Remoteness**: example - distance from a hospital:
  - *on or near an allweather road – 17 communities*
  - 4 communities < 10 kms; 7 communities 11-23 kms; 6 communities 42-94 kms
  - *problems getting to an allweather road*
  - 3 communities – once on road 24-42 kms to the hospital



## Ante-Natal and Post-Natal Care



# Ante-Natal Care 2010-13

- Health Extension Workers were effectively **giving women advice** on good diets, avoiding hard work, taking rest and hygiene **but many women were unable to follow it.**
- The 2014 mini EDHS estimated that **54% of rural women received some Ante-Natal-Care (ANC) from a skilled provider or HEW** although the content varied considerably.
- In the WIDE communities **supply barriers to getting the necessary ANC tests** included lack of instruments, distance to Health Centres, and rude service in Health Centres.
- There was **no demand from many women** particularly those who were **poor and/or remote.**

# Post-Natal Care 2010-13

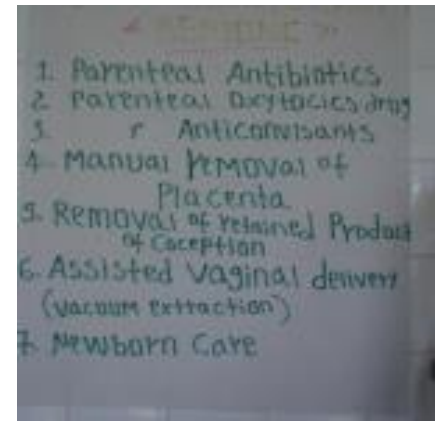
- In the WIDE communities Health Extension Workers were effectively **giving women advice** on good diets, breast-feeding, and hygiene **but many women were unable to follow it**
- Extract from Health Sector Transformation Plan 2015/16 – 2019/20 p26

*The postnatal period is a **critical phase in the lives of mothers and newborn babies**. Most maternal and infant deaths occur during this time. Therefore, postnatal care (was) one of the high impact interventions planned in the HSDP with a target of 78% by the year 2014/15 (EFY 2007).*

*Although PNC in the first two days is not captured by HMIS, the EDHS 2014 reported coverage of **12% for PNC** within the recommended two days period. Nevertheless, this is an improvement from three years ago with only **7%**. However, the HMIS report showed higher coverage of **66% for PNC** in EFY 2006 (2013/14)*

- The large difference between the EDHS (random household sample) statistic and that from the HMIS (health workers' reports) suggests **a big problem with the latter**
- In the WIDE communities **PNC was not given the emphasis** that ANC was by health workers





## Delivery



# Maternal mortality and deliveries 1

- Fieldwork in the WIDE communities took place in early 2010 (6 communities), late 2011 (8 communities) and spring and late 2013 (6 communities)
- **The WIDE 3 data on delivery reflects changes in Government policy regarding deliveries** related to their campaign to meet the maternal mortality MDG by 2015
- In early **2010** the aim was **‘clean and safe’ deliveries** in Health Posts
- There was evidence of Health Extension Worker training and provision of delivery equipment in Health Posts, though the two did not always match; seemed to be few deliveries in the HPs; clean water problems in many
- Health Sector Development Programme IV (July 2010-June 2015) obligated regional governments to decrease the MMR through the improvement of **Skilled Birth Attendance**

# Maternal mortality and deliveries 2

- **Measures** to be taken included assigning ambulances to weredas, free maternity services, and use of 'health development armies' and HEWs to mobilise women to deliver in Health Centres
- **There were some signs of this campaign in 2011; there were more in 2013**
  - 'clean and safe deliveries' in Health Posts abandoned
  - ambulances mentioned though no reports of use
  - reports of pressure on pregnant women to deliver at Health Centres during ANC and from HEWs
  - Introduction of a 'delivery-friendly' environment in Health Centres including traditional post-birth porridge ceremonies with grain contributed by the community
  - Traditional Birth Attendants warned to stop deliveries
  - HEWs reported education through Development Team and 1-5 leaders (the Health Development Army) though other evidence suggested these structures were not working

# Maternal mortality and deliveries 3

- In 2014 **91% of rural women delivered their babies without skilled assistance** (Mini Ethiopian Demographic Household Survey).
- In the WIDE communities the big **supply constraints on skilled delivery** were:
  - distance to Health Centres along poor internal roads;
  - inadequate staff and drugs;
  - rare ambulance service;
  - costs of hospital service and transport.
- **Barriers to demand** included:
  - perceived lack of need, especially if ANC monitoring showed no problems;
  - taboos about male staff;
  - the cultural unacceptability of being out in public six hours after birth.
- Inadequate supply of skilled delivery and expensive obstetric services at health facilities, combined with remoteness, poverty and personal choice will continue **to prevent many pregnant women from delivering at Health Centres and hospitals in the foreseeable future**

# Maternal mortality and deliveries 4

- The development and management of a system with **five options of place of delivery would improve the safety net** for rural women and their infants and contribute to reductions in maternal and infant deaths:
  - Home; Health Post; Health Centre; Government hospital; Private clinic or hospital
- An **out-reach service** supporting safe & clean delivery at home or the Health Post could:
  - improve the functioning of the referral system for pregnant women at risk;
  - re-instate deliveries in upgraded Health Posts by HEWs with diplomas (planned in GTPII);
  - select suitable women from Health Development Armies for training in safe and clean delivery and emergency procedures; provide safe delivery kits
  - use Health Development Armies to educate all women likely to assist with deliveries in clean and safe practices and simple emergency procedures; this could be facilitated by the use of Information and Communication Technology.
  - use non-grid electricity – solar and wind power and micro-hydels –to power mobile phone apps and support education and skyping to skilled delivery advisory services in times of emergency.



# Conclusion: improving the wellbeing of mothers and infants

- **The state should take full responsibility for the health and well-being of all women and their infants throughout the pregnancy-infancy cycle**
- **Institutionalised maternity rights** for women should include:
  - ANC and Post-Natal-Care as near home as possible.
  - choice of place of delivery if no complications
  - free skilled delivery/obstetric care for all identified at risk during ANC or suffering an emergency during labour.
  - an advisory period of ‘maternity leave’ linked to general community education about pregnant and lactating women’s needs related to diet, drinking water, workloads, lifting heavy objects, rest, etc.
- There is a case for considering **different mixes of types of mother-and-baby services for different kinds of rural communities**, according to
  - terrain, settlement pattern, and urban proximity



# Selected conclusions

## Three policy themes

Growth, poverty and inequalities

Change over time and space

Genderage and experiences of change

A remark on policy approaches

# Three broad policy themes

## Growth, poverty and inequalities

- WIDE evidence of importance of **agriculture** – including irrigation – in local economic growth, but also of **diversification** into non-farm
  - More investment in irrigation: support to different sizes, management modalities, techniques; infrastructure, technical and managerial support
  - More support to non-farm sector activities (e.g. MSEs in rural areas, local agro-business investments).
- Not everyone did well. Evidence of **people/groups missing out** economically, in access to education and health services, trapped in poverty
  - More interventions are needed, but which “*do things differently*” to reach out to poor and vulnerable, starting by understanding where they start from.

# Three broad policy themes (2)

## Change over time and space

- Strong space-change link; greater change in better connected/ integrated sites.
- **Reducing rural remoteness** – incl. **within** communities, often overlooked in policy.
- Attention to internal roads and paths as well as *kebele*-connecting roads.
- Development/expansion of off-grid electrification options to support ICT-based options of access to services (e.g. agric & health advise, distance education etc.).

# Three broad policy themes (3)

## Genderage and experiences of change

- WIDE evidence of **progress, though mixed, with gender equality**; and **longer, more complex transitions of youth** to adulthood.
- Interventions need to think holistically about gender-aged individuals, with gender-aged specific needs, potentials and constraints, and who have to decide and act simultaneously in all domains of their life.
- E.g. attention to young men's reproductive/young women's productive roles, to women's baby-making role together with economic role etc.



# A remark on policy-making & implementation approach

WIDE shows the value of the current standardized, hierarchical & disciplined approach, but also its limits.

Six interlinked features to strengthen interventions' effectiveness:

- 1) the value of a **holistic approach** to policy;
- 2) the importance of **taking account of diversity** hence contextualising (“one size does not fit all”);
- 3) the benefits, therefore, of a ‘**bottom-up**’ **approach** attentive to local knowledge, local innovation & learning processes;
- 4) the importance of **allowing space for experimenting** with local ideas and with a wide range of options in interventions;
- 5) the **effectiveness of working with broad coalitions** of various kinds of actors with a view to harnessing all potentials, ideas and power;
- 6) the **value of more modest but realistic ambitions** in implementation.