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AN ECOFEMINIST PERSPECTIVE OF THE
IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES
ON WOMEN'S LIVES
The Case of Ethiopia

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Abstract:

Development is a contested concept that is still evolving within the global debate in which gender literature largely contributes. However, if there is no consensus on the broad notion of development, the integration of the gender dimension within it is also very controversial. This thesis suggests looking at the impact of development policies on women's lives through a constructivist social ecofeminist perspective. Hence, this analysis is based on the assumption that the environment and women are interconnected in terms of developing policies. The constructivist theory avoids essentialization, and as such, women are coerced to act as social and cultural agents not because it is in their *essence* but because the patriarchal capitalist system constrains and limits them in their opportunities. Focusing on the case of Ethiopia, the impact of development practices on women's relations with the environment and industrialization processes will be discussed. This research will bring a fresh insight on the consequences of development practices in the areas of industry, food and health on the living conditions of women. It will highlight that such practices increase gender inequality, food insecurity and risks of infection. In this respect, these dimensions must be fully integrated by donors and actors not only in their guidelines but also in practice.

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List of Abbreviations

AfDB – African Development Bank	ICESCR – International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
AHO – African Health Observatory	IMF – International Monetary Fund
BWIs – Bretton Woods Institutions	NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
CESCR – Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	SAP – Structural Adjustment Program
EPRDF – Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front	SEZ – Special Economic Zone
EWLA - Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association	SDG – Sustainable Development Goals
GAD – Gender and Development	UN – United Nations
GC – General Comment	UNPD – United Nations Development Programme
GDP – Gross Domestic Product	WAD – Women and Development
GoE – Government of Ethiopia	WCD – World Commission on Dams
GTP – Growth Transformative Plan	WFP – World Food Programme
HR – Human Rights	WID – Women in Development
	WB – World Bank

Introduction

“Development requires the removal of major sources of ‘unfreedom’: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states.” - Amartya Sen (2011)

Research Problem

Since the past century, hundreds of billions of dollars have been invested in development aid and programs in order to eradicate poverty, improve living standards and ensure the freedoms and rights of individuals in the Global South.

In the broad and vague concept of development, the popular definition is an economic growth. By this, Third Countries are commonly said to be in the process of it; so-called “developing countries”. On the other hand, Western countries are generally perceived as “developed”, an idea which has its origins in the colonial discourse. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) promotes *human development*, a term that originates from the numerous debates occurring around the 1970s and the 1980s about the need to engage more than just Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the definition. During this period, the question of gender inequalities, such as women’s political and civil rights, raised awareness among academics which eventually led to the Women’s Decade in the 1970s. These post-colonial decades also introduced a new understanding of the concept of development and discussion about its link to imperialism. In other words, the new concept of development promotes not only an economic dimension but social aspects as well.

Recently, the UNDP has defined *human development* as something that must protect the aspects and increase the richness of human life, rather than just the richness of the economy in which human beings live. This approach aims to create fair opportunities and choices for people (Human Development Report Office, 2018).

International organizations offer different programs to *help* and to *assist* these countries. For financial institutions it is usually through loans that carry their values and norms in their conditions. On the other hand, governments are desperately willing to be part of the global economy and gain political influence, thus they need a steady economic growth. Therefore, they find themselves coerced by the conditions, the norms and the values imposed by financial institutions.

As key global organizations, we can name the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Although they mention peace, democracy, environmental protection, and equality in their conditions, such factors are not their main focus; they are rather analyzed as a side effect of poverty. By accepting these loans, state also accept to share their sovereignty with a Western party throughout the conditions of their loans.

So while gender is made visible in development practices and theories, is it being addressed in reality? For instance, an important condition of these loans and programs is the exportation of goods. According to Grace Chang, a Feminist scholar, this condition often leads to the eviction of peasant families from their lands to make room for the installation of corporate farms (Chang, 2016). Even more marginalized than before, these communities are coerced to abandoning their businesses and joining the same corporate workforce that uprooted them. Chang also mentions that this phenomenon increases child-labor, especially for girls, who would be the first to be kept from school. It also diminishes the availability of elderly-care and closes hospitals in remote areas. To sustain for the lack of social programs, girls and women show great resilience for what governments fail to provide. In this respect, this research aims to assess development policies and their consequences on women's lives.

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The Ethiopian context is worth taking into consideration as a case study, as it is currently undergoing an industrialization and urbanization process. As the first country in Africa with an average of 10 percent economic growth rate for the last decade, its debt is also steadily increasing. Indeed, the recent figures of 2018 show Ethiopia's debt represented 59% of its GDP. Half of it is owed to China. For some years now, institutions and economic scholars have been warning about the danger the country's indebtedness poses for the national economy.

Before that, recurrent periods of famine led to foreign aid and assistance. Later on, development programs opened the door to foreign investment. The document in the annex shows that US\$ 8.6 billion is owed to India, Middle Eastern countries, and China, which calls into question the role and the impact of the South-South cooperation on the country. Furthermore, the World Bank is a significant actor of development in Ethiopia with a debt of US\$ 6.6 billion. However, Ethiopia owes to the International Monetary Fund \$US 0.2 billion. This can be explained by debt cancellation. As for 2017, the Bretton

Woods Institutions (BWIs) cancelled \$US 6.7 billion of Ethiopia's debt (Jubilee Debt Campaign, 2017), which should lead on to speculate concerning the impact of development debts on a developing country.

Furthermore, the Government of Ethiopia (GoE) is not the only actor of development and assistance. Despite aiming for an economic growth, and avoiding a potential economic crisis, financial institutions and private actors are inducing an urbanization and industrialization which is impacting social, economic and cultural norms and values.

Echoing Chang's observation on the impact on women and girls, this work takes on board the gender dimension. In this respect, I intend to assess what could be the implications of these kinds of current development practices may be.

Moreover, as development programs impact the land for industrial agricultural as well as water resources for energy, environmental issues should also be taken in consideration in this study. Finally, the relationship between the environmental consequences of development policies and the effects they have on women's lives will be discussed.

Focus and limitations

This thesis aims to address the impact of development policies on women's lives from an ecofeminist approach without relying on an essentialist perception of women's roles in society. It rather emphasizes the issue of gender roles which can restrain women in terms of opportunities. The Ethiopian historical context will be analyzed in regard to its consequences on the state sovereignty, the economy, and also the environment and social inequality. This thesis is an effort to outline how women are actively finding creative ways to sustain in spite of the failings of the State and foreign institutions. In this respect, their resilience will be highlighted in order to explore their resistance to harmful development policies but also for what it lacks. As this methodology is based on a documentary analysis, research is limited to available data and studies, supported by ecofeminist theories. Furthermore, some elements such as ethnic conflicts and police violence go beyond the topic of this thesis and have deliberately been set aside. Finally, the first chapter will explore the difference that exists between cultural ecofeminism and constructivist social ecofeminism. The term ecofeminism will then be used to talk about the constructivist approach.

Thesis Methodology and Outline

This thesis aims to shed a fresh look on development practices in Ethiopia by using an ecofeminist approach to gender issues induced by these programs. Moreover, the first part of the research will focus on how ecofeminism can contribute to development practices. In this respect, the argumentation will focus on policies that impact different sectors of women's lives such as work, food and health, which are not only the main sectors addressed by development policies, but also significant realms of women's lives. In parallel, I will collect a broad range of data from existing researches that will serve as evidence to assess the impact of such policies on women's lives and the environment.

The main focus of this research is to ascertain how social, environmental and economic dimensions in development practices are interconnected. Indeed, although the UN defined environmental protection, economic growth, and social equity as interlinked and fundamental components to sustainable development, I intend to further investigate the gender dimension within the context of Ethiopia (United Nation, 1987).

However, the ecofeminist theory is not a unified and coherent discourse, and therefore, there is a room debate within this perspective. I intend to clarify the contributions and the limits of this theory. The research methodology is mainly a documentary analysis, with the support of theoretical literature, on the impact of development policies on women's lives from different geographical areas in Ethiopia. Moreover, some elements of subjectivity are incorporated from the concluding observations.

In order to question to what extent gender should be analyzed in the following dissertation, the first chapter will discuss the contributions and limits of existing feminist theories. Moreover, it aims to question how theorists linked women and nature. In this respect, it will assess why ecofeminist theorists chose to integrate this dimension into the global debate. Chapter 2 will provide a context to development policies occurring in contemporary Ethiopia, along with their failures and their achievements. Finally, Chapter 3 will question the impact of some development policies in the country have had on women's lives but outline its strong relation to nature.

What impact have development policies on women's lives in Ethiopia?

Chapter 1: The making of the feminist theoretical and analytical framework on development

“We can and must respond creatively to the triple crisis and simultaneously overcome dehumanization, economic inequality, and, ecological catastrophe.” — Vandana Shiva (2000)

Although there are plenty of definitions for feminism, and that the debate on the concept of development is far from over, this research aims to address the impact of development policies on women’s lives. As Ethiopia has diverse foreign connections for reasons which include aid and development, BWIs are not the only donors, the Chinese government also invests. The historical context has its importance. Indeed, development practices have evolved in conjunction with the debate. In this respect, this thesis will focus on the current development policies occurring in Ethiopia from a feminist perspective. In this regard, feminist theories must be assessed in order to understand which approach would provide the most comprehensive analysis. Indeed, development or whether it aims to be sustainable or not, it brings changes to different areas. Among these changes are politics, lands, norms, and health.

Mainstream feminist theories on development

The dimension of gender in the global debate on development

Development is a notion that has continued to evolve and be discussed in not only theories, but also in practice. However, this does not explain why women’s relation to development has been added to the global discussion. Moreover, since 1987, the concept of *sustainability* has been added to the discussion on development. The United Nations (UN) defines sustainability as: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (United Nations General Assembly, 1987).

However, the gender dimension does not appear in this vaguely worded definition. Feminists have linked the concept of development and gender through the evolution of the notion of poverty. In this, feminism, throughout the last century, opened a discussion in Western countries regarding the role of women in developing processes and largely contributed to the visibility of gender in poverty.

Along with new gender theories on the poverty issue, the UN “Decade for Women” initiative between 1975 and 1985 gave a new perspective on the concept of poverty. Poverty was not perceived as a gendered problem before this decade. Nonetheless, the process of integrating women in the analysis has been pioneered by feminist scholars. The main idea was that women cannot be excluded from economic development, that their involvement in social changes exists, and that poverty affects considerably more women than men (Chant, 2006).

However, the way in which we include women and other components into such theories was subject to debate and researches. Feminism introduced major changes in the way we perceived and practiced development. Different theories exist and coexist, and from their failures and limitations, other frameworks have been drawn. In some cases, approaches failed to create a comprehensive analytical and theoretical framework to development that encompassed all of its essential dimensions.

The following part intends to point out where the mainstream feminist theories on development failed or succeeded in providing a representation of the dynamic relationship between women and development. It also aims to highlight feminist contributions to the global debate on poverty.

Evolution in theories

The evolution of theoretical perspectives contributed significantly toward making gender a visible dimension within the concept of poverty. That being said, approaches to gender differed from one theory to another.

The classical historical framework of the incorporation of women in development concepts and discourses is usually summarized by the evolution between the three main theories. First, there was the Women in Development (WID) theory, its failures to integrate all spheres of women’s lives later inspired the Women and Development (WAD) approach. Eventually, critics and confrontation of these two ideas and their methods of analysis would go on to formulate the Gender and Development (GAD) theory.

WID theory was born from the critique of development discourses denying any form of feminine labor, which depicted women as “stay-at-home”, thereby giving men all the power to bring *progress* in the society. Hence, this approach aims to equally include women, as major actors of social changes, in modernization processes and the capitalist approach to development. Furthermore, it explains that issues in female employment, housework and childcare are the consequences of poverty (Chant, 2006). It calls for greater research on women’s work or female education and job opportunities in developing countries.

During the 1970s, this perspective was taken into consideration by the United Nations bringing changes to aid development policies and programs to better integrate women into the economic development through legal and administrative changes. Law was indeed one of the first targets of feminist scholars in the effort to reduce poverty. Implementing equality between genders in laws was thought to have a major impact on austerity.

Although that was an important step toward eradicating poverty in Third World countries, this feminist theory neither questioned in depth the social structures that participate in the subordination and the oppression of women, nor did it consider why women are disadvantaged and excluded from development practices. Their focus on the public sphere and women’s productive roles was limited, and it overlooked critical aspects of women’s lives.

This theory is also described as “First Wave Feminism”, or “liberal feminism” with a Eurocentric focus placed on the public role of women and their need for the right to vote and equal access property (Salleh, 1997).

Although the WID theory highlighted the importance of including women in development and making their role visible in development processes, it failed in discerning causes of inequalities between genders and between different groups of women. It was also limited to the public spheres.

Intersectionality is a concept in feminist studies that was first conceived in 1989 by the Black Feminist scholar, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw. It includes other components within the domination concept such as racial and ethnic discriminations (Crenshaw, 1997), outlining the social structures that create inequalities. Today, intersectionality encompasses various other forms of discriminations like racial, ethnic, able, sexual orientation, and social class discriminations. Defining gender as something heterogenous was an important part that was missing from this theory.

From this critique, the WAD approach evolved and was theorized to address the unequal integration of women into development in order to garner a better understanding of the challenges that

women in Third World countries are facing. Two important critiques of the WID approach were that, first of all, it describes poverty as a static concept, and secondly, it lacks sufficient emphasis on intersectional social and cultural inequalities (Chant, 2006).

Another important aspect that was brought through the WAD approach is the emphasis it placed on women's active role in development processes, something which WID theories failed to recognize (Duggan, Nisonoff, Visvanathan & Wiegersma, 2017). Indeed, women should not only be included in the economy, but they should also be valued as agents of change. The relationship between women and development analyzed accordingly outlined some of the causes of inequalities generated by development practices and theories.

Thus, WAD theory also brought a new interpretation of the consequences of the development process by depicting both sexes as oppressed and subordinated in a system based on class and capital ((Duggan, Nisonoff, Visvanathan & Wiegersma, 1997).

However, while making the assumption that more equitable international structures would empower women, WAD theory did not consider the consequences of gender roles in the analysis. Indeed, patriarchal systems perpetrate inequalities between the sexes and changes must also occur within the culture.

From both of these approaches was drawn the Gender and Development (GAD) theoretical framework. GAD theory offers a comprehensive analysis of gender challenges in different areas of women's lives - health, labor force, violence, rights etc. - and the impact of capitalism in those areas (Drolet, 2010). This is often described by scholars as the "Second Wave Feminism" (Duggan, Nisonoff, Visvanathan & Wiegersma, 1997; Chant, 2006). Redefining the notion of poverty, this approach led to analyzing poverty as a dynamic concept rather than a static one (Chant, 2006).

The introduction of social factors in the development concept integrated them into the definition of poverty with economic standards being just another component of it. Questioning gender highlights the active role of women in development processes. Poverty is thus composed of human capital like skills and education, but also social capital where relationships within the societies and the household play a large role (Chant, 2006).

Patriarchy and social classes are thought to be the most important contributors to inequalities in this theory, which reasons that states are obliged to empower women through laws. Women must obtain legal rights in order to reduce inequalities between genders. For instance, inheritance and land laws must

be reformed to induce social changes (Duggan, Nisonoff, Visvanathan & Wiegersma, 1997). Although it is an important step toward protecting women's rights, laws cannot be considered as the only transformative factor for an equal society. Gender stereotypes, institutions must be instated in all spheres of the society. The example of paternal leave in Sweden contributes a lot to this discussion. However, legal equality between the two parents is not enough, as fathers can refuse to abide by it. To achieve tangible results, culture, traditions, and opportunities should also be part of the debate.

Contributions and limits

These theories led to important changes in the way academics define, conceptualize, and measure poverty and the way it should be addressed. Gender inequalities became visible in poverty measurements for international organizations, such as the UNDP, which created an index to measure them: the - Gender Related Development Index - and also to express what can be improve to empower women (Chant, 2006).

The different roles of women within their families and in the public sphere and their analyses exposed social, cultural and economic factors to poverty which gave some answers for practitioners. It also helped to give a dynamic definition of poverty and genders where the first concept that is not static and where genders are not described as essentialist nor homogenously.

GAD theories were integrated into international development programs such as the World Bank's with microcredit or girls' education. Microcredit is, for instance, perceived as a way of reducing poverty, while increasing the employment rate and easing social inclusion with a special focus on women. Although it is composed of different bodies such as social services, education, consulting and mobile microfinance to stand by the customers, some critics also argue that it ignores the social causes of poverty and would focus only on how the individual would escape from it. Financial institutions act as a band-aid rather than inducing or ensuring deep changes in the society. Furthermore, they also participate in spreading norms and values of capitalism by valuing profit making, which is more in line with their own interests.

Failures in development practices were also responsible for new debates. This framework incorporates a feminist approach to Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and its impact on women. For instance, Manisha Desai (Desai, 2002), explained how SAPs and other neoliberal policies are

impacting migrant women's lives, migration and labor conditions, both in the sending and receiving countries.

Thus, this evolution in theories also raises the question of what elements should also be taken in consideration when it comes to gender and poverty. Some scholars who have asked themselves this question came to the conclusion that culture is an important component of poverty. However, culture is a wide concept to define. Firstly, because it is not static within *one culture*, and secondly, because two cultures can encounter and acculture to one another.

Ecofeminism

Ecofeminism was introduced by Françoise d'Eaubonne in 1974 and would become popular in development studies during the 1980s. It perceives the domination of nature and of women as interconnected (Salleh, 1997). It aims to escape from the Western idea of development that Shiva (2010) denounces to be a system that “militates against equality in diversity and superimposes the ideologically constructed category of western technological man as the uniform measure of the worth of classes, cultures and genders”. In this critique, the author argues that not only there is a domination of the West on the rest of the world, but also one of class, of gender, and of culture. However, is ecofeminist theory unified or even the only perspective to connect women and nature? The following section intends to assess how different theories associated the two and the contributions brought by ecofeminist scholars to the global debate on development practices. Finally, it will explore the limits of this perspective.

The association between women and nature

Ecofeminism connects the different dots that are involved in development intervention and discourses. Adding the element of nature to the question of gender in development theories is part of Third Wave Feminism, also known as ecofeminism. Although this theory is relatively new in the Eurocentric historical framework and is associated with the 1970s, the association between women and nature has also been made before that in other parts of the world.

In this respect, it is important to include feminist movements that took place in Eastern Africa especially ones that made a connection between nature and women. Embodying political and religious struggles, Ethiopianism, Nyabingi, the Mau Mau movement and New Rastafari were important resistance

movements during the modern colonial era and had influenced not only one another but also the wider world.

The late 1800s saw the rise of a religious movement in response to colonialism called Ethiopianism. Being a non-colonized area of the continent, Ethiopia was a symbol of Pan-Africanism. Anti-colonial activists were organizing around the idea of self-ruling which was not only a struggle but embraced in Ethiopia and, the African continent, but also by individuals of African descent in the Caribbean. In Jamaica, women led resistance movements embodied the dimension of gender in class struggles. As an example, the Culture of the Free Villages, inspired by Mrs. James Mckenzie in 1902 claimed the defense of the land by a majority of women. Terisa E. Turner explains that the Culture of the Free Villages had diverse sources of inspiration, such as the Nyabingi women in Uganda who unified against colonial oppression, especially those who were involved in food production in rural areas and were the most vulnerable to the colonial rule. For instance, Turner discusses how the loss of land hardly impacted their food self-sufficiency. Later in Kenya, rural women also organized around land-ownership issues while other women joined the Mau Mau movement to avoid being traded as wives by their fathers (Turner, 1991).

Thus, ideas of ecofeminism can be found in different African and Caribbean movements which largely influenced one another during the colonial period. The class struggle is embodied by rural women who reclaim their right to the land when there were less visible movements in urban areas. The link between women, the land, political rights and food production were made a long time ago in the Eastern African and Jamaican contexts, all formed from the rejection of colonial oppression. Yet, these movements had no great effect on European theories before the end of the 20th century, and when women-led organizations were undermined by the predominant European patriarchal gaze. Furthermore, the European colonial interests and slavery also highly participated in hindering local struggles.

Feminist ecological movements such as the non-violent Chipko movement in India brought a new dimension to development debates worldwide, with the rejection of colonial oppression being replaced by the struggle against patriarchal capitalist domination on nature. Beyond being a feminist movement, Chipko outlines the important link that exists between social justice and nature. As nature is a part of peoples' cultural identity in developing countries, struggles for ecology can be perceived as struggles for social justice (Leckie, 2016). Poverty has an impact on the environment, and according to these scholars, there would not be social justice without an ecological awareness. In the same way, their particular link to nature, the land, the water and the forest make the environment an important part of their survival.

It is from this understanding and this history of local environmental and social struggles that ecofeminism was born. It provides a comprehensive analysis of the diversity of life; from the protection of biodiversity to the protection of cultural diversity (Salleh, 1997). Indeed, a fundamental idea of this approach is the link made between humans and nature. Women and men do not have the same relationship with nature. For instance, Shiva (2010) explains in her research that most food producers in the world are women, producing more than half of the world's food, and that most girls are future farmers. As such, they provide food security and use their knowledge in biodiversity as medicine.

As development programs are taking over agricultural fields, selecting the products to export to boost the local economy, they put the locals' means of subsistence at stake. Furthermore, they reduce women's roles either to the food market or as caregivers because most of their work is made invisible by an economy approach. This explains why Shiva accuses the Western perspective of development of dominating, not only women but also nature by trying to control biodiversity and food production. Via knowledge production and its visions of norms and values, the West pressures countries to adopt its standards. Their programs are influencing food, food production and food distribution, all while causing ecological destruction (Shiva, 2010).

By doing so, ecofeminist activists promote an idea of development that will break from Western social constructs tied in the notion and finally connect Human Rights (HR) to nature. To conclude, ecofeminist scholars outline the existing convergence between both the impact of the patriarchal system and of neoliberal globalization on women and nature. However, this is not the only contribution from this environmental and feminist discourse. Furthermore, as it is not homogeneous but rather contains a diversity of positions, a debate exists among ecofeminist theorists.

Contributions and limits

The ecofeminist discourse gives a platform to social movements with a diversity of voices and from a variety of situations (Carlassare, 1994) highlighting the active participation of women in social justice and ecology. Indeed, this approach is not unified and is articulated not just around academic theories but also grassroots movements, journals, conferences, and even art (Carlassare, 1994). The analysis given by ecofeminist scholars outlines the role of women in nature and in their communities. Ecofeminist scholars analyze female social movements as means of resisting development policies in Third World countries.

This is what Shiva's work explores. Moreover, her studies echo what M. Caulfield called "cultures of resistance" in her article "Imperialism, the Family, and Culture of Resistance" (Caulfield, 1974), wherein she discusses the impacts of imperialism on the family and the special role women have in resisting systems of imperialism. The struggles of the people from the ground shows resistance, and opposition to the imposition of a system that degrades the environment. A great contributions of ecofeminist studies has been to bring to light the capacity of women for resilience when their means of survival are threatened by predatory capitalist practices.

In this respect, the ecofeminist theory addresses both ecological and social issues of development, providing a more comprehensive analysis than the previous approaches. Thus, if one wants to understand a policy's impact of them on Human Rights, one has to take into consideration the consequences on nature, health, poverty, peace, justice, inequality, and women without denying the connection between all of these components. This must be done in order to understand local struggles that individuals and groups are facing and challenging. In this respect, authors such as Shiva or Hossay highlight in their works how women resist development policies such as the Chipko movement or the loss of water supply to a Coca-Cola factory in Kerala, India (as cited in Salleh, 1997). Not only their words on how they imagine development and why they reject some development consequences on their lives should weight in global debates and local practices but why they are the one engaging in resistant movements when development policies affect their local environment.

Yet, if the connection between women and nature is one important focus of ecofeminism, it is also the main criticism made at this perspective. Indeed, it can be perceived as an essentialization of women, meaning that women by essence are nurturers, caretakers who are close to nature, and that these are their predetermined, innate and unchanging qualities (Carlassare, 1994). However, Carlassare

explains that it is because there is a schism between cultural and social feminism where the former is accused of essentialism by the latter.

According to Carlassare, the disagreement between the two approaches lays in the differences that exist between essentialist ecofeminism and the constructivist perspective of social ecofeminism. Constructivists perceive that women's roles emanate from the social, cultural and historical context they are socialized in, which is heterogeneous and changing. On the other hand, cultural ecofeminists depict the role of women in the society as the result of their essence. Furthermore, social ecofeminism carries the idea that Western capitalist patriarchy oppresses and limits women in their scope of opportunities. Hence, Carlassare states that they are constrained to act as social and cultural agents. This statement needs to be nuanced as ecofeminism principally intends to avoid providing a generalization but rather in favor of shedding light on the diversity of voices, women and situations. Regarding this, the third chapter of this thesis will explore the case of Ethiopia based on local data and sources of information rather than only general theories on ecofeminism.

Moreover, although this dissertation intends to outline how women find ways of subsistence and show resilience to development policies, it also seeks to discuss how the latter limits and constrains women to their social and cultural roles. Hence, it will not apply an essentialist stand point. In this respect, ecofeminism will be used in this thesis to mention constructivist social ecofeminism.

Nonetheless, as financial institutions are major actors and donors of development, it would be interesting to assess the extent to which they integrate components of social ecofeminism in their guidelines. This is what the following section will address.

Ecofeminism and financial institutions

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) of the 2030 Agenda has included the different points addressed in ecofeminist theories with the main idea that all goals are interconnected and to “leave no one behind”. These goals have evolved from the Millennium Development Goals and integrates the notion of equality, declaring that development should benefit all individuals.

In the same way, *sustainability* is a concept that includes the present moment but also the future. Besides, the University of California, Los Angeles Sustainability defines it as: “the physical development and institutional operating practices that meet the needs of present users without compromising the ability

of future generations to meet their own needs, particularly with regard to use and waste of natural resources. Sustainable practices support ecological, human, and economic health and vitality.” (UCLA Sustainability, 2019). Therefore, adding this concept to development includes an environmental dimension to it, as a result, the social element now seems interconnected to the the environment.

Within the SDG, goal 17 on partnership, seeks a renewed collaboration between diverse international programs and organizations in order to support and accomplish the objectives of the Agenda by 2030. Although financial inclusion is not one of these objectives, financial institutions play a large role in order to achieve these goals.

An important role that financial institutions can play is the gathering of data regarding the various dimensions of the problem, first to measure inequalities but also to observe the amelioration brought by the 2030 Agenda. With this in mind, the Bank improved their Open Data platform, making it free of to access and use. First imagined to help researchers and organizations, the platform evolved as a support for SDG after research showed the benefits SDG could obtain from it being more effective in targeting aid money and improving development programs. It could also be applied to track development progress, to prevent corruption, and finally contribute to innovation, job creation and economic growth (World Bank, 2015). In an effort to increase its transparency and accountability, the Bank also shares this tool to increase local trust in governments, boost economic growth, create jobs, and improve essential products and services such as health, education, food security and the environment.

It was only in 2018 that the Bank launched the Environmental and Social Framework, offering comprehensive guidelines on both the environmental and social risks of projects in an effort to improve development outcomes. As a result of the 2030 Agenda, it calls for transparency, non-discrimination, public participation, and accountability, the main pillars of a human-right-based approach to development (World Bank, 2017). The last project of the World Bank is the approval of a US\$ 550 million grant and loan to Ethiopia. Connecting both political participation, and peoples’ long-term vulnerability to environmental issues and natural disasters, the WB Country Director for Ethiopia, Sudan and South Sudan, Carolyn Turk, stated that “the project will put communities in charge of their own development priorities by enabling them to identify, lead and manage local development initiatives” (New Business Ethiopia, May 2019).

This idea of local sovereignty is also carried by ecofeminist scholars such as Vandana Shiva (cited by Salleh, 1997). However, it is too soon to assess to what extent the Bank will let communities

participating in local development initiatives. Furthermore, Turk's statement does not clarify if this new vision can be understood as sovereignty over their land, and their resources, such as water or seeds. Finally, local development initiatives must be discussed as most of the development projects are taking place on a large region of country. For instance, the construction of the Gilbe Gibe III, a dam situated on the Omo river has consequences on the fishing habitat, thus, on the food resources of the populations of lake Turkana in Kenya.

Concluding remarks

The dimension of gender in the global debate on development has evolved, integrating new components into the discussion, largely due to the failures and limits of Western theories. The significant contribution brought by ecofeminism is the plurality and diversity of voices from different areas of the world that highlights different forms of local resilience. Because ecofeminism is a broad subject that takes into consideration than just academic literature, it cannot be considered as a homogenous discourse. Thus, this approach can be perceived as incoherent as it creates a debate between the cultural and constructivist social points of view. However, this research will apply a constructivist perspective, meaning that the social, historical and cultural contexts influence the subject, namely women in this study, and that it is complex and variable (Carlassare, 1994).

Another confusion found between the discourses held by financial institutions and their practices. Indeed, the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Philip Alston, criticized in 2018 their lack of commitment concerning social issues and human rights (Alston, 2018). In the near future, BWIs must increase their degree of partnership with the SDG if they want to obtain better results. This point will be further explored in the second chapter.

Chapter 2: Ethiopian context

An investment isn't an investment if it destroys our planet – Greenpeace

Ethiopia's economy can be considered today as an “accumulation of dispossession” (Hodzi, 2018), and although its politic of privatization shows impressive progress for its economy, its HR standards have not displayed any marked improvements. In this chapter, I intend to contextualize this reality by analyzing the important periods of Ethiopia's history that had a great impact on local resources and foreign relations. This contextualization, coupled with an ecofeminist perspective, will provide a better understanding of their impacts on Ethiopian women's lives. Furthermore, the different periods analyzed in this chapter question why Ethiopia's development is engaging various actors such as financial institutions, foreign aid agencies and private investors.

Ethiopia has been perceived as a great source of resources by plenty of different actors over time. The interests of the foreign actors are found in the potential of access to the Red Sea with the region of Eritrea (independent since 1993) and the agricultural sector. However, governments policies, political interests, ethnic conflicts and inadequate investments led to the failures of these development programs. Moreover, civil engagements, particularly feminist ones, outlines first a desire for local sovereignty while highlighting political, social, and economic inequalities between the sexes.

Italian Rule and Resistance

Although the Italian conquest did not lead to a long-lasting Italian administration, important changes occurred during this time that still have consequences today. Furthermore, the colonization period of Ethiopia, then Abyssinia, between 1936 and 1941 can also be analyzed through an ecofeminist approach. Before this period, the relationship between the two countries had been hectic. One of Italy's interests in the country is the access to the Red sea's coast but not only. Another motivation for Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia was the failure of Italian troops at the battle of Aduwa in 1896. In 1936, Italians troops attacked different areas of Ethiopia, and superiority in number gave Italy's army a great advantage.

Italian rule was not a question of development, when infrastructures were being built, it was rather symbol of the Italian domination over the country. Furthermore, a policy was passed to weaken non-

Italian companies, such as those of the French and Indians. Industries such as textile mills and cement were created. Agriculture was also targeted in the hope that, if it were well-developed, it could be enough to provide for Italian needs. The need to export was already part of the agenda. In the end, the Ethiopian campaign appeared to be a great disappointment for Italians. Resources were not even enough to feed the Ethiopian population, and a shortage of supplies required importation of products such as wheat for pasta (Zewde, 2001).

Locally, groups of Ethiopians tried to resist this colonization by forming the Patriots' Resistance Movement. Zewde, an historian, shows that they organized sabotage missions, and they also created networks to provide food and medical supplies when resources became rare, using traditional medicine, as well as hunting and gathering wild products (Zewde, 2001). Although women did not get involved in many sabotage missions that we know about, the next chapter will outline their role in providing healthcare and in the food production and highlight that, even though they engage in resistant actions all while facing food insecurity themselves. They even attacked farmers with the goal of pressuring their Italian rulers. Although the construction of infrastructures and industries was not carried out for the goal of developing Ethiopia for Ethiopian benefit, they nevertheless had an important impact on people's lives. Indeed, they had to organize and find resources to overcome the challenges of the situation.

Nature in all its forms was then an avenue to resist and struggle against the Italian occupation. In his work, Zewde briefly mentions women and their role in the local resistance, in particular a sabotage mission carried out by Shawararagad Gadle. So while we know that peasants were involved in resistance actions, the question of genders has yet to be fully addressed.

Furthermore, the struggle against the Italian invasion existed both in Ethiopia with the Patriots and overseas, particularly in the United Kingdom with the intellectual C.L.R James in London and the International African Friends of Abyssinia. This association organized around equality of rights for people of all colors. Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) is considered with Liberia as the only places free from European colonization on the African continent, as the Italian occupation did not end up as a long-term administrative ruling. This has unified people of African descent in Great Britain, but also white allies who Ethiopian self-determination. Sending military troops to go fight Italians by their side was thought but never actually happened (Hogsbjerg, 2006).

The African diaspora, also responded to colonialism in African countries, organizing around religious lines around issues brought by the British system. In this, the Rastafari movement¹ also supported the Ethiopian resistance to Italian fascism in the Caribbean and East Africa. Although this movement was clearly denying women's rights and in favor of male interests, it created a worldwide network of information and resistance.

The end of the Italian rule marked the liberation of Ethiopia, but also the increasing role of a new actor in Ethiopia's development, as the liberation period offered more opportunities for foreign investors (Zewde, 2001). Followed by British control over the Ethiopian administration, finance and territory, France and Italy were also competing for influence. This period created new tensions with Eritrea that Ethiopia is still facing to this day as without this region, Ethiopia does not have access to the sea. In 2018, the two countries signed a peace agreement, but the long-lasting conflict had significant consequences on ethnic conflicts and food insecurity.

The end of the British occupation period saw new types of international relations. The United States' relationship with Ethiopia shows to a great extent how thin the line is between relief aid and development assistance. Furthermore, the US took HR standards as conditions for their financial and material help. However, Ethiopia who found a way to obtain funds while sidestepping these conditions.

'Politics of famine'

After the end of the monarchy, two main political periods in Ethiopia's contemporary history are worth studying so as to understand how the country became a global concern. The first was with the Derg regime (1974-1987), a Marxist-Leninist military regime, followed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (1988-present), described as an ethno-regionalist-neo-socialist government (Tessema, 2018), focusing only on its own regional political interests. While the Derg regime had a socialist political-economic program, perceiving land as a means of production, the EPRDF period aims for a market-oriented economy, using land as an object for transaction.

¹ See Turner (1991), *Women, rastafari and the new society: Caribbean and east african roots of a popular movement against structural adjustment*, for an insightful analysis of the movement.

The history of Ethiopia is marked by numerous periods of famine and food insecurity still define the country. For both governments, politics of the land did not help the actual weather conditions of the area. The Ethiopian government can be held responsible for different periods of famine, particularly during the 1970s because of the politics land tenure. Governmental politics and actions were driven by political leaders who used land ownership policies to their own benefits.

The inappropriate use of land caused by the land tenure policy caused environmental degradation through water and top soil wasting. These were the most important factors in responsible for famine in Ethiopia. Farmers did not own their land, due to the nationalization of means of agricultural production, induced by the 12-year of the Derg regime. This increased the food insecurity in the country, and was referred as a period of *politics of famine* by Tessema (2018).

Subsequent leaders of the EPRDF government, despite their socio-economic programs do not tackle the problem at the source and instead tried to rectify the situation by blaming international and foreign donors for the hunger distress. That being said, it is also true that Ethiopia made significant progress after the turn of the millennium. For instance, in 2000, infant mortality was at 141/1000 while by 2005, the rate had decreased to 123/1000. In addition, more Ethiopian children had access to education (Tessema, 2018).

Yet, in the area of agriculture, the percentage of Ethiopian farmers working on scattered and smallholding farms has increased during the last two decades, with 45 million such farmers at the beginning of the EPRDF government, that number that had grown to 65 million by 2018 (Tessema, 2018).

For instance, their restrictive policies on food movements and land transactions in the country drove some areas into food scarcity. Once again, it is important to consider how people struggled to provide for themselves, when the government was failing in its obligations and being responsible for depriving individuals of food (Tessema, 2018).

Before the 1974 revolution, more than 4/5 of the Ethiopian population was involved in the agricultural sector (Kebbede, 1987), all while just 1% of the high cast population owned 70% of the land. Although it is true that past government initiatives which offered lands to farming corporations and other privileged groups created jobs, improved energy resources, and increased the economic growth of the country, they also had a significantly negative impact on the living conditions of the people. Moreover, these policies of land ownership of had a direct impact on the multiple periods of famine in Ethiopia, in

addition to the current state of food insecurity. This question will be further explored in the third chapter through an analysis on women and food.

The Ethiopian famine of 1985 received global media attention as the greatest humanitarian disaster of the late 20th century, killing more than 600,000 people before the outside world was even aware of it. In response, different actors provided financial and humanitarian aid to the country, and despite the important role the climate played in this disaster, the government did not invest in climate programs, and instead used this aid to address political and economic matters. This statement will be further explored in the next chapter of this thesis.

Later on, the ethno-regionalism government that followed, had a significant impact on civil societies. For instance, it replaced the Ethiopian Women and Youth Associations with regional organizations supervised and controlled by EPRDF regional committees (Tessema, 2018). In this regard, civilian, and particularly feminist, movements had their freedoms restricted. This crucial point on what issues Ethiopian women have been organizing around will be explored in the following part of this chapter.

Feminism in Ethiopia

It cannot be denied that women in Ethiopia have been actively organizing around political, economic and social issues since the 1930s. However, the stigma against feminism restrained them to call them as such until lately. In the past, Rastafari, the worldwide anti-colonial movement that rejected the British system, gave rise to a new outlook where peasant women engaged in an ideological revolution following the urbanization process. Yet, if the New Rastafari was not a struggle against colonialism anymore, it resisted the imperialism of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). These programs from the Bank and the IMF advocated for the integration of African economies into the global economy by lowering the role of the State and imposing strict conditions on countries. While they imposed inadequate development policies of women, the majority of which being black and poor, organized around the world to resist the new capitalist deal (Turner, 1991). This “new capitalist deal” is defined by Turner as the shift between the *male deal* that existed during colonialist times and the one brought by the SAPs. The author describes the former as an informal agreement between men on their domination over women and their right to fertility. The capitalist male deal is not based only on a common conception of nature anymore, but rather the prevalent idea that men can use women for unpaid work while they themselves *deserve* to be integrated in the paid labor force, further leading to the dehumanization of the

women. In this regard, New Rastafari, a religious movement emerging from the original Rastafari, aims to regain women's dignity and value within society which have been jeopardized by the capitalist order (Turner, 1994). In this respect, New Rastafari was also inspired by the gender inequalities observed by the original movement.

Moreover, in countries like Ethiopia, where ethnic conflicts are common, women are more vulnerable to acts of violence such as murders, abductions, rapes and displacements; their safety and rights are insensibly endangered by intra and inter politics. However, they are not included in peace processes, peace agreements or conflict reconstruction taking place in the area, further minimizing their needs and interests in the negotiations to reconstruct the area (Abbas & Mama, 2014). This is why the engagement of the civil society to has an important role to play when the State, and international institutions fail to protect their rights, or even, put them in danger.

The most mentioned groups in the media are the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association (EWLA), Setawee, and the Network of Ethiopian Women's Association. Beyond building a supportive network for female empowerment, these groups advocate for more opportunities for women and more gender equality in the different spheres of their society.

EWLA has realized great achievements in women's right to education, as well as political, social, and legal women's rights although they have faced important challenges as well. Indeed, in 2009, the Charities and Societies Proclamation on Human Rights Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) restrained the staff from monitoring and documenting the GoE's actions regarding HR issues. This proclamation declared that if more than 10% of their funding comes from foreign donors, then the NGOs' actions become illegal (Amnesty International, 2011), which has eventually been amended in 2019. Today, the NGO has three plans of actions; the legal aid program for women and girls victim of gender-based violence, the Public Education and Capacity Building Program which provides trainings on legal, social and political rights aimed to different audiences, and the Research and Law Reform Advocacy that aims for more gender equality in the law.

In parallel of these groups mostly composed of educated women, organizing to advocate and protect human rights, Setawee is an NGO founded in 2014 by Sehin Teferra. Teferra who obtained a doctorate with her research on sexual workers, she opened a dialogue to bring the diverse groups of the population together around common issues. Aiming to enhance sisterhood through groups of discussion and support, Setawee also engages in the mainstream education of the population on gender related

issues. They organize public movements such as *Qey Qemis* (“Red Dress”) to educate on gender-based violence and advocate. Moreover, they created a feminist curriculum for Ethiopian secondary schools which shows their ambition to encourage men to join the discussion on gender issues. For this, Setawet imagined the *Arif Wond* (“Cool Man”), a male group focused on addressing questions on male privileges. All of these are great steps toward bringing feminist issues into the public discussion between both men and women all while putting an end the stigma of being a feminist has.

To conclude, Ethiopian women have advocated and are still organizing around social issues that engage in breaking gender stereotypes both in the private and public spheres. In this regard, such civil groups are resisting the patriarchal oppression and creating new opportunities when the government fails to do so. The following section will explore the economic and political interests that the GoE focuses on in its relations with donors.

Relations with donors

In the following section, I intend to compare the intentions and conditions of the two main donors to Ethiopia: China and the Bretton Woods Institutions, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This comparison will explore beyond economic ties between the parties and outline the political dynamics of the agreements. Furthermore, it will highlight the active role of the Ethiopian elite and its political interests in economic investments.

First, I intend to examine the origins of the Sino-Ethiopian relationship in order to understand how both parties are benefiting from it and its consequences for the country. After that, the involvement and efforts of, first the Bank, then the Fund, will be analyzed so as to address the challenges they face in reaching their goals.

Chinese Investments

Among the various, interconnected flows of cash existing between China and Ethiopia (aid, preferential and commercial credits, bilateral trade and investments), I will focus solely on direct investment channels, defined as an investment in a foreign business enterprise through a capital funding in order to obtain an equity interest of the enterprise.

Although China is being criticized by many as neo-imperialistic in its role as an investor, the important question is in what ways its actions differ from those of the IMF and those of the Bank. In this matter, we need to understand what scholars call “South-South cooperation” and how it works. The latter aims to bring sustainable development and eradicate poverty in *developing* countries through a cooperation of resources, technology, and knowledge between countries so that both parties can benefit. This cooperation can occur in different spheres ranging from politics and the economy to social, cultural, environmental, and technical domains (Damtew & Tsegay, 2017).

This definition echoes with three goals of the UNPD’s Strategic Plan: eradicating poverty; accelerating structural transformations; and building resilience to shock and crisis (UNDP, 2017). As Ethiopia had known a period of crisis with famine and extreme poverty and is currently in forecasted as becoming a middle-income country by 2025, the elaboration of relationships between various partners is key to reaching these goals. Hence, it is not surprising that the UNDP supports and promotes a South-South Cooperation.

As the second largest economy in the world, China offers an alternative to borrowing countries, namely in their development through industrialization. Laxer than the BWIs, the Chinese do not attach any political conditions to their loans. Since 1971, Sino-Ethiopian agreements have claimed to bring outcomes benefitting both stakeholders. Most of these agreements are on trade, with Ethiopia exporting agricultural goods and importing heavy machinery and electronics (Damtew & Tsegay, 2017). The Sino-Ethiopian Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation was signed in 1971, granting US\$ 85.5 million as a no-interest loan to be reimbursed in material goods or hard currency.

In 1991, an important political event accelerated the Sino-Ethiopian partnership. Indeed, the economic relationship between the two countries intensifies: Meles Zenawi became President of Ethiopia; his ambition to promote a market-oriented economy in Ethiopia was inspired by the Chinese development. To reach this goal, Zenawi adjusted Ethiopia’s politics. Breaking up with communist period of the Derg regime, the country was considered as one of the poorest in the world at the time.

The WB felt helpless in driving development in African countries due many of their leaders draining aid funds to increase their personal wealth (Hodzi, 2018). As a result, they imposed strict political conditions if loans were to be approved. China then offered an alternative to the African political elite respecting their right to determine their countries’ development. Moreover, Zenawi saw in the

Chinese economic development, a solution for his country. Ethiopia opened itself to development aid coming from other donors, all while maintaining its control over its politics and following its own agenda.

For China, the African continent was source of economic interests regarding the vast resources it could provide in order to increase its own economic growth and power in the global market. Indeed, Ethiopia offered a great environment to which Chinese agriculture and textile industries could be moved, allowing them to focus domestically on technology and automobile industries. As labor cost has increased in China, so as the working standards, Ethiopian workers would work for less and thereby attract brands formerly produced in China.

As a result, both parties found in each other a great solution to achieve their own goals and create a long-lasting economic relationship.

Moreover, by positioning themselves between China and the West, the two great contenders, African leaders took the opportunity to politically and economically benefit from global competition, imposing their own terms to their development.

In 2018, Xi Jinping, President of China announced that US\$ 60 billion would be granted by China to African countries between 2019 and 2021. Prior to that, China and Ethiopia had already signed an important number of official economic agreements.

In their article, Damtey and Tsegay (2017) analyzed the economic results of these trade agreements and private investment in the recent years and concluded that Ethiopia was also benefitting greatly from them. Therefore, China is providing resources in means of transportation, human capacity, water projects, and expertise that balance the surplus gained from the agreements.

Despite this conclusion, these results need a closer look and involves a multidisciplinary approach that includes the impacts on the environment and the population with a particular focus on women. Likewise, from an economic point of view, the GDP per capita is US\$783, ranking the country as still one of the poorest in the world (World Bank, 2017).

Along with these agreements, China invests in the Belt and Road Initiative which aims to facilitate global trade by connecting Asia, Europe and Africa. As it pertains to Ethiopia, it will be then linked to Djibouti thanks to the Addis Ababa-Djibouti rail link. This project would expand their trade since it will provide Ethiopia with an access to the Red sea.

There is another reason for the strong presence of China in the country: the political dimension of Chinese investment in Ethiopia. Meles Zenawi, previous prime minister and head of the EPRDF welcomed no-string attached private investments from enterprises that would support and enhance economic and development gains for the political party, privileging his own political interests (Hodzi, 2018). The privatization of government properties follows a political agenda that suit the leader. Indeed, China gains the favor of these governments by allowing them to freely operate politically while claiming credit for the country's development.

For this reason, the government kept control over trades and determined the conditions in the presence on the territory. Hence, private firms participate in the financing of their political party while also providing services and business opportunities (Hodzi, 2018). Others believe that the political elite finances projects that will enhance their political popularity rather than developing the country. Privileging their birth place and people of their ethnicity, political leaders ensure their political prosperity (Dreher et al., 2016).

Beyond lowering the unemployment rate, China also gets involved in social aspects of life, and seems willing to improve the skills of the population; it grants scholarships to local students to go study in China, finances construction of schools and trains employees (Damtew & Tsegay, 2017).

In this first analysis, we observed that China offered a solution for Ethiopia to develop and assisted the country in increasing its economic growth. However, it did not insist on any political, ecological, or social conditions for the aid to be provided. So far in the analysis, it seems that the Sino-Ethiopian relationship well benefitting the political elite well. In this regard, the consequences on the population must then be analyzed. Furthermore, it is clear that Ethiopia should not be considered as a passive actor in its development but rather as a manager which pressures these investments to support its political agenda.

The second part of this section will then address the challenges that the BWIs face, an initial focus on the WB, and then the IMF. I intend to investigate the dynamics of these relations and the nature of their ties.

The Bretton Woods Institutions

During the EPRDF regime, the Ethiopian economic system was aimed to change through the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The goal was to enhance competitiveness, opening the economic market and encouraging privatization. These programs were sponsored by the IMF and the World Bank. Three phases marked the ambition of the new government to engage in a market-oriented economy between 1991 and 2010 (Gebreeyesus, M., 2016).

However, SAPs have been largely criticized. As an example, Desai (2002) defined them as the first factor to impact women's daily lives which have considerable consequences in the First and Third worlds. To support her argument, she listed four reasons situated in women's work and living conditions. First, women are more likely than men to work in the low-paid sector with little or no benefits. Secondly, women work more and more in the informal sector, which leaves them without protection and no means to negotiate better conditions. Another consequence to it is that women need to provide for their own health, education and other social services when the State squanders the public funding.

Moreover, large private firms are having a ravaging impact on the environment as global production takes away lands for cultivation and sustenance crops decrease. Women in the South have a more direct link to nature and are more dependent for traditional and material reasons on it than in the North. Desai denounces the interests of First World organizations, which are focusing only on the economy, not on nature or on gender inequalities. They are not strictly demanding that governments seek changes in aspects of social life both in the First and Third World (Desai, 2002).

In order to avoid this neocolonialism, BWIs have been pressured to include social rights to the development aid they provide to Ethiopia. This part will address how such criticisms have been taken into consideration.

Today, the WB and the UNDP unified their resources under the Growth and Transformative Plan (GTP) which aims to develop the economy through industrialization, theoretically leading to the eradication of poverty. Targeting specific industries such as leather production, this plan supports the development of Special Economic Zones generated by the Sino-Ethiopian agreements. The World Bank's role is to financially and technically support the Industrial Zones. In this position, they are also direct investors.

For instance, in 2014, the Bank offered US\$250 million to the Republic of Ethiopia in order to also contribute to job creation, to attract investments, and to improve competitiveness of enterprises in the global market. According to the existing challenges defined by the institution, such as land, finance and trade logistics, five industrial zones have been envisaged in the past to overcome these difficulties: Bole Lemi (Addis Ababa Charter city), Kilinto (Addis Ababa Charter city), Dire Dawa Industrial Zone Dire Dawa Charter, Kombolcha Industrial Zone, (Amhara Region) and Hawassa industrial zone. The Ethiopian Government aims to open 30 of them by 2025.

In this example, US\$192.2 million was approved for the construction of infrastructures on Bole Lemi and Kilinto industrial zones, building roads, tapping the water supply, assessing social and environmental impacts, and also financial needs. Indeed, this project focuses on three social and environmental areas: women in industrial zones; environmental sustainability in the management of these zones; and the framework for the application of a green and low carbon industrial zone approach (World Bank, 2014).

In parallel, the Bank also originated projects to promote basic needs of the population while monitoring the results in the different areas targeted such as health, agriculture, education, and water.

If in their original purposes the IMF and the WB appear different, yet both use political and social conditionality clauses in their loans. As the WB aims to assist countries in the eradication of poverty and the IMF to supervise the world's monetary system's stability, both BWIs need political stability and social justice to reach their goals.

Since the establishment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) in 2015, also called the 2030 Agenda, this partnership has been strengthened. Not only has the partnership been highlighted as an answer to poverty, but the realization of sustainable development will not be achieved without the eradication of all forms of poverty. The potential of the two financial institutions in the improvement of human rights standards has also been reaffirmed by the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and HR in 2018 (Alston). Partnership is one of the main pillars of the SDG where the World Bank is defined as an important actor. Whenever international financial institutions do not take these rights seriously, there is less of a chance that governments will guarantee them when they make financial agreements. It can be explained also by problems in universal definitions of what theorists define as an “inclusive growth”, an economic development that takes inequalities into consideration.

As stated by the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights (Alston, 2018), the International Monetary Fund is one of the most powerful tools to fight poverty because they include most of the low-income developing countries in their programs. If these countries become economically dependent on International Organizations, it is possible to make loans with conditions to make States respect and protect HR. On its blog, the IMF explains that the SDG are an important concern of the Fund (Annett and Lane 2018). According to the authors, new fiscal policies are being discussed in order to help “countries reach these goals”. In this perception, economic growth and inequalities are connected, meaning that poverty is also taken as a social matter for this economic institution. Although the IMF affirms supporting SDG 1, their strategies are still vague concerning how they manage to reduce inequalities while fighting poverty.

In December 2018, the IMF published an article relating to the progress the country has made so far in terms of development, but their focus is still largely on the economic growth. While a large part of this short article is devoted to the economy, the Fund mentions how the economy will benefit from reforms concerning gender equality in various areas such as education, labor, and access to resources (IMF Blog, 2018).

This article followed the IMF Country Report No 18/355 on Selected Issues of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia of December 2018, written in collaboration between the African Department and UN Women. This research shows the commitment of the IMF to support and promote women’s rights in developing economies. It provided the country with data showing how in gender inclusion is a key to economic development. Moreover, it gives recommendations to the country to implement its laws in various areas of women’s lives and imply direct social changes with regards to gender equality.

Although it gives legal recommendations, social aspects do not appear on the annual report of the country, but rather economic *progress*, or how banks are reaching their goals through economic growth. It seems from this report that the IMF is not really interested in institutionalized social transformations.

An important difference between the WB and the IMF is that the IMF expects countries to pay back everything they invest, which is not always the case for the WB which can grant funds.

Economic investments and construction of infrastructure are showing great results for the country. US\$839 million of coffee is exported every year from Ethiopia, US\$424 million worth of oilseed, and US\$229 million worth of flowers. Apparel comes fourth with US\$145 million of exports every year.

These exports are largely contributing to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), standing at US\$81 billion and a growth of 10% per year between 2006 and 2017 (Barrett, Baumann-Pauly, 2019). This growth ranks the country as one of the fastest growing economies in the world.

However, these numbers have been called into question by the researchers from the Stern Center², Barrett and Baumann-Pauly (2019). First of all, the starting figure of the GDP was very low for 2006. Furthermore, it's important to keep in mind that these are government-provided statistics. With their considerations in mind, the IMF lowered the economic growth by three percentage points, suggesting a weaker growth.

Moreover, the IMF noted a dip in the economic growth after 2017, estimating it at 7,7% in 2018. It explained this dip by the fact that the government lowered its financial involvement in the reduction of debts and deficit (IMF, 2018).

Although it is easy to analyze economic progress alone, it is more complicated to record any data where the IMF claims its commitment to support economic, social, and cultural rights in Ethiopia.

To conclude this part, I would like to outline the idea that both IMF and China have economic interests in Ethiopia that differ from social and environmental matters. However, the most important difference between them is how Ethiopia is politically benefiting from the Sino-Ethiopian ties, something which is clearly not the case for the IMF nor the WB. Although for the IMF a stable political situation in the country is necessary, this is also the case for China, as it cannot profit from strikes or civil wars. Nevertheless, protections against such things are not established in the Sino-Ethiopian agreements.

² The NYU Stern Center explores the Human Rights and Business relation to understand the challenges that emerge from it.

Concluding remarks

Both internal and external politics have consequences on Ethiopians. We analyzed how the civil society organized around social issues regarding the colonial oppression, and also how national policies have restrained their rights and freedoms, especially disastrous food policies which impeded on their survival. From these observations we can conclude that the government of Ethiopia has managed its policies to cater to its own politico-economic interests, which are political support and economic growth that follows a capitalist ideology.

Moreover, the capitalist system is encompassed by Western patriarchal ideas that have historically been rejected by women groups, resisting gender stereotypes. In the same way, foreign donors have not held social issues in their main focus, letting politico-economic concerns prevail. In this respect, the following chapter will explore to what extent this lack of focus impacts women's lives in three interconnected areas: work, food and health. Beyond consequences on individuals, it also aims to make a link between development policies and environment.

Chapter 3: Impact of development policies on women's lives in Ethiopia from an ecofeminist perspective

“Whenever we engage in consumption or production patterns which take more than we need, we are engaging in violence.” — Vandana Shiva (2005)

Changes occurring due to the investments previously mentioned in the areas of agriculture and industries have had major impacts on both women's lives and the environment. These two are interconnected and their ties will be explored in-depth in the following chapter. In this respect, the link between development policies, nature and women will be outlined.

A number of scholars have been denouncing serious transgressions of internationally recognized economic, social and cultural rights made by the Ethiopian and Kenyan governments, in collaboration with the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the World Bank in the case of the construction of dams, such as the rights to adequate standards of living, to food, to water, to access to resources and freedom of political expression (Carr, 2017).

Although legal analyses have been produced by various scholars such as Dugo and Eisen (2018), the following analysis aims to understand development transitions from an ecofeminist point of view. This chapter explores how development policies impact the lives of Ethiopians in different areas. Because development policies do not focus on the same targets in rural or urban areas, the impact on people from different regions would not be the same. In the same way, this chapter will focus on the role of women in development programs and the consequences these changes bring to their lives.

In the case of the Oromo people in Southern Ethiopia, more than 50% of mothers' time is dedicated toward work activities where heavy domestic tasks, such as collecting fire wood and water, light domestic tasks, and agricultural activities are the main components. For the rest, their time is spent in childcare-related activities (20%), social activities (12%), and resting (8%) (Gibson & Mace, 2005). Therefore, the first section of the chapter relates to work activities and their impact on women's lives.

As stated in chapter 1, all of these sectors are interconnected and largely influence each other. Furthermore, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights defines adequate standards of living in terms of health, housing, clothing, well-being, food, medical care, and necessary social services. This same article puts an emphasis on children and women, arguing for special assistance to these two more vulnerable groups. In the same way, these dimensions are all interconnected, and one cannot be denied for the profit of the other. Hence, the remainder of the chapter will address the role of health and food policies, with a special emphasis on the role of women respectively. Finally, I will highlight how women resist this development by their own means.

Women and Industries

Policies

In this following part, I intend to explore the reasons why women enroll in the garment industries as well as the impact of industrial policies on their lives. This will focus on the researches of two parks: Hawassa and Bole Lemi Industrial Park. Indeed, I will explore the benefits they see and the reality they are facing with one consideration in mind: is the possibility of earning an income a source of freedom or a burden?

The industrial export market composes a great part of the Ethiopian economy, employing a large number of locals, mostly from rural areas. The garment industry workforce is mostly composed of young women operating on sewing machines. Yet, the garment industries have been the source of global debate for some time now. A tragic event in Bangladesh at the Rana Plaza factory, caused the death of more than 1,100 workers, and further raised global awareness on the connection between human rights and corporate responsibility amongst civil societies in North America and Europe. In Ethiopia, however, no disaster like this took place and yet the working conditions in such industries still are questioned. Indeed, the monthly base wage of Ethiopian garment workers is set at 750 birr (US\$26), the lowest in the worldwide industry (Barrett, Baumann-Pauly, 2019).

Although there are many actors involved, customers certainly share their part of responsibility in what they choose to buy or to reuse, all are part of a capitalist system that promotes materialism, wellbeing through the accumulation of wealth and goods, as a core value. On the international scale, both South-South corporations and BWIs policies participate in developing industries in the country. In 1971,

a Trade Agreement was concluded between China and Ethiopia, followed by another one five years later. Other agreements include the Agreements for Economic and Technological Cooperation signed in 1988 and 2002, the Trade Protocols of 1984,1986,1988, the Agreement for Trade, Economic and Technological Cooperation of 1996, and the Agreement of 19888 for Mutual Promotion and Protection of Investment. All of those agreements contributed in creating industrial zones, infrastructures and more importantly, building a favorable environment for Chinese manufacturers to move their production to Ethiopia. Moreover, China engaged in developing the means of transportation, human capacity, water projects, and expertise in order to cultivate a favorable environment for industries to invest in.

The Sino-Ethiopian agreements led to the creation of Chinese Special Economic Zones (SEZs). SEZs are characterized as: geographically defined areas aiming to boost economic growth through foreign investments. Foreign investments are encouraged through benefits such as tax holidays, a separate customs area and a land lease term of 60-80 years at nominal interest rates for the factories and residential quarters of manufacturers and developers. Perhaps more important of all, they offer the lowest base wage in the world of \$26/month for apparel industry workers (Barrett, Baumann-Pauly, 2019). These zones are generally managed under a more liberal system than the one of the country.

The Ethiopian government is profiting from these zones mainly on two different levels. First, from direct economic benefits gathered from revenues and exportation. Second, from competitiveness on the global market through the enhancement of innovation and productivity. These benefits are then used to finance infrastructures projects such as building roads and factories from Chinese construction companies.

There are different SEZs such as free trade zones, export-processing zones and multipurpose zones. Enterprises that develop and manage these zones are selected by the Chinese Minister of Commerce. Not all of the SEZs were created through the Sino-Ethiopian cooperation, as some are privately owned while others are privately managed only. Among them, the Eastern Industrial Zone, located in Dukem, about 35 km from the capital Addis Ababa, is privately owned and managed by the Chinese Investment group, Jiangsu Qiyuan and two other private Chinese developers. This zone occupies 500 hectares owned by the government.

Huajian International Shoe City, the biggest manufacturers of women's footwear in the world, produces items in Dukem for Western brands such as H&M from Sweden and Calvin Klein from the United States. Built in 2011, the factory was part of a 10-year investment plan of US\$2 billion in

developing the shoemaking industry. The factory employed 10,000 people at the opening, aiming to employ 12,000 in the following years.

Likewise, the Hallawi SEZs employs 25,000 workers, mostly low-skilled. In total, according to an Ethiopian newspaper, SEZs have created 64,000 job positions and with seven more SEZs under construction (New Business Ethiopia, 2019). However, an important question needs to be asked: do these jobs and investments improve women workers' welfare and reduce poverty? The following section will address this question by assessing the impact of industrial development on women's welfare.

Impact

The lack of involvement from the State has important consequences on Ethiopian on the lives of men and women. The country desperately needs investment in order to maintain an economic growth. Furthermore, manufacturers face the brands' need to stay competitive on the global market. Hence, they need to adjust their operational costs if they want brands to be produce in their factories to avoid their own economic losses. The adjustment can be found on the workers' low monthly wages. Nonetheless, cost-cutting concerns make it possible that this factory ends up just like the Rana Plaza in Bangladesh and other factories that have burnt down because manufacturers did not want to increase their costs to fix the buildings. Indeed, manufacturers are willing to reduce costs at all costs, and safety precautions are often the first cut made. For major global brands, a factory disaster does not have a major negative effect. Since they do not own the factories, they cannot be hold responsible.

However, the qualitative work of Linn Ternsjö on garment industries in the Shints industry in Ethiopia shows that women also find a strategy of survival through their industrial work within the lack of opportunities given by the society. Her analysis gives us a needed understanding of positive outcomes for female paid work in garment industries. In her study she found that the reasons why Ethiopian women engage in the workforce depend on if they are married or not. Indeed, married women find two benefits in work. First, a mean of survival for their household as one salary is often not enough to provide for all the family members. Then, the opportunity to have value outside the home by being a part of the visible workforce. Undeniably, housework is less rewarding as it constrains women to staying at home for unpaid activities. Unmarried women are able to avoid forced and child marriages, mostly taking place in rural areas. They gain financial independence and are able to provide for themselves. An African Rights

Monitor report to the CEDAW Committee (2011) stated that nearly 50% of Ethiopian girls were getting married before the age of 18, ranking the country in the top 10 in the world for early marriages.

Thanks to their added incomes, married working-women are able to send their kids to school and to buy sufficient food. Moreover, interviews showed that many households are dependent on women's earnings for their survival. For unmarried women, they find freedom even if facing extremely difficult working condition like the of using the toilet once a day, working long-hours for a low-income and not being allowed to raise complains or to negotiate for better conditions (Ternsjö, 2018). Furthermore, frustration regarding their salary is added to the homesickness as they escape from their village to avoid forced marriage and to find means of survival in industrial work (Barrett, Baumann-Pauly, 2019).

A study on the Hawassa zone argues that low wages remains because of the lack of right to union and the agreement between the different companies in the zone stating that they cannot offer higher paid jobs in order to recruit. Jobs offered by this development strategy do not offer a better living than informal occupations such as street markets or selling goods.

Although it seems to be a means for economic survival for women and households, this work in industries comes with other sacrifices. The lack of affordable childcare constrains families to find other ways to take care of their children while they engage in paid-activities. For most women garment workers, their mothers who live in rural areas will fulfil the role of caregivers. Meanwhile, women would be allowed to see their children once a year when they come back to their village during holidays and if they have enough money to travel.

Still, the feeling of freedom brought by this industrial development is supported by the financial empowerment women obtain. It has also been said that it allows them to escape from gender norms to gain independence such as forced marriage or being relegate to the home. As lands are being destroyed or used for neoliberal reasons, these women are constrained to refuse education and the opportunities that education may yield, in order to help support their families and their communities. Furthermore, "When women take on these extra burdens and are still unable to sustain their families, many have no other viable option but to leave their families and migrate in search of work" (Chang, 2016).

However, even if development is induced, gender roles remain the same. Indeed, married women are usually not able to decide how they are going to spend their money. In Linn Ternsjö's survey, most of married women raised the fact of not having money on their account and not sharing decision-making in the household, which was not the case of single women sharing their apartment with a friend or a sister

where decision-making is shared between them. Moreover, this system is perpetuating gender inequalities.

First, the housework is still not shared between husband and wife which makes a women's day even longer as they still have to cook, clean, wash clothes, and take care of children. This worldwide reality is a concept developed in sociology called the *double burden* to talk about married women's situation who must complete unpaid domestic labor after their working day. This is the result of gender roles attributed in the society.

As stated in the chapter 1, the integration of women into the economic market does not result as female empowerment because gender norms remain in the social structure, particularly in households. Women need to challenge gender roles in order to survive, but the latter also defines and constrains women's choices. Gender roles even predetermine the jobs women may enroll in that are described as feminine such as sewing or low skilled jobs (Ternsjö, 2018).

Money women are able to save would not be used on any long-term projects but medicines or the holiday season. Some unmarried women use this money to pay for their evening education but in general, salaries are typically used to meet basic needs. For these reasons, the work offered by these development programs allows women to find innovative ways of surviving while they fail to provide them with education, health or adequate standards of living. Gender roles and development policies coerce them into laboring in garment industries without permitting them other options.

In conclusion, development policies have imposed a liberal system on Ethiopian women to which they respond by engaging in the workforce within a fortified patriarchal structure. These transformations increase pre-existing gender gaps in society. Moreover, women face a double burden where they have to innovate and find ways of subsistence that are not offered by development actors. In these, women are their own agents of development and engage in unpaid activities in the domain of childcare, housework and education. Nevertheless, although women are the primary victims of these liberal decision and generally excluded from decision making, it cannot be said that they have a passive role.

The General Comment (GC) 23 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) made some recommendations to improve gender equality such as daycare services on the workplace (General Comment 23, 2016). Regarding the obligations for state parties, the same document relates that they should take steps to prevent, investigate, punish and redress abuse via diverse tools such as law, policies, investigation and protection mechanisms. In the same way, the Stern Center's report on

garment industries in Ethiopia recommends that the government establish a minimum wage that ensures decent living conditions for garment workers. Finally, the GC 23 also specifies that the remuneration for work of equal value must be equal and without distinction such as ethnicity or gender.

Nonetheless, development programs aiming to industrialize the country can also be found in the agricultural sector, in this respect, the next section will explore the impact on women's lives and their relation to food with more details.

Women and Food

In 2018, Ethiopia ranked 93rd out of the 119 selected countries by the Global Hunger Index (GHI) with situation was defined as a serious level of hunger and undernutrition (Global Hunger Index, 2018). As the GHI uses different criteria, the study shows high rate of inadequate food supply, as well as an important proportion of child undernutrition and child mortality. Although the climatic conditions of Ethiopia can be a reason why the country is in food distress, there is also a political explanation. Yet, the country has ratified international treaties that hold the country accountable for protecting its citizens from hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition. Among them, the African Union Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). International treaties are incorporated in the Ethiopian legal system under Article 9.4 of the Ethiopian Constitution, which states that "International agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land". Ethiopia has also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which declares that women and children are more vulnerable groups in case of food insecurity; thus, policies and programs should take into consideration the gender and age dimensions.

While 73% of the Ethiopian population work the land, they still lack access to food. Women's farm labor in Ethiopia is the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa. Agriculture has been an important part of Ethiopians' lives and women have always been useful on family farms to rear the cattle or gather fuelwood. With an average growth of 6.4% per year for the last 15 years, agricultural production represents an important focus of development programs (Petros, Abay, Desta, & O'Brien, 2018). Moreover, since the agricultural sector represents 10% of the exports of the country (AGRA, 2018), in view of the problematic climatic conditions, this could have a significant impact on food security. In this regard, this section will assess the impact of agricultural policies on women's lives.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, famine and malnutrition are massive problems and common cause child mortality. The numerous episodes of famine in Ethiopia have required and still require international aid and interventions. The study of the impact of programs and policies on women is of interest because of their primary role in procuring food to children, and also in the whole food production process in this area of the world. Indeed, women do not only purchase and prepare food, but their role is more likely to be unpaid and made invisible in the food production processes (Berhane et al., 2018).

This section, like the others, does not intend to address these questions through essentialism, where women are by essence the primary caregiver. Exceptions exist where fathers engage in child care and feeding, though, it is still a rare phenomenon in Ethiopia that could indicate the possibility of transitions in gender roles (Berhane et al., 2018). This could also have positive effect on reducing child mortality and diminishing women's double-burden.

Policies

The link between agriculture and women goes back to millennia. Trade agreements and programs have a major impact on women's lives. This dimension is well taken in consideration by the Food and Agriculture Organization in their research to promote a sustainable agriculture. Moreover, as in Ethiopia, the agricultural sector contributes 45% of the GDP, employing 73% of the population (AGRA, 2018), this led me to explore the question of the impact of some development policies that could affect women's lives in the country.

According to official governmental data, 32% of Ethiopia's land are used for agricultural purpose and a large part of what is produced is exported. The main agricultural product exports in the country are coffee and flowers. Among the available land of 35M hectares of agricultural land, 3 537 HA were gathered by the government for SEZs use in 2014 (UNDP, 2019), even though it is not clear how many individuals faced eviction for these industrial measures, those who were have had their living conditions impaired during their uprooting. Some households got involved in industrial farm crops which also has significant consequences on their means of subsistence, making them dependent on the market to purchase food. This statement will be further explored in the next section.

Yet, Ethiopian's Constitution declares that peoples have the right to improved standards of living and to sustainable development (Article 43.1 of the Constitution). In reality, we observe that development policies are the ones that induce most transformations to peoples and individuals. For

instance, the urbanization process is responsible for changes in nutrition. Replacement of food, labor and other resources for urban services and industries is the result of government policies and programs. Furthermore, section 4 of the same article states the basic aim of development activities shall be to enhance the capacity of citizens for development and to meet their basic needs. The effect of latter provision is very dubious in that, while the child mortality rate is decreasing in the country but individuals in areas affected by agricultural policies are at the same time seeing their living conditions jeopardized.

There are diverse forms of policies that can affect rural areas. The end of the Marxist-Leninist military regime handed over the control of the land to the EPRDF government. Despite its support to the agricultural sector in terms of infrastructures and programs in bringing drinkable water, electricity, telephone, schools and health clinics, the policy on land ownership has been brutal for the country (Tessema, 2012).

Indeed, as a result, the politics of land ownership led to the reduction of the size of the farms, while imposing the state's control of farmers, leaving them in a precarious situation to be expelled anytime from the land at any time. In consequence, farmers tend to not trust the government and as crops being taken away for industrial agriculture production, thereby, reducing the numbers of subsistence crops, government policies are a direct contributor to the recurrent famines.

Famine is also caused by environmental conditions. Although Ethiopia did not know any natural disaster in the past, recurrent droughts have added to a decrease of the agricultural productivity caused by the land ownership (Tessema, 2012), the government did not engage in programs that address the rain issue such as irrigation innovations and diversifying source of energy. Irrigation innovations are necessary in order to overcome the difficult weather conditions of the country. However, any policy has to integrate socio-economic consequences on the population in their assessment. The Gibe III dam in Southwest Ethiopia is a large-scale irrigation project for commercial agriculture enterprises in parallel of the promotion of commercial large-scale businesses and fishing corporations. There are some benefits emanating from the dam, such as the creation of jobs induced by the presence of companies, providing electricity and the construction of roads to transport the production. According to the AfDB summary (2008) on this development program, safe roads also aim to reduce gender inequalities as they would allow both women and men to get access to work opportunities. Nonetheless, it is also reported that the construction of the dam has dramatic consequences on indigenous groups living in the lower Omo basin and the Lake Turkana region in Kenya that I will explore in the following section of this chapter (Carr, 2017).

When Ethiopia first started the GTP I in 2010, a five-year plan aiming to develop the country's economy, the government also chose to devalue the Birr (Ethiopian currency) by 20% with the support of the IMF in order to stimulate exports and the economic growth. The result of currency devaluation has been studied by Fassil Eshetu who concludes that even if the effects on a long-term period can be positive, on a short period, it worsens the trade balance, i.e. the difference between its exports and its imports (Eshetu, 2017). This eventually leading to an increasing trade deficit for Ethiopia between 2010 and 2015. In 2010, the trade deficit was about - US\$ 2 000, when in 2015 it was about - US\$ 3 700 (Trading Economic, 2018). Although the deficit diminished after 2015, today it is at its lowest of - US\$ 3 852, representing 6% of the country GDP.

As stated before, agricultural development is an important focus of foreign programs. Practices such as the improved use of fertilizers, improved seeds, increased land coverage for agricultural production, improved farm management practices and related institutional services are the main reasons why this sector is in expansion (Petros et al., 2018). Foreign agricultural investments have also been encouraged by the government of Ethiopia. As policies of land ownership still continue, the country signed away leases for a land of a million hectares to foreign agro-enterprise, an initiative supported and promoted by the World Bank (Ransom, 2010), and caused the eviction of entire populations. In the past, during the Derg regime, the Anuak people in the province of Gambella, known for its fertile lands, forced to emigrate to other countries or regions in the name of agricultural settlements that would *develop* Ethiopia. As many of the Anuak people tried to resist the mass eviction, it ended up being a battle between them and the state's policies.

When they are not evicted, individuals need to adjust to socio-economic transformations. This is, for example, the case of the Gedeo ethnic community, living in the Southern Nations Nationalities and People Region, in Ethiopia, who has undergone major and rapid changes in their agriculture structure. In the past, the Gedeo production was diversified with enset (also called *false banana*), dairy farming, cereals and various fruits and vegetables. Today, as the country is engaging in an export-oriented economy, coffee and khat (a plant provoking psychological effects when chewed) are the prevalent plants being produced. The politics of ownership of the land and the interest in commercial crops rather than subsistence have led to a new relationship between peasants and the state in which farmers are dependent on the economy, the state and the landowners (Abebe & Kjørholt, 2009).

In order to help the African farmers to adjust as rapidly as possible, a partnership between USAID and the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa of US\$ 47 million was established in 2013. Called the

Scaling Seeds and Technologies Partnership in Africa, it aims to connect governments, local seed companies, farmer and development organizations to improve farmers' access to have access to agricultural technologies. In parallel, the Government of Ethiopia established in 2010 the Agricultural Transformation Agency to implement the second GTP II aiming to make Ethiopia a lower middle-income country by 2025. Among the goals of the GTP II are the privatization of agriculture in order to reduce land tenure insecurity and bring food security through commercialization.

This point will be further analyzed in the second part of this section in the discussion on the impact of modified seeds on biodiversity and living conditions.

Impact

Grace Chang argues that: “When export-oriented agriculture is encouraged, indeed coerced, peasant families are evicted from their lands to make room for corporate farms” (Chang, 2016). Although this is the case for the Anuak and other peoples of Ethiopia, some farmers still live on their land despite the fact that it does not necessarily belong to them. In remote areas, homes and lands are being taken away for the corporates, forcing people to go work for the same corporates in fields or industries that have uprooted them. The consequences of neoliberalism are more important on women because and “girls are the first to be kept from school to help at home or join the labor force” (Chang, 2016). This was further outlined in a study of the Gedeo community (Abebe & Kjørholt, 2009), which had to face the State's demand to engage in commercial crops, undergoing major changes in their means of subsistence and means of production. As a consequence, the labor of children which was already integral part of the labor, has become crucial for the Gedeo households to survive.

The preservation of gender roles is maintained by the chore distribution based on the child's identification to the parent of his/her gender. In this, boys are more involved in production while girls learn and practice domestic activities. Girls are helpful in allowing for the mother to work outside the farm for a salary while they take care of younger siblings or sick elderly. Acting as caregivers for the family, young girls also take care of a sick member of the family, reducing the burden for their parents who can then engage in diverse paid activities beside the farm. Their assistance to their families can jeopardize their education and might have to drop out entirely when one parent is sick or migrates to urban areas to find alternative ways of subsistence through additional employment, this is mostly the case for young people (Abebe & Kjørholt, 2009). In their 2019 report, CEDAW raised the issue of

education in the country, particularly the fact that primary school is not compulsory and the gender inequalities that it brings. Girls tend to drop out of school more than boys, leading to higher levels of illiteracy among women than men.

In sub-Saharan Africa, women contribute 60 to 80 percent of the labor in both food production for household consumption and for sale (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2011). The main reason for this is the fact that men are leaving rural areas to find work in urban industries and SEZs. However, before the industrialization process, women's role in the food production was also significant but invisible.

This is why foreign assistance also includes the gender dimension to their food programs. It is the case for WFP who encourages women to participate in food distribution and food management committees in order to increase their participation in the food process and create a connection between them and officials. This program highly participates to increase women's empowerment as according to their 2011 report on Ethiopia, women's leadership in the food management committees raised from 40 percent to 62 at the year it was submitted (WFP, 2011).

Physical and economic access to adequate food or means for its procurement is not realized to its fullest in the country. As 60% of employed households earn on an average US\$68 per month, it restrains their access to animal products such as eggs or chicken (Berhane et al., 2018). The other major impact of industrialization in Ethiopia is time restriction with employed women usually working overtime, thereby lacking time to adequately and appropriately feed their children with customized meals. Nowadays, many women are buying processed food or street food, which increase the risk of obesity or malnutrition (Berhane et al., 2018).

In many ways, this dimension is not integrated into policies and development project. A study shows that the risk of food insecurity increases in case of landlessness (Legese, Van Assche, Stellmacher, Tekleworld, & Kelboro, 2018). The numerous policies that led to evictions are a cause of hunger distress for the peoples of the country. In the case of the Gilgel Gibe I dam in the Southwest Ethiopia, 2476 households were affected, among them, 706 lived and farmed in the project area and were offered a compensation. However, 1770 others lived in the buffer zone, area that was not eligible for compensation. They have now, no access to their lands. Furthermore, the assessment of the impact of the construction of the Gibe III dam by Claudia J. Carr shows that it causes a radical reduction of the Omo river and the elimination of its annual flood. As a result, potable water will reduce due an increase of salinity, and

flood recession agriculture will be impossible to perform. Local groups will then be in competition for water and food resources as they continue to see their subsistence lands being taken away for corporate use (Carr, 2017). Her observations are in conflict with the AfDB assessment which states that food insecurity in the region is the result of natural and local socioeconomic conditions, namely in the uneven distribution and erratic rainfall, floods, landslides, pest infestation, epidemic diseases of human and livestock, moreover, the document states that the recession agriculture could provide them grain for only 3 to 6 months per year. By the latter statement, AfDB justifies that the populations already needed food assistance before to survive the rest of the year (AfDB, 2008).

On the other hand, the agricultural innovation such as improved seeds have direct consequences on the biodiversity. Women have a primary role in the cultivation and the preservation of the seeds. The seed technology is very controversial, and although it aims to improve production, Vandana Shiva argues that it is ravaging biodiversity. From her research in rural areas of India, she reported that, as seeds are sterile, farmers need to buy new seeds from corporations, which makes them dependent on the purchase and ultimately thrust into a spiral of indebtedness. Women have traditionally in the rural patriarchist system, in this area, been occupied the cultural role of protecting biodiversity (Ransom, 2010), this has now been replaced by the Western production of knowledge in sciences to support a capitalist economy.

To conclude this section, yet if women are present during the whole food production process, their role is invisible. The GC n°23 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, declares that as women's work is not recognized as such, they are more vulnerable because they lack social protection and minimum wage (General Comment n°23, 2016). Moreover, they are excluded from any financial tools such as loans or credits, although the latter does not appear as a priority when cultural norms are not debated. This is particularly the case of the controversial microfinance mechanism, which tends to trap women in a spiral of debt, causing high suicide rate, and increasing gender-based violence (Rahman, 1999).

Furthermore, state policies on land ownership added to development practices increase gender inequality and force children into work, not to assist the household anymore, but to help the family's survival. The significant impact of these development programs often falls on the shoulders of girls that fill roles which keep them away from an education. Although this GC mentions that state parties should implement the ICESCR in their laws and policies, they also need to institutionalized social changes throughout health and childcare infrastructures and education.

Women and Health

Among all the foreign development flows, social improvements are hardly considered as the main interests. Only 1% of the Chinese total investments concerns the education and 2% health, which further highlighting their lack of commitment regarding social justice in a developing economy (Damtew & Tsegay, 2017).

However, Ethiopia has major health issues such as malnutrition and infectious diseases. In terms of figures, according to the African Health Observatory, malnutrition corresponds to 29% of Ethiopian children who are underweight and 9% who are extremely underweight. The numbers are slightly more important for male children, 31% among them are underweight compared to 27% of female children. Social factors also influence the issue, as children with mothers with no education are eight times more underweight than children with mother that have more than a secondary education (AHO, 2018). In this respect this section will explore to what extent do development policies impact women's health.

Policies

According to the African Health Observatory (AHO), Ethiopia lacks access to clean water, housing, sanitation, food and healthcare. The AHO also states that Ethiopia has the highest rate of premature death in Sub-Saharan Africa, with 350 out of 1000 lost per year caused mostly by malaria, prenatal and maternal death, acute respiratory infection, nutrition deficiency, diarrhea and HIV/AIDS (AHO, 2018). Article 16 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' rights asserts that States shall insure health protection to their population through particular measures and assistance. Early marriages are also an important cause of prenatal and maternal death as states the report from the African Rights Monitor to the CEDAW Committee (2011): girls between the age of 15 to 19 years old are at higher risk to die from childbirth complication than from any other cause.

An Ethiopian woman named Mashuu Baaburi noticed that, in Southern Ethiopian village of Chefo Umbera, a lot of her peers married early and that polygamy was very common. She completed secondary school and organized a group with the women of her family a group. It started in 2000 with four members, and by 2011 they were more than 160. The main focus of the group is women's empowerment through health education. They are raising awareness on HIV/AIDS and provide family planning education (Report World Food Programme Ethiopia, 2011). Civil movements such as this one shows to what extent the government of Ethiopia's policies lack focus on such social issues.

Moreover, the same report from the African Rights Monitor declares that maternal mortality is increased by pregnancy related causes and unsafe abortion. In this respect, reproductive services such as contraceptives and health facilities must become a priority for women's health in Ethiopia but also the social and legal prohibition of child marriage. The state did launch an initiative to reduce unintended pregnancies through the insertion of implants, called the Integrated Family Health Program (IFHP), however, according to the same report, the training of health professional must follow such initiative for it to be efficient. Moreover, rural areas must not let aside.

Health challenges in urban and rural areas of the country are not the same for women. Ethiopia's cities have known an impressive growth for the last two decades but housing, water supply, sanitation services, drainage, transport networks and health services have not been integrated as much in the urbanization process. As a result, living and health condition are worsening. The government's programs are not going at the same speed than the urban situation and its following consequences.

The past government, the Derg regime (1974-1991) focused on major agricultural reforms in its ambition to make Ethiopia a lower middle-income country by 2030. However, it had huge impact on farmers' confidence to the State. Leading to the insecurity of tenure, ambiguity in ownership, a decrease in farm size and shortage of land. Furthermore, according the ownership of land to corporate farms and the urban expansion created a displacement of poor farmers. Following this regime, the right to ownership is declared be a common property of Ethiopian Peoples and Nation in the Constitution by the article 40.3, however, state legislations sometimes contradict with it with the redistribution of land to individuals (Wubneh, 2018).

Compare to the Derg regime, healthcare policies have not been an important focus of the current Ethiopian government. The government's role in health is an important one to offer adequate standard of living to the population by providing direct healthcare, financially supporting hospitals and employing public health professional. Article 89.8 of the African Charter states that "Government shall endeavor to protect and promote the health, welfare and living standards of the working population of the country."

The construction of the Gibe III dam and the Omo river basin follows the same agenda. It comes from the Ethiopian ambition to develop water resources not for sanitation or to develop food security but for commercial and industrial use. The first state agency to promote hydro dam development was funded in 1956 and called the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority. The Bank was always involved in the planning, coordination and the funding of the dams. For decades, the institution was the largest donor for dam development. In 1990 the AfDB conceived the Master Plan for River Basin Development which aims to identify and detail the potential of each major river basin (Carr, 2017). Based on the previous failures of dams, the World Commission on Dams (WCD) designed guidelines called the Strategic Priorities in 2000. Among them we can name the Public Acceptance and Sustaining Rivers and Livelihoods guidelines which is the assessment of the ecosystem's functions in addition to how locals depend on them and vice-versa. Furthermore, they recommend that a joint negotiation with all parties affected, namely local communities, should be a priority (McDonald-Wilmsen & Webber, 2010).

However, the last decades have shown that the WB did a poor job of taking these guidelines into consideration. Construction of dams have caused impoverishment through the displacement of people. Dams or industries are contested for their consequences on the air quality but also on displacement of population (Sachs, 2004) where the poorest individuals are facing the first consequences.

Impact

The impact of agricultural development has a tremendous impact on women's health, particularly in rural areas. As stated before, women appear to occupy an important role during the whole food production chain. A study of 4 different USAID-funded regions of Ethiopia shows the impact of post-harvest practices on women and children's health. The region of Tigray (producing mainly sesame), Oromiya (wheat), Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples (maize) and Amhara (chickpea) were the areas studied. Moreover, practices are not the only responsible for this, gender roles increase women's disempowerment and diseases.

First of all, the low level of education, marketable life skill and existing stereotypes limit women's participation in income-generating work. This female work is also being defined as survival-income generation rather than accumulation-income generation as more than 60% of the households studied were poor, very poor, or destitute. This study shows that women work longer hours than men, an average of 15-18 hours per day compared to 7-9 hours for men while they are primary responsible for storage and management of the harvest, namely cleaning, treating and maintaining the quality of grains (Petros et al., 2018)

In order to limit the grain loss, the study reports traditional methods used by women such as smoking and limetrees for insect repellent, placing pumpkins in the middle of the stored grains as a coolant, mixing and covering grains with teff as a protective camouflage, limiting space and oxygen movement in the grain storage, and even spraying holy water on the grains. Other methods used are more dangerous for their health such as the application of chemicals and treatment pills. However, it is very common that women and children consume damaged grains in order to avoid being reprimanded by their husband and to compensate for the loss. The latter is particularly dangerous for the health as it contains mycotoxins from the chemicals used in the post-harvest treatment causing unidentified respiratory diseases, allergic reactions, headaches, skin itching and burns and long-term health deterioration. Also decreasing nutrition, being in contact with these damaged grains and treating them risk the health of children and women while already the working time of a woman is twice that of men (Petros et al., 2018).

Traditional medicine has an important place in rural areas of Ethiopia, first because of the lack of accessible health care, and also because of traditional beliefs. As for example, for the births taking place in 2008, trained birth attendants and skilled health professionals attended only 6% of deliveries, (Population Institute, 2009). The rest of the deliveries were attended by traditional birth attendants or

relatives. Another mean to get access to healthcare, information and income-generation opportunities is the Women Development Armies which is composed of a community of unpaid women in rural areas such as Tigray. However, this initiative supports the “natural” role of the woman as an altruistic caregiver in the domain of health. Moreover, state officials justify this program with the fact that women are used to do unpaid work while men would ask for a salary (Maes, Closser, Vorel, & Tesfaye, 2015).

The maternal mortality ratio of Ethiopia is one of the highest in the world largely cause by the lack of access to health care and socioeconomic and demographic factors. As a result, 22 000 women and girls die every year due to complication during childbirth. Furthermore, Ethiopia faces a severe shortage of health professionals with a ratio of 0.7 per 1000, when the WHO recommendation is of 2.3 health workers per 1000 (AHO, 2018). The risk for a woman to die during pregnancy or childbirth is one in 27 and the figure is even higher in rural areas due to early marriages. Early marriages are not the only reasons, the co-infection by Soil Transmitted Helminthiasis and Malaria among pregnant women are a major public health issue in Ethiopia which can also lead to anemia (Getachew, Yewhalaw, Tafess & Zeynudin, 2012) (Getachew, Tafess, Zeynudin, & Yewhalaw, 2013). In their studies, these researchers showed that pregnant women who live near stagnant water were three times more likely to get co-infected. Among all of the dramatic consequences from the construction of dams, the effects on health cannot be ignored.

On a different level, women are organizing around health issues and are showing an important ability to resist by forming groups like Mashuu Baaburi to educate women on health issues while also acting individually and in solidarity. For instance, in family, we also find forms of resistance in the relatives. Grandmothers in rural areas play an important role in the health of the children. Studies showed that the lack of affordable childcare is done by women’s mothers which also impact on child mortality rate both in urban and rural areas (Ternsjö, 2018)(Gibson & Mace, 2005). Besides their resilience, foreign aid is increasingly necessary to the survival of vulnerable individuals. The Targeted Supplementary Food program launched by the World Food Programme (WFP) helped 3.8 million people through relief food assistance in south and south eastern parts of Ethiopia were climatic conditions highly affected their food security. Targeting vulnerable individuals such as malnourished children under five, pregnant women and nursing mothers, this program is engaging in the consequences of weather conditions and inadequate food policies (Report WFP on Ethiopia, 2011)

A study among the Arsi Oromo, pastoralists of Southern Ethiopia, who face water shortage and chronic food scarcity due to the lack of economic opportunities and unavailability of new land, addresses the role of kin assistance in childcare, particularly maternal grandmothers’.

Traditionally, the Oromo arrange marriages and a payment is made to the bride's family, usually cattle. However, poor families cannot afford to pay and must "exchange" their daughters to other poor families of the same village, phenomenon that increased since 2003 (Gibson & Mace, 2005). Marriages can cause a relocation of the woman to her husband's village if he is not originated from her village. In this case, paternal grandparents would be the easiest support to get. Researchers found that maternal grandmothers largely influence the nutrition of their daughter's children, whereas this influence is less noticeable on their son's children (Gibson & Mace, 2005). However, this childcare is usually not direct, but rather through reducing their work activities, grandmothers allow mothers to spend more time with their children which ameliorates health, and thus, increasing child survival rate.

To conclude, women from rural areas are organizing around health issues to sustain for the lack of government's involvement in these issues. Organizing to provide health education or even childcare, they are trying to improve their health condition and reduce child mortality on their local level because the state is failing to train health professionals and provide a national education on HIV/AIDS or nutrition.

Furthermore, constructions of infrastructures such as dams are increasing risks of infection and spread disease while diminishing access to vital resources and evicting individuals. From these programs, the local population is not benefiting as it aims to bring energy resources for corporations and take away drinkable water and biodiversity.

Concluding remarks

It has to be noted that development policies are not the only factor worsening women's quality of life and ravaging the environment. Intra politics and weather conditions are also responsible for ethnic conflicts over food and water resources. However, policies aiming to industrialize are supporting a patriarchal capitalist system that increase gender stereotypes, exclude environmental concerns from decision-making processes, and engage women and girls' health and education. Diverse sources of information on the impact of some development projects have been collected to provide a comprehensive and a rich assessment.

Although industrial, agricultural and health sectors have been divided for a better understanding, one project can have a broad impact that covers all of these various areas. This has been the case for corporate agriculture for instance, that forces women to work for the garment industry to sustain for their families, engage girls and mothers to provide social and health services.

Conclusion

The landmark UN reports on sustainable development (from 1987 to 2015) outline that environmental protection, economic growth and social equity are three core intrinsically linked components to sustainable development. Three decades have not been enough to integrate this perspective into development practices and yet, they appear in financial institutions' guidelines. Empirical evidence suggests that the promotion of neoliberalism from both the country and foreign investors is a danger to the local population's life, and, thus questions the very meaning of a development policy. Globalization and its goal to boost the economy in Third World countries urges the local population, especially women, to leave their homes in pursuit of employment. Product-export is usually the preferred way to enhance the "development" of a country which is proven by the case of Ethiopia. Hence, they remain significant in the eyes of financial institutions and "developed" countries.

This thesis offered a comprehensive analysis of the impact of development policies through a broad collection of data in different domains such as sociology or even biology. Moreover, the identification of the three main focuses – industry, food and health – outlined the link between development practices, women and nature in depth. This work also highlights the need for a multidisciplinary research in this area.

The first chapter has shown how the integration of gender in the global debate on development has evolved, integrating new components into the discussion, largely due to failures, contributions, and limits of previous theories, conceptualizations, and practices such as the WID, WAD and GAD perspectives. The significant contribution brought by ecofeminism is the plurality and diversity of voices from different areas of the world that highlights different forms of local resilience. Beyond that, ecofeminism is a multidisciplinary approach, which is not limited to women's lack of political participation but is shedding light on their connection with industries, food, and health for instance.

The debate within the ecofeminist literature is explained by the fact that cultural scholars perceive women as social and cultural agents by essence, while constructivists analyze this as the result of the influence of the historical, cultural and social contexts, which are complex and variable. However, this research has applied a constructivist social perspective. The constructivist social ecofeminism outlines how neoliberal globalization affects all forms of lives in Ethiopia; from nature to humans.

Another confusion is also found within the discourses held by financial institutions and their practices which as Alston, Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, reported, must diminish in order to achieve the SDG (Alston, 2018). Their lack of commitment is jeopardizing human rights and increasing social issues. Carolyn Turk's statement from the World Bank outlines the will to make room for people's participation in development projects.

The second chapter has examined to what extent the Ethiopian context has contributed to attract foreign actors and how the population organized against it. The first period relates of the Italian rule, its interests and the resistance. Although their interests were more focused on symbolizing the Italian occupation than to develop the country, they engaged in the agricultural sector and the construction of infrastructure. As Ethiopia was already undergoing difficult climate conditions, this period was a great disappointment for Italians. Although the available literature does not outline the specific role of women, this section sheds light on important resistance movements that managed to reach communities of African descent overseas. These civil movements were advocating for local sovereignty and control over resources.

Moreover, the second section on the *politics of famine* outlines the responsibility of the two different governments of Ethiopia in periods of famine. Indeed, their inadequate policies on land tenure, food movement, but also their lack of engagement in climate policies have increased food insecurity in the country. The EPRDF government, taking over the control of the country after the end of the Marxist-communist period of the Derg regime, has inherited the lands of the country and offered a part of them to privileged groups and corporate farms which evicted farmers from their fields.

Indeed, since Meles Zenawi, GoE opened itself to foreign investors, particularly China, in which Ethiopia takes example of its development process. BWIs imposed strict conditions that did not please the political elite, while China is only interested in the economic benefits of moving industries to Ethiopia and developing agricultural infrastructures. Ethiopia saw in the Sino-Ethiopian relationship a way to reach its goal of becoming a low-income country by 2025 and ensure its political longevity.

The Ethiopian context was necessary in this ecofeminist analysis in order to highlight the different means of resistance since the colonial period and also to discuss the different forms of domination that Ethiopians have had and still have to overcome. Moreover, we found diverse forms of development processes that engage the well-being, and sometimes, the survival of the population, from the construction of dams to the Women and Development Armies. The latter, as a governmental innovation,

exploits pre-existing gender roles in order to sustain what they fail to provide, meaning an adequate healthcare system.

Dugo and Eisen (2018) showed in their study that the government of Ethiopia uses narratives that hide the truth about genocidal actions over tribal groups, women and opponents to development actions. Among the intentional atrocities occurring in Ethiopia and mentioned by the authors are chronic hunger, police violence, and forced violence and among the actors are the Ethiopian government and the donors. Indeed, if the latter are not trying to stop such acts, they are observers. To support their argument, the authors argue that reports have not been published or showed another reality (such as the report from the UK mission in 2014 in Omo Valley that was not released). This research among others questions other rights that might also been abused by the Ethiopian government with the support of donors such as the right to life and the freedom of expression. Although this thesis did provide a legal analysis of transgression of human rights, it adds elements to address the assessment of the impact of development policies on women's rights.

The last chapter examined the direct impact of some development policies and programs on women's lives in their relations to industry, food and health. First, even if women are involved in the workforce and increase their level of financial independence, gender roles in society do not evolve, which has the direct consequence of widening the existing gender gap as their opportunities are restrained. In addition, women are facing a double-burden as their role as social and cultural agents remain in society. For instance, they still are considered and expect to act as caretakers and nurturers for children and the elderly.

In rural areas, agricultural policies have significant impacts from girls' early age, as they are forced to engage in farm activities, elderly and child care for the survival of their families, which result in a high rate of school drop-out. Besides, small farms are more dependent on the market for food purchasing because their fields are taken over for export agriculture, which limits subsistence fields. They are also more dependent on corporation for the purchase of seeds and pesticides.

Finally, development policies, such as the construction of dams, industrial agriculture, or just the lack of social programs, have dramatic consequences on women's health. The example of the construction of dams shows that it increases their risk of infection during pregnancy, reduces food resources, evict individuals, and reduce potable water. Local peoples are not benefiting from

development programs made for large corporates. Individuals, notably women, are showing a great ability for resilience while struggling for their own survival and their children's.

In conclusion, women and girls should not be set aside in the assessment of development programs, hence consequences on their lives must remain an important focus. The impact is not only ravaging human communities but the local ecological habitats as well. Yet, if it is common to think that women in developing countries are oppressed, it is important to identify the different oppressors and the various factors such as financial institutions, foreign and local governments. More importantly, economy is a main factor. In this respect as it promotes a patriarchal capitalist system, it can be considered as a culture in which it socializes women into being and remaining social and cultural agents of society. Consequences deriving from development process are increasing gender inequalities, girls and women are constrained to privilege survival ways of life rather than an education. Although non-governmental organizations are trying to change gender stereotypes, they are often prevented by governmental policies to advocate or to open discussion.

Culture has an important role to play in the construction of gender roles during the process of socialization, it is also notable to mention the impact of acculturation that have the international relationships. In this respect, this thesis not only corroborates the need for development practitioners and financial institutions to take into consideration the dimension of gender as well as environmental questions into the global discussion and local actions, it also outlines the dramatic consequences that the imposition of this economic system has.

Culture has also a role to play in the resistance to development practices. Indeed, this research has highlighted the importance of women in leading protection of nature and filling the lack of governmental actions in socio-economic and environmental areas. Women are more likely to make up for government failures in the areas of nutrition, health, children, like when their elderly parents are sick. The ecofeminist approach of the topic provided the opportunity to include major dimensions to the main question, among them, their link to nature, food, health and work. This approach outlined the fact that considering women as passive actors would be inappropriate while they use innovative resources to resist an oppressive system.

Furthermore, we can connect the consequences of neoliberal policies in Third World countries with immigration flows in First and Second World countries. In this regard, *Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy* (Chang, 2008) gives a great insight on how women

are forced to live their country for their own survival and on the reality of immigrant workers' lives. When women get to an 'host' country they face a high demand of care services, they would find low-skilled jobs for low or small benefits in taking care of Western families. Moreover, Chang denounces some policies, such as the end of childcare programs in the USA and some VISAs in First and Third Worlds to increase female's exploitation and compares it to a trading system between 'host' and home countries. Chang takes the example of Filipina migrant workers to explain how wobbly their situation is as they are threatened to be expelled anytime. This example is not unique and sets them as low-class citizen. Other situations show that they are not equal regarding the US laws. They are considered less than women, less than humans. In 2014, it was reported that the Ethiopian diaspora represented the second largest group of African immigration after Nigeria (Migration Policy Institute, 2014).

This thesis must be examined into the global context of the capitalist economy where situations in developing countries are interconnected with immigration flows and inequality in developed countries.

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Annex

Creditor grouping	Total Debt Owed	Percentage of External Debt Owed
India, Middle Eastern Countries and China	\$8.6 billion	35%
Paris Club Governments	\$0.4 billion	2%
World Bank	\$6.6 billion	27%
IMF	\$0.2 billion	1%
Other Multilateral Institutions	\$1.8 billion	10%
Private Sector	\$6.4 billion	26%
Total	\$24 billion	[Figures add up to 101 because of rounding]

Source: Jubilee Debt Campaign