Gender Education for Agricultural Extension Workers: "Gender-sensitive Curriculum" in Agricultural Technical and Vocational Education and Training (ATVET) Colleges in Ethiopia

by

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DISSERTATION

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List of Abbreviations

ATVET: Agricultural Technical and Vocational Education and Training

BoA: Bureau of Agriculture

CoC: Center of Competence

DA: Development Agent

EOS: Ethiopian Occupational Standard

ETQF: Ethiopian TVET Qualification Framework

FTC: Farmer Training Center

GAD: Gender and Development

GTP: Growth and Transformation Plan

MoA: Ministry of Agriculture

MoARD: Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development

MoE: Ministry of Education

MoFED: Ministry of Finance and Economic Development

MoWA: Ministry of Women's Affairs

OoA: Office of Agriculture

PASDEP: Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty

SDPRP: Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program

S.N.N.P.R: Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region

TVET: Technical and Vocational Education and Training

WID: Women in Development

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Ethiopia highly depends on its agricultural sector, which accounted for 47% of its GDP in 2013 and engaged 85% of its total employment in 2009 (CIA, 2014). The Ethiopian government considers agriculture to be one of the key sectors for its national development and emphasizes the necessity for giving particular attention to the sector as a major source of economic growth in the latest versions of its five-year national development plan, the Growth and Transformation Plan 2010/11-2014/15 (GTP). The government has particularly highlighted the importance of agricultural extension services in GTP. This is because agricultural extension is considered to be the most important tool for improving farmers' productivity based on the consideration that smallholder farming has been, and will continue to be, the major source of agricultural growth in the country (MoFED, 2010, p.47). The current agricultural extension services are provided mainly through agricultural extension workers known as Development Agents (DA) in Ethiopia. The main tasks for DAs are providing training and advice to farmers in 8,500 Farmer Training Centers (FTC) to introduce modern technology into agricultural production and provide information about the business of, and market for, the products (Davis et al, 2009, p.24).

Many studies have pointed out the significant role played by female farmers in farming and life in rural communities (FAO, 2012; MoA, 2011; Saito et al, 1994; United Nations, 2015), and the Ethiopian government has paid much attention to them as one of the main target groups of the agricultural extension services. In response to this, GTP aims to increase the proportion of female farmers and youths among the beneficiaries of agricultural extension services to 40% by 2014/15 (MoFED, 2010, p.47). However, despite this emphasis by the government, female farmers have fewer opportunities to access agricultural extension

services than male farmers (World Bank, 2010, p.163). Although the percentage of female farmers accessing to agricultural extension services increased from 9% in 2001 to 20% in 2010, this is still far less than the government's target (MoWA, 2006b, p.6; World Bank, 2010, p.257). The Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) emphasizes that gender disparity in access to services in the agricultural sector is one of the most serious problems in the overall situation of gender inequality in Ethiopia. In 2011, the government developed the Guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming in Agricultural Sector and implemented various strategies to achieve gender equality in access to agricultural extension services. One of the strategies is providing training to DAs to improve gender sensitivity. A number of scholars also support the idea of providing gender-sensitivity training to agricultural extension workers. They emphasize that increasing the number of agricultural extension workers equipped with gender-related knowledge is very important and is an efficient way of improving access of female farmers to agricultural extension services. However, it is reported that in many developing countries, agricultural extension workers still rarely receive proper training on female farmers' role, their lifestyles, or their specific needs while being trained in agricultural techniques (Due et al, 1997; Nnadi et al, 2012). Therefore, the Ethiopian government's strategy to provide gender education to DAs is unique compared to other developing countries.

To become a DA, a person should be enrolled in a DA training program provided in an Agricultural Technical and Vocational Education and Training (ATVET) College. ATVET Colleges are at a level equivalent to senior secondary education. They are administered by MoA but are under the common framework of the Ethiopian formal TVET System, which oversees vocational and technical training related to various industries. The Formal TVET System in Ethiopia is designed to be outcome-based and competency-based. Training programs are expected to be designed to cultivate the skills and knowledge required for certification according to the Ethiopian Occupational Standard (EOS) developed for

respective industries. Course modules are provided to break down the requirements shown in the EOS into teaching courses, and teachers of ATVET Colleges prepare teaching materials for all the required courses accordingly[1]. However, since no EOS has been specifically designed for DA training, ATVET Colleges borrow EOSs from other occupations in the commercial agricultural sector. For example, an EOS of Animal Production is used for Animal Science majors and an EOS for Crop Production is used for Plant Science majors at ATVET Colleges. These EOSs focus predominantly on agricultural techniques but do not include any gender-related knowledge for DAs. Therefore, the DA training system faced criticism as it exclusively focused on the training of agricultural techniques while neglecting that of gender-related knowledge from the onset (Ashworth, 2005; Gebremedhin et al, 2006; Davis et al, 2009; Mogues et al, 2009). Hence, the government developed the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum in 2010.

The gender-sensitive DA training curriculum aims to develop the attitude among future DAs to achieve gender equality in the agricultural sector by providing necessary knowledge (Alage ATVET College, 2010). In this sense, the curriculum aspires to "change" society through gender-sensitivity training. Various educators committed to the social reconstruction ideology also emphasized that a school curriculum can bring changes to society (Schiro, 2013). The gender-sensitive DA training curriculum aims to change the current gender unequal society into a gender equal society through education and training of DAs. According to the Gender Division at MoA, there are three pillars of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum: 1) providing an additional course titled Gender and Development, 2) providing gender-related activities through a gender office in each college, and 3)

[1] The term "course" is used to mean "subject" in ATVET Colleges. DA training is composed of common courses and specialized courses. Common courses are taken by all students, but specialized courses are different according to which major the students select. There are three majors for DAs: animal health, natural science, and plant science.

encouraging teachers to be gender sensitive when they teach their courses (personal interview, 2012). MoA developed a module for the Gender and Development course, gave advice about activities at the gender office, and provided gender training to all ATVET teachers for the curriculum. The course module of the Gender and Development course includes basic concepts of gender equality, women's rights in general, gender-related problems, and gender analysis. The mandate of the gender office was stated by the Gender Division at MoA as supporting female students through activities and solving gender-related problems at the college. The gender training is provided by MoA for teachers regardless of the course they teach. According to MoA, all teachers have an obligation to take the training to be gender sensitive when teaching their courses.

1.2. Problem Statement

Although MoA developed the course module for the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum and provided training to teachers, "how to be gender sensitive" when they teach highly depends on each teacher. The curriculum is designed to provide gender-related knowledge and experience, but there is a lot of room for discretion for each teacher to decide specific contents of teaching to achieve his or her goal. The basic contents of each course are already written on course modules listed on the EOSs, but the teachers can decide the time allocation and on what and how to teach under the name of gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. Moreover, teachers should consider how to interpret the required skills and knowledge indicated in the EOSs so as to fit them to the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum, since ATVET Colleges borrow the EOSs from other occupations. Teachers are directly involved in teaching-learning practices, and their understanding of curricular priority would affect how they operationalize the curriculum. The importance of the role of teachers in the school curriculum has also been emphasized in many studies. This is because they are in a

position to resist, modify, or reject preceding decisions on the curriculum (Klein, 1979, p.184). McCutcheon (1997) likened teachers to “filters” which the mandated curriculum passes through (p.193). The curriculum which is originally developed by educators and the one which is provided by teachers cannot be the same. When teachers teach their students, they can emphasize certain materials over others according to their enthusiasm about a specified topic, their skill, or their level of understanding of the contents to teach. In contrast, they can also neglect to teach several contents; that is, they can deliberately or voluntarily elect not to include a particular matter (Ballantine & Hammack, 2009; Eisner, 1979; McCutcheon, 1997; Sato, 1999). This means that there may be some contents which are over-emphasized and some which are never taught without the students realizing it.

The role of teachers must not be overlooked in the implementation of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum since it leaves ample space for teachers to decide what/how to teach gender-related issues. Generally, teaching gender issues at school is a complicated practice since there is no clear definition of the “right” gender-related attitude to teach. According to World Health Organization (WHO), compared to “sex”, which refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women, “gender” has a more complex meaning which refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women (WHO, 2013). In other words, what teachers teach students is based on socially constructed definitions which are considered appropriate by the teachers themselves. Previous studies have shown that peoples’ attitude towards gender differs based on who they are, how they grew up, how they have lived, and what they have learned (Elene et al, 2013; Kiecolt & Acock, 1988; Kimura & Naoi, 2009; LaFont, 2010; Lio & Cai, 1995; Odimegwu, 2005; Suzuki et al, 1998; Tatano & Tahara, 2001; Tomabechi, 2009; Thornton & Camburn, 1989). Additionally, Krech et al (1962) found that one of the factors affecting peoples’ attitude toward a specific issue is the

environment around them, especially the shared norms of the society about it. This means that interpretations of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum depend on respective teachers' backgrounds and the norms of the societies to which they belong. Additionally, when it comes to the implementation of the curriculum, in addition to teacher's perception, environmental factors and situational factors also have an effect. The situational factors hindering curriculum implementation include staffing issues, time, unavailability of required instructional materials, school structure, teacher-pupil ratio, etc. (Bennie & Newstead, 1999; Murundu et al, 2010; Schagen, 2011).

DA training had been criticized for focusing on only agricultural techniques while neglecting gender-related knowledge. Does the current gender-sensitive DA training curriculum, which was introduced in 2010, make any difference to the criticized situation? Has the Ethiopian government strategy worked as expected? A few years have already passed since MoA started the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum at ATVET Colleges. The first graduates who were trained according to the current curriculum are about to be dispatched to the field as DAs. However, no research has been carried out to closely examine what skills and knowledge are taught through the curriculum. As mentioned earlier, the purpose of the curriculum is to develop the attitude among future DAs to achieve gender equality in the agricultural sector by providing necessary knowledge (Alage ATVET College, 2010). The curriculum aims to "change" the current situation of gender inequality in Ethiopian society, especially in rural areas, to one which is more equitable through DA training. Given such aspiration of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum, it is necessary to determine whether the skills and knowledge taught according to the curriculum meet the required skills and knowledge in rural areas or not. Moreover, it is important to understand how the teachers filter the curriculum and what factors influence this filtering process.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to assess the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum in ATVET Colleges to find whether the provided gender-related knowledge and skills through the curriculum are adequate for the required gender-related knowledge and skills in the field or not. To analyze the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum, this research uses a typology introduced by Goodlad et al (1979). According to them, a school curriculum can be divided into five levels: *ideological curriculum*, the original assumptions and intentions of the curriculum designer; *formal curriculum*, the curriculum documents which gain official approval by state and local school boards and adoption; *perceived curriculum*, the curriculum perceived and interpreted by the teacher; *operational curriculum*, the actual instructional process in the classroom; and *experiential curriculum*, the curriculum experienced by students. This research looks into the differences between each level of the curriculum to know how the teachers filter the curriculum. To identify what contents are provided as the curriculum, the research firstly observes the course modules on EOSs, the course module of the Gender and Development course, and a textbook. Secondly, the research focuses on how teachers perceive the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum and what they actually teach in classrooms. Thirdly, the knowledge and skills possessed by students are analyzed. Therefore, in this research, four levels of the curriculum will be focused on: formal curriculum, perceived curriculum, operational curriculum, and experiential curriculum.

To follow up with the main objective, this research aims to determine what knowledge and skills are required for DAs to make the agricultural extension service more accessible to female farmers in Ethiopia. Since MoA tries to increase the number of female DAs, the necessary knowledge and skills of female DAs will also be focused on. Furthermore, this research seeks to explore the factors influencing teachers' implementation of the curriculum. The two levels of the curriculum, perceived curriculum level and operational

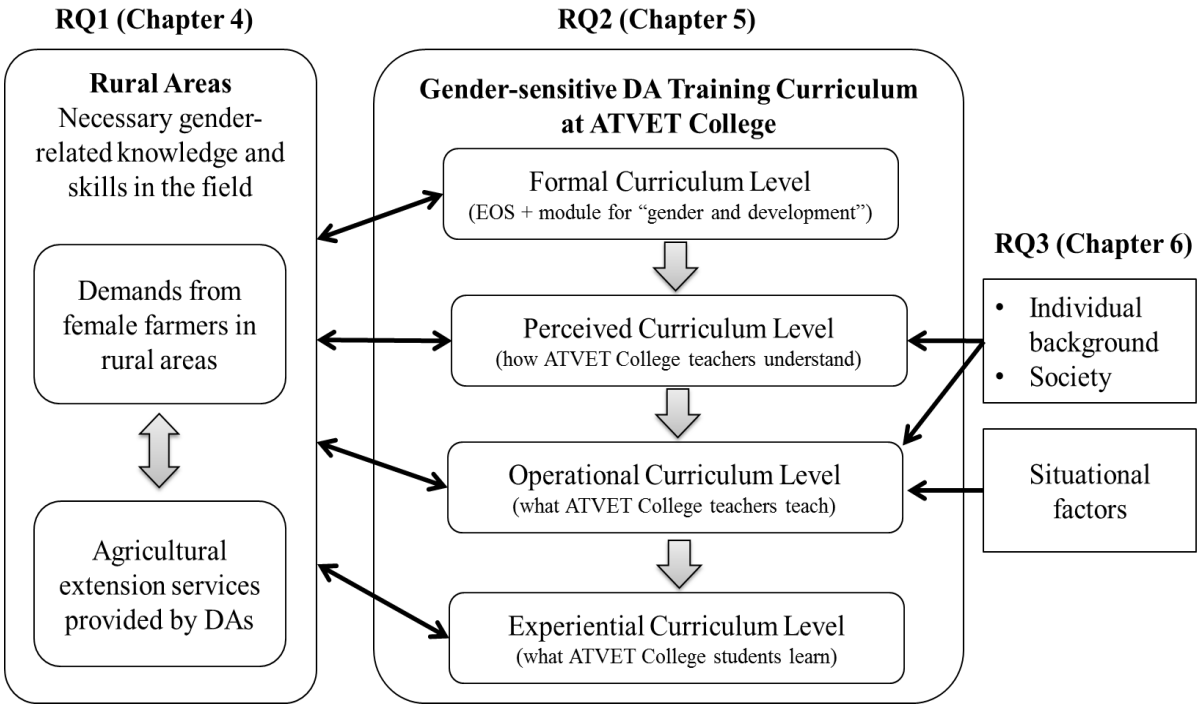
curriculum level, will be analyzed separately.

1.4. Research Questions

To achieve the objectives, this study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What knowledge and skills are required for DAs to make agricultural extension services more accessible to female farmers?
    1.1. What kind of methods do DAs use to provide agricultural extension services to female farmers?
    1.2. What do female farmers expect from agricultural extension services?
2. What kind of knowledge and skills are taught through the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum?
    2.1. How do teachers perceive the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum?
    2.2. How do teachers implement the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum?
    2.3. What do students learn through the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum?
3. What factors affect teachers' implementation of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum?
    3.1. What factors influence the perceived curriculum?
    3.2. What factors influence the operational curriculum?

Figure 1.1: Research Framework



Source: Author

1.5. Research Methodologies

To answer the three research questions above, this qualitative research used the following six types of data:

1) Observations of the training and demonstrations by DAs

2) Structured interviews with 50 female farmers and 30 DAs

3) In-depth interviews with 16 teachers

4) Group discussions with 23 students

5) EOS, course modules, teaching materials

6) Policy documents and media related to gender

Firstly, the author observed training and demonstrations by DAs in two different

districts in the Oromia region to capture the general situation of agricultural extension services in Ethiopia. All conversation and activities between DAs and farmers were recorded to analyze their relationship. Interviews with female farmers and DAs were then conducted to hear the demands and opinions of the stakeholders and to determine the necessary gender-related knowledge and skills in the field that may improve female farmers' access to agricultural extension services. All the answers were analyzed and cross-checked with the observations.

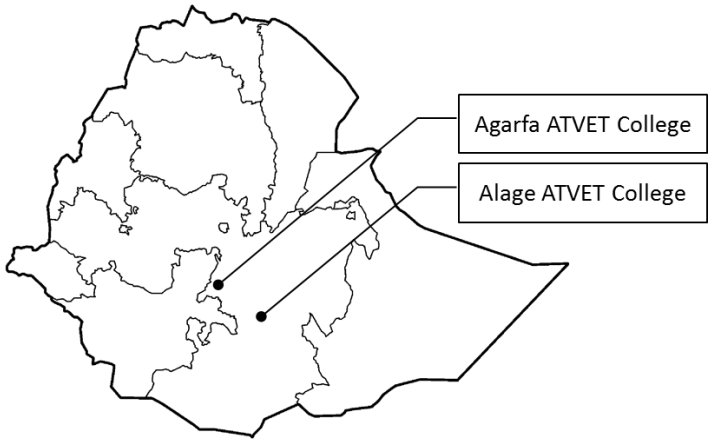
Secondly, in-depth interviews with teachers were conducted in two out of five ATVET Colleges providing DA training to learn teachers' perceptions toward gender education and what they teach in classrooms. In addition to the interviews with teachers, group discussions with students were conducted to clarify what knowledge and skills were actually obtained by students through the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. Furthermore, EOSs, course modules, and teaching materials were also analyzed to learn how the concepts of gender, female farmers, and agricultural extension services are explained. All the written words related to gender, female farmers, and agricultural extension services were picked up to see how often they are used and what issues are related to them in the teaching materials. Interviews with teachers were also used to analyze factors affecting the perceived curriculum and operational curriculum. Additionally, gender-related policy documents and media contents were also analyzed. This was done because many teachers mentioned what they read in government policies or what they saw in the media when they talked about gender issues. Therefore, this research considers policy documents and media as important factors. The details of each sample and research methodology are introduced in the next section.

1.5.1. Procedure of the Fieldwork at ATVET Colleges

1.5.1.1. Sample

Firstly, in-depth interviews with 16 teachers and group discussions with 23 students will be introduced in this part. The fieldwork was conducted from June 1 to July 14, 2013 at Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College in the southern part of Oromia region. Alage ATVET College is located in Arshi zone, 215 km away from the capital city, Addis Ababa, while Agarfa ATVET College is located in Bale Zone, approximately 420 km away from Addis Ababa. Both of the colleges are located approximately 40 km away from the nearest main road and isolated from other towns. Those colleges have large compound areas (Alage: 4,200 ha and Agarfa: 2,000 ha) where all the teachers, students, administrative staff, and other employees live in with their families. Both colleges have primary schools inside the compounds for children of the workers.

Figure 1.2: Location of Agarfa ATVET College and Alage ATVET College



Source: Golbez, 2006 modified by the author

There are also contract farmers who grow commercial crops and animals for the colleges. They are working at huge cultivated land and many animal sheds located in each college. The income from commercial crops is used to cover a part of the operational costs of

the colleges. Both colleges were established in 2000/01 and have been managed directly by MoA as specialized educational institutions for DA training.

Figure 1.3: Cultivated Land and Animal Sheds in Alage ATVET College

Source: Author's survey, 2012

There are three reasons why Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College were selected as research sites. The first reason is that they offer the same majors, which are Animal Science major, Plant Science major, and Natural Resource major. The second reason is that the backgrounds of students and teachers at both colleges are similar. There is no big difference between the two colleges in terms of students' and teachers' origins, educational backgrounds, and religions. Since the previous studies stated that individuals' backgrounds have much impact on the perceived curriculum, it was necessary to choose sites where the author can interview people having similar backgrounds. The last reason is that these institutions have a special relationship. They exchange teachers, share information, conduct teacher's training together, and share teaching materials. Therefore, it is possible to observe how teachers implement the curriculum similarly or differently by having the same information, reserving the same training, and using the same teaching materials.

1.5.1.2. Data Collection and Data Analysis

The author collected three types of data at the ATVET Colleges: in-depth interviews with teachers, group discussions with students, and teaching guidelines and materials used by teachers. The in-depth interviews were conducted in English, while the group discussions were carried out in both English and Amharic language, a national language of Ethiopia. Some parts of the group discussion were conducted with interpreters. A short questionnaire was distributed to each teacher before the interview to briefly understand their thoughts on gender equality, situation of female farmers, and education at ATVET Colleges in order to conduct the in-depth interviews smoothly. The in-depth interviews were conducted separately two to three times per person, approximately 45 minutes to one hour each. The reason why the interviews were conducted several times per person is to clarify the responses that he or she mentioned during the previous interview, especially the contents related to their understanding of gender issues.

Teachers were selected from both the common courses and specialized courses. The common course teachers were those in charge of Gender and Development, Participate in Workplace Communication, Work in Team Environment, Develop Business Practices, and Civics and Ethical Education. The specialized course teachers were selected from the Animal Science major. This was because works related to animals are often considered as female farmers' work in rural areas, as was introduced in the literature review (FAO, 2012). Therefore, according to the president of Alage ATVET College, Animal Science major teachers are expected to think about gender issues more than teachers of other majors. There were only three female teachers among the nine specialized course teachers who participated in the interview. The author avoided selecting more female teachers since 90% of the teachers at ATVET Colleges are male. There was no female teacher in charge of the common courses at both colleges.

The group discussions were conducted with the 2nd year students in both Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College. There are two reasons why the author selected the 2nd year students. The first reason is that the 3rd year students were not at the colleges because they were doing an apprenticeship outside. The second reason is that it was too early for the 1st year students to be asked about their feelings toward teachers and classes since they had spent less than one year at the colleges. To reduce pressure on students, the group discussions were carried out in an informal manner. The topics were delivered by the author while the discussions were led by students themselves.

All the interviews and group discussions were recorded with their permissions. The interviewees gave their signatures on a document after they agreed to participate in this research. Table 1.1 below shows the number of interviewees at ATVET Colleges. In addition to the in-depth interviews and group discussions, EOSs, course modules, and textbooks were collected from teachers and the vice-dean of Alage ATVET College.

Table1.1: Number of Interviewees in Alage and Agarfa Colleges

Name of College	Interviewee	Number	
		Male	Female
Alage ATVET College	Common courses teachers	3	0
	Specialized courses teachers	4	1
	The 2nd year students	7	5
Agarfa ATVET College	Common courses teachers	4	0
	Specialized courses teachers	2	2
	The 2nd year students	8	3

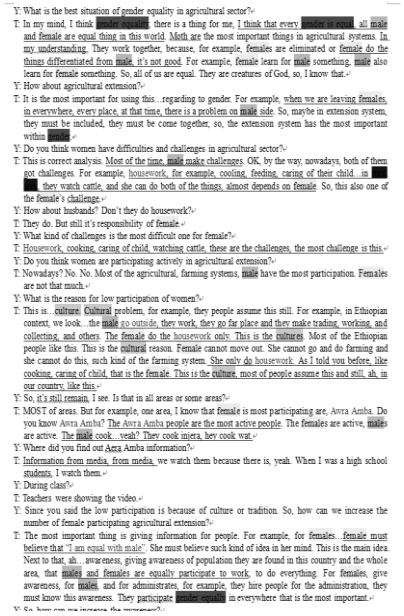
Source: Author's survey, 2013

The recorded interviews and discussions were transcribed by the author. This research analyzed the interviews and discussions based on the Grounded Theory Approach (GTA), which was originally developed in the 1960s (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). GTA focuses

on the ways in which people negotiate and manage social situations, and how their actions contribute to the unfolding of social processes. It is used as a method to identify categories, to make links between categories and to establish relationships between them (Willing, 2013, p.70). The analysis starts from the derivation of codes, concepts and categories. A researcher using GTA must see words and phrases used by interviewees carefully to highlight the main issue of the research. After coding each concept in turn with all other concepts, further commonalities should be considered which form wider categories. Lastly, each category is linked to investigate the connections between the concepts (Allan, 2003).

In this research, all the transcribed interviews and discussions were coded and categorized to analyze how gender is captured and taught by each teacher. Figure 1.4 shows a sample of the data analysis process which the author has done.

Figure 1.4: Data Analysis Process



Y: What is the best situation of gender equality in agricultural sector?

T: In my mind, I think gender equality, there is a thing for me, I think that every gender is equal, all male and female are equal thing in this world. Moth are the most important things in agricultural systems. In my understanding. They work together, because, for example, females are eliminated or female do the things differentiated from male, it's not good. For example, female learn for male something, male also learn for female something. So, all of us are equal. They are creatures of God, so, I know that.

Y: How about agricultural extension?

T: It is the most important for using this…regarding to gender. For example, when we are leaving females, in everywhere, every place, at that time, there is a problem on male side. So, maybe in extension system, they must be included, they must be come together, so, the extension system has the most important within gender.

Y: Do you think women have difficulties and challenges in agricultural sector?

T: This is correct analysis. Most of the time, male make challenges. OK, by the way, nowadays, both of them got challenges. For example, housework, for example, cooling, feeding, caring of their child…in [redacted] they watch cattle, and she can do both of the things, almost depends on female. So, this also one of the female's challenge.

Y: How about husbands? Don't they do housework?

T: They do. But still it's responsibility of female.

Y: What kind of challenges is the most difficult one for female?

T: Housework, cooking, caring of child, watching cattle, these are the challenges, the most challenge is this.

Y: Do you think women are participating actively in agricultural extension?

T: Nowadays? No. No. Most of the agricultural, farming systems, male have the most participation. Females are not that much.

Y: What is the reason for low participation of women?

T: This is…culture. Cultural problem, for example, they people assume this still. For example, in Ethiopian context, we look…the male go outside, they work, they go far place and they make trading, working, and collecting, and others. The female do the housework only. This is the cultures. Most of the Ethiopian people like this. This is the cultural reason. Female cannot move out. She cannot go and do farming and she cannot do this, such kind of the farming system. She only do housework. As I told you before, like cooking, caring of child, that is the female. This is the culture, most of people assume this and still, ah, in our country, like this.

Y: So, it's still remain, I see. Is that in all areas or some areas?

T: MOST of areas. But for example, one area, I know that female is most participating are, Awra Amba. Do you know Awra Amba? The Awra Amba people are the most active people. The females are active, males are active. The male cook…yeah? They cook injera, hey cook wat.

Y: Where did you find out Awra Amba information?

T: Information from media, from media, we watch them because there is, yeah. When I was a high school students, I watch them.

Y: During class?

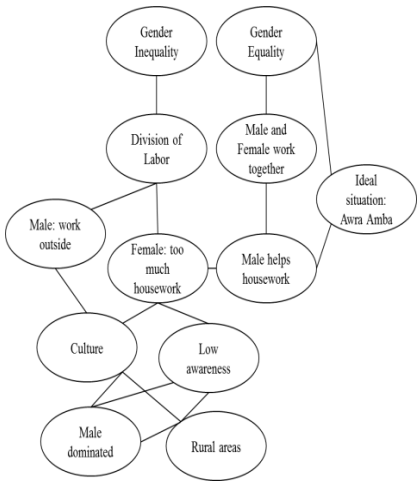
T: Teachers were showing the video.

Y: Since you said the low participation is because of culture or tradition. So, how can we increase the number of female participating agricultural extension?

T: The most important thing is giving information for people. For example, for females…female must believe that "I am equal with male". She must believe such kind of idea in her mind. This is the main idea. Next to that, ah…awareness, giving awareness of population they are found in this country and the whole area, that males and females are equally participate to work, to do everything. For females, give awareness, for males, and for administrates, for example, they hire people for the administration, they must know this awareness. They participate gender equality in everywhere that is the most important.

Y: So, how can we increase the awareness?

#	Sentense	Topic	No
What is the best situation of gender equality in agricultural sector?			
1	I think that every gender is equal, all male and female are equal thing in this world	Division of labor	Gender ir
2	female do the things differentiated from male, it's not good.	Division of labor	Gender
3	There is a problem on male side		Male i
Women have difficulties and challenges in agricultural sector?			
4	Most of the time, male make challenges		Male i
5	housework, for example, cooling, feeding, caring of their child…in rural area, they watch cattle, and she can do both of the things, almost depends on female	Division of labor	Female
6	Housework, cooking, caring of child, watching cattle, these are the challenges, the most challenge is this	Division of labor	Female
Reason of low participation of women			
7	male go outside, they work, they go far place and they make trading, working, and collecting, and others	Division of labor	Cult
9	The female do the housework only. This is the cultures	Division of labor	Cult
10	She only do housework. As I told you before, like cooking, caring of child, that is the female. This is the culture, most of people assume this and still, ah, in our country, like this.	Division of labor	Cult
Ideal situation			
11	The Awra Amba people are the most active people	Division of labor	
12	The male cook…yeah? They cook injera, hey cook wat.	Division of labor	
What to do to increase female's participation			
13	female must believe that "I am equal with male". She must believe such kind of idea in her mind. This is the main idea.	Encouragement	
14	giving awareness of population they are found in this country and the whole area, that males and females are equally participate to work	Division of labor	Gender ir
15	They participate gender equally in everywhere that is the	Division of labor	Gender ir



Source: Author

Figure 1.4 shows how the author analyzed the teacher's opinion toward "gender

inequality." The first step is coding. The author picked up keywords, which were often mentioned by the interviewee, and put codes. For example, in the following case, female, male, gender, and culture were selected as main keywords. Then, the author listed the sentences including the keywords to create concepts. Later on, the author put labels on the concepts to categorize the interviewee's opinion. A list in the middle is the categories of sentences talking about division of labor. Lastly, each category was displayed and connected to make one conceptual diagram of the interviewee. In this case, it was found that the interviewee's image of gender inequality is highly related to division of labor. The interviewee assumed that females have too much housework to access to the agricultural extension services. The interviewee thinks that the reason why the division of labor exists in Ethiopia is because of its culture and people's low awareness, especially in rural areas which are male dominated society. The interviewee also mentioned that the ideal gender equal situation is "male helping female doing housework as *Awra Amba* society." The conceptual diagrams were created for various topics; for example, "image of women in the rural areas," "what are the most important gender-related content to teach," and so on. The small conceptual diagrams were also displayed and connected each other to see the overall perception of each interviewee.

1.5.2. Overview of the Samples

1.5.2.1. Teachers

The total numbers of teachers are 178 at Alage ATVET College and 110 at Agarfa ATVET College. All the teachers are required to have at least a bachelor's degree in the related fields. Since a work experience is not required for ATVET College teachers, most of them started working right after they graduated from universities. Among the total number of the teachers, 35 teachers at Alage ATVET College and 27 at Agarfa ATVET College belong to

the Animal Science major. The specialized course teachers teach 5-10 courses per semester, while the common course teachers concentrate on 1-2 courses.

Currently, more than half of the teachers are enrolled in a master's program and others are also willing to be enrolled if they can get a chance. The turnover rate of the teaching force is quite high; a few teachers have worked more than five years at both Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College. Most of the teachers leave the job after they get their master's degree or find a better-paid work. For example, four of the teachers whom the author interviewed in July 2013 left the colleges by October 2013. Table 1.2 displays the list of teachers interviewed. The specialized course teachers were selected according to their sex and work experience. On the other hand, the common course teachers were selected according to their charged courses. From the common courses, teachers teaching Gender and Development, Civics and Ethical Education, Participate in Workplace Communication, Work in Team Environment, Develop Business Practices were selected. The author tried to conduct the interviews with the same number of teachers from the specialized courses and the common courses. However, there was no Develop Business Practices course teacher interviewed at Alage ATVET College. It was because the fieldwork period was nearly the end of the second semester, the Develop Business Practices course teacher at Alage ATVET College had already gone back to the city where his university was located to take the master's course.

Table 1.2: List of Teachers Interviewed

Site	Age	Sex	Charged course	Years of teaching	Work Experience
A1	26	M	· Participate in Workplace Communication · Work in Team Environment	4 years	
A2	32	M	· Civics and Ethical Education	10 years	
A3	26	M	· Gender and Development	1 year 6 months	
A4	28	M	· Specialized courses	2 years	Worked as an expert at a local agricultural office for 4 years
A5	26	M	· Specialized courses	4 years	
A6	25	F	· Specialized courses	3 years	Worked as an assistant at Alage ATVET College for 4 years
A7	27	M	· Specialized courses	3 years	Worked as an expert at a local agricultural office for 2 years
A8	23	M	· Specialized courses	1 year 6 months	
B1	25	M	· Gender and Development	2 years 9 months	
B2	30	M	· Civics and Ethical Education	8 years	
B3	23	M	· Participate in Workplace Communication · Work in Team Environment	1 year 6 months	
B4	25	M	· Develop business practices	1 year 4 months	
B5	23	F	· Specialized courses	7 months	Worked as a DA supervisor for 2 years
B6	22	F	· Specialized courses	1 year 7 months	
B7	26	M	· Specialized courses	3 years 6 months	
B8	25	M	· Specialized courses	1 year 8 months	Worked as an expert at a local agricultural office for 1 year 6 months

Note: A: Alage ATVET College, B: Agarfa ATVET College
Source: Author's survey, 2013

1.5.2.2. Students

The total numbers of students are 4,343 at Alage ATVET College and 2,022 at Agarfa ATVET College. Among them, 507 students at Alage ATVET College and 650 students at Agarfa ATVET College are majoring in Animal Science. Table 1.3 table shows the number of students in the Animal Science major in each grade.

Table 1.3: Number of Students in Animal Science Major in Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College

Name of TVET College	1st year		2nd year		3rd year		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Alage	127	67	104	34	118	57	507
Agarfa	110	98	96	36	185	125	650

Source: Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College registration offices, 2013

All the students enrolled in Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College are Grade 10 graduates coming from all over the country. They were selected at each district and sent to the colleges. The numbers of students sent to the colleges are decided by the district agricultural offices according to their future plan for the agricultural extension service. Most of the time, the number of students being sent to ATVET College is decided according to the numbers of DAs who have left their job or the number of FTCs planning to be constructed. Thus, the regional origins of students differ every year. Table 1.4 lists the regional origins of students at Agarfa ATVET College. Mostly, both Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College accept the students mainly from Tigray region, Amhara region, and Oromia region.

Table 1.4: Regional Origins of Students at Agarfa ATVET College in 2012

Name of region	1st year		2nd year		3rd year		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Tigray	4	14	26	11	0	0	55
Amhara	43	36	36	20	0	0	135
Oromia	58	45	34	5	0	0	142
S.N.N.P.R*	0	1	0	0	185	125	311
Benishangul Gumuz	4	2	0	0	0	0	6
Dire Dawa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Somali	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harari	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gambela	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Note: S.N.N.P.R = Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region

Source: Agarfa ATVET College registration office, 2013

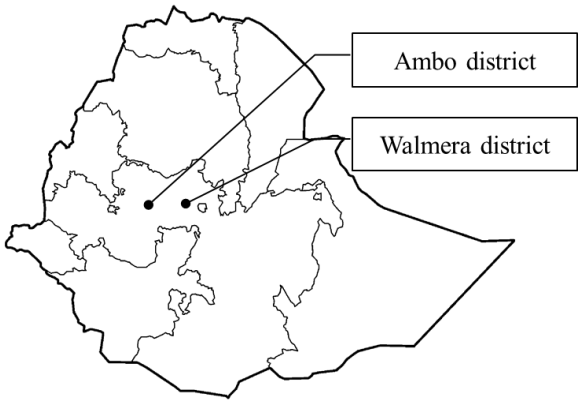
The students who joined the group discussion were selected from the 2nd year students in Animal Science major. In addition, since the fieldwork was conducted in the Oromia region, students from the Oromia region were also preferably selected. Nevertheless, since many of the students expressed concern about their language skills despite the presence of an interpreter, eventually, the students who feel confident about speaking English or Amharic language, joined. Among 23 students, 11 were from Oromia region, nine were from Amhara region, and the three were from the other regions.

1.5.3. Procedure of the fieldwork in Rural Areas

1.5.3.1. Samples

This section will explain about fieldwork in rural areas. The fieldworks were conducted several times from March 14 to June 25, 2012 in two districts, *Ambo* district and *Walmera* district, in West Shewa zone, Oromia region.

Figure 1.5: Location of *Ambo* District and *Walmera* District



Source: Golbez, 2006 modified by author

Oromia region was selected because many of the students at Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College were from the region. Oromia region is the biggest region and the agricultural extension services are actively provided to farmers[2]. The region shares approximately 43% of the total number of DAs in Ethiopia (Mogues et al, 2011, p.3).

Table 1.5: Number of DAs by Region in Ethiopia

	Name of region	Number of DA	Percentage
1	Oromia	19,654	42.9%
2	S.N.N.P.R	11,061	24.1%
3	Amhara	10,196	22.3%
4	Tigray	2,067	4.5%
5	Somali	1,269	2.8%
6	Afar	748	1.6%
7	Harari	52	0.1%
8	Benshagul-Gumez	677	1.5%
9	Gambella	---	---
10	Dire Dawa	88	0.2%
Total		45,812	100%

Note: No information available for Gambella

Source: Mogues et al, 2011, p.3 modified by author

[2] Oromia region has the biggest number of "functional FTC" compared to the other regions (MoA, 2008). There are two types of FTCs; i.e.,"functional FTC" and "established FTC." The functional FTC refers to one which has enough facilities and materials to provide training and demonstrations to farmers, while established FTC does not.

There were two reasons why *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts were selected. The first reason is that many graduates from Alage ATVET College or Agarfa ATVET College have been working there. The second reason is that more number of female DAs have been working in the districts. In contrast with other districts where the number of female DAs shares 5-20% of total, *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts have approximately 25% of female DAs. The numbers of female farmers and DAs are as follows. The numbers of DAs were decided according to the total number of DAs in those districts (*Ambo* district: 79, *Walmera* district: 44).

Table 1.6: Number of Interviewees in *Ambo* District and *Walmera* District

Name of district	Interviewee	Number
Ambo district	Female farmers	30
	Male DAs	10
	Female DAs	10
Walmera district	Female farmers	20
	Male DAs	5
	Female DAs	5

Source: Author's survey, 2012

1.5.3.2. Data Collection and Data Analysis

First, a questionnaire was distributed to DAs in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts. Then, personal interviews were carried out according to the questionnaire. The interview mainly focused on what strategies DAs use to provide agricultural extension services; what challenges they face when they provide agricultural extension services; and how they think about providing agricultural extension services to female farmers. The personal interviews with DAs were conducted in English, but the questionnaire was translated into Oromo language, their mother tongue. In addition to the interviews, the author went to local areas with DAs to observe how they provide agricultural extension services, especially focusing on

how female farmers attend training. In addition to the questionnaire survey and interviews with DAs, structured interviews were conducted with female farmers in the districts. The interviews mainly focused on how they access to the agricultural extension services; what are the reasons for attending or not attending training; and how they think about receiving the agricultural extension services from DAs. The structured interview's questions were also translated into Oromo language.

1.6. Significance of the Study

Since agriculture still plays an important role in economic growth in Ethiopia, education and training provided in ATVET Colleges are important to produce good human resources for agricultural extension. However, there are few studies focusing on ATVET Colleges exclusively, and these focus mainly on the institutional system rather than on its training contents. Moreover, no study focuses on gender education provided in DA training at ATVET Colleges even though its importance has been discussed for a long time. Therefore, this research contributes to finding out what is actually taught by teachers in classrooms. Additionally, this research contributes to rethinking the role of teachers by showing how contents are administered differently at each level of the curriculum through the "filters."

This research makes two more contributions. The first one is increasing the number of cases of gender research in teacher/trainer training, since a limited number of studies has been conducted on how the gender issue is included in teacher education courses or trainer training (Bourne & Gonick, 1996; Sikes, 1991). There are thousands of studies focusing on the role of teachers in gender attitude creation among students in schools. However, most of them focus on the intervention between teachers and primary school students, that is, children those who have not established their identities yet. For instance, many studies aimed to explain how primary school students learn masculinity and femininity from their teachers'

behaviors. They stated that students learn to behave as a boy or girl by being rewarded or punished by teachers differently according to their sex.

The second contribution is conducting gender research with a unique focus, such as the case of teachers teaching knowledge and skills which they have never experienced in their lives. In other words, teachers teach the necessary gender-related knowledge and skills even though they do not know the gender situation in their field. Many previous studies showed that people's perceptions of gender are created through their daily lives by the things existing around them, for example, attitudes toward women's suffrage, paternity leave, and gender-segregated school uniform. In contrast, this research focused on gender-related knowledge and skills related to agricultural extension. Since most teachers found their current job right after graduation from universities, they do not have a clear idea of the agricultural extension services in rural areas. This means that even though they do not have any experience, they have to provide the necessary gender-related knowledge and skills in the agricultural field.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on gender education in the DA training curriculum at ATVET Colleges. However, the author conducted fieldwork in only two out of five ATVET Colleges providing the DA training curriculum. Additionally, the author interviewed only animal science major teachers and students. Fieldworks were conducted in only two districts with DAs and female farmers to analyze how agricultural extension services are provided in Ethiopia. Therefore, it should be noted that this research is context specific, and its findings cannot be generalized to other ATVET Colleges or districts in Ethiopia.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter is composed of five sections. The first section is about agricultural extension for female farmers. The section will focus on the importance of providing agricultural extension services to female farmers. The second section discusses necessary skills for agricultural extension workers. The section will focus on both hard skills and soft skills for working as agricultural extension workers. The third section is about discussions on curriculum. The section will introduce the discussion based on the social reconstruction ideology since the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum aims to "change" the society through the curriculum. The last two sections relate to gender issues. The fourth section will focus on gender attitude formation because ATVET College teachers' perspectives on gender would affect how they implement the curriculum. Lastly, discussions on gender inequality and development, and women in Sub-Saharan Africa will be introduced.

2.1. Agricultural Extension for Female Farmers

This section firstly explains the importance of female farmers in the agricultural sector. Secondly, how female farmers have been accessed to agricultural extension services will be discussed by looking into various extension approaches. Lastly, major obstructive factors for female farmers to access to agricultural extension services will be introduced.

2.1.1. Importance of Female Farmers in Agriculture

Many studies have emphasized that female farmers play important roles in agriculture. Female farmers are involved in both livestock and crop productions at subsistence and commercial levels. Based on the latest data gathered by FAO, female farmers account for approximately 43% of the agricultural labor force in developing countries. The ratio is the

highest in Sub-Saharan Africa, where female farmers account for 48.7% on average: the minimum is 25.0% in the Republic of Mauritius and the maximum is 67.3% in Lesotho (FAO, 2012, pp.111-112). Some studies even asserted that female farmers provide more labor force than the data suggests, reaching approximately 70-80% of all agricultural labor force (Saito et al, 1994; Kanji, N et al, 2007). Interestingly, in recent years, many Sub-Saharan African countries have registered a remarkable increase in the female share of the agricultural labor force due to conflicts, HIV/AIDS, migration, and so on (FAO, 2012, p.8). A research conducted in four Sub-Saharan African countries (Benin, South Africa, Madagascar, and Mauritius) showed that female farmers spend 467 minutes per day for agricultural work, on average, while men spend 371 minutes (Kes & Swaminathan, 2006, p.18). According to the United Nations, in the Sub-Saharan Africa, more women are involved in the agricultural sector than men, while men are more likely to be involved in the industrial sector (United Nations, 2015, pp.96-97).

Gender-based division of labor among various agricultural tasks has been observed in many Sub-Saharan African countries. It is especially pronounced in livestock production. Female farmers often have responsibilities in taking care of poultry, dairy animals, and other animals fed within homestead; while male farmers tend to be involved in constructing housings and herding of grazing animals. Female farmers are also in charge of selling eggs, milk, and poultry meat (FAO, 2012, p.14). This means that most of the daily activities for keeping livestock are considered as female farmers' work. Moreover, in crop production, female farmers are primarily responsible for food processing, crop transportation, weeding, and hoeing, while men are mostly in charge of cultivating. A previous study shows that African female farmers undertake approximately 80% of food storage and transportation work, 90% of hoeing and weeding, and 60% of marketing (Kes & Swaminathan, 2006, p.18).

It has been argued, however, people often underestimate the contribution of female

farmers to agricultural work. This is because female farmers are less likely to consider themselves as engaging in agriculture (Beneria, 1981, pp.13-14). Moreover, cultural and social norms assuming that “women do not farm” inhibit people from recognizing female farmer’s role in the agricultural sector (World Bank, 2010, p.62). The fact that men's works are more likely to be considered as “skilled” while women’s works are called as “elementary” also contributes to the underestimation (United Nations, 2015, p.99).

2.1.2. Agricultural Extension Approaches and Female Farmers

This section focuses on the history of the agricultural extension, especially when and why female farmers started to be involved in it in Sub-Saharan African countries. Agricultural extension was started by the European countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the early 1960s, when a large number of Sub-Saharan African countries attained independence, agricultural extension services came under the responsibility of the national government. Since then, objectives and approaches have changed throughout the decades. Reflecting these changes, a role of agricultural extension workers has also differed.

In the colonial era, before the 1960s, main goals of agricultural extension were to supply tropical agricultural products, such as coffee, cocoa, tea, cotton, sugar, and rubber according to the colonial demands. This type of agricultural extension is known as a commodity-based extension. At that time, agricultural extension service did not pay attention to the needs of local people, and overlooked the effects of cash crop labor on household members, particularly women and children (Birmingham, 1999, p.21).

Agricultural extension in the 1960s, the post-independence period, aimed to increase agricultural production and spread the benefits of improved farming techniques. At the time, the transfer of technology (TOT) model was the common approach among developing countries. The TOT model was based on an assumption that new technologies and

knowledge should be developed by specialists. The main tasks of agricultural extension workers were only informing and persuading farmers to adopt those technologies. The TOT model believed that farmers are simple adopters of technologies developed by specialists, and the role of an agricultural extension worker was limited to informing and persuading farmers through farm visits, demonstrations, and group training. The TOT model was a top-down process through the hierarchical structure without any adaptation to local conditions. However, this top-down model started to be criticized in the late 1960s, as those new technologies did not fit the local context. This was because specialists, who had worked only in laboratories and away from the fields, had a poor understanding of the opportunities and constraints which farmers face (Belay & Abebaw, 2004, pp.142-144).

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, a new approach was used, which was known as the training and visit (T&V) system. People believed agricultural extension workers can contact with farmers more in the T&V system which emphasizes the necessity of the extension-research links (Picciotto & Anderson, 1997, p.250) Based on the lessons learned from past experiences, people realized that technologies exclusively developed by researchers were inadequate for farmers, especially small scale farmers. Therefore, the idea of involving farmers as partners in research and as the key players in the innovation process started to get attention (Hagmann et al, 1999, p.4). However, although T&V system intended to incorporate the feedback from farmers, it had not always accomplished this since the system was based on the top-down approach (Kaimowitz, 1991, p.105).

The Participatory Extension Approach (PEA), which is considered as a bottom-up approach, has been used since the 1990s. PEA considers local knowledge and resource inclusion can make an agricultural extension more effective and sustainable. PEA requires changing relationships between agricultural extension workers and farmers. Agricultural extension workers should not be considered as a one-way technology courier, but a facilitator

for farmers. Ponniah et al (2008) listed the main characteristics of PEA, and one of them is that "it is based on an equal partnership between farmers, researchers and extension agents who can all learn from each other and contribute their knowledge and skills" and another is that "it aims to strengthen rural people's problem-solving, planning and management abilities" (p.88). PEA aims to give farmers a main role in developing and spreading new technologies. At present, there is a consensus that the PEA is the best way to improve sustainability and is widely spread in Sub-Saharan African countries, including Ethiopia (Belay & Abebaw, 2004, p.146). Chambers (1993) made Table 2.1 to compare TOT and PEA.

Table 2.1: Comparison of TOT and PEA

	Transfer of Technology (TOT)	**Participatory Extension Approach (PEA)**
Main Objective	Transfer technology	Empower farmers
Analysis of needs and priorities	Outsiders	Farmers facilitated by outsiders
Transferred by outsiders to farmers	Precepts Messages Package of practices	Principles Methods Basket of choices
Farmers' Behavior	Hear messages Act on precepts Adopt, adapt or reject	Use methods Apply principles Choose from basket and experiment
Role of extension worker	Teacher Trainer	Facilitator Searcher for and provider of choice

Source: Chambers, 1993 cited in Hagmann et al, 1999, p.5

Since PEA aims to involve more farmers in a bottom-up method, opinions of female farmers are more likely to be reflected in agricultural extension than top-down approaches. PEA requires farmers, both male and female, to discuss about problems and demands among them. It also questions how they can make agricultural extension services more effective. Each farmer's different interest, need, and preference can be the topics. They

discuss whose preference is more important; why there are differences; and how to deal with the different demands (Frischmuth, 1997, p.7). Through the discussion, female farmers are expected to be able to have opportunities to express their views for other farmers to recognize the gender issues in agricultural extension.

2.1.3. Target Group of Agricultural Extension and Female Farmers

Since various agricultural extension approaches were introduced, the main target group of agricultural extension also has expanded. At first, the main target groups of agricultural extension were “innovative” farmers or “model” farmers. People believed that once those farmers have adopted new technologies, other “laggard” farmers will copy from or follow them, and the technology would spread (Kaimowitz, 1991, p.103; Hagmann et al, 1999, p.3). The model farmers are the people considered successful in producing agricultural crops, owning wider land, can afford the new technology, and so on. This top-down idea was based on the trickle-down theory and new technologies were given to only model farmers selected by the local government. However, after all, it did not achieve the expected results. In many cases, the new technology had not spread to others because knowledge was considered as an important asset which leads to power. The model farmers tended to share the new technology and information only within close relatives and friends, while the other farmers, who were considered as laggards, started to be jealous of them (Hagmann et al, 1999, p.3). Ironically, although the top-down agricultural extension aimed to spread the new technology and information from research institutions to as many farmers as possible; it widened the gap among farmers as a result.

Due to the negative effects of targeting only model farmers, intellectual recommended to include laggard farmers, who are mostly small scale farmers, as a target group of agricultural extension. This was also because of the recognition of the role of

farmers as partners and key players in the innovation process. It was said that technology and knowledge cannot be transferred wholesale from one area, organization, or cultural group to another. Female farmers also started to be considered as one of target groups, especially female household heads. Currently, since many studies started to point out that raising female farmer's productivity and improving their livelihood are necessary for sustainable development, the issues of agricultural extension for female farmers have also been highlighted as one of the fundamental challenges that development currently faces (Nnadi et al, 2012, p.1).

2.1.4. Obstructive Factors for Female Farmers' Access to Agricultural Extension

Although female farmers started to be focused as the target group of agricultural extension, there are some challenges which obstruct their access. For example, in Zimbabwe, although 40–60% of all the households are female-headed, only approximately 10% of those women are able to access agricultural extension services (Ponniah et al, 2008, p.57).

One of the factors hindering female farmers from accessing to agricultural extension services is people's belief that "female farmers do not need agricultural extension services." While they have less control over land and livestock, and make far less use of improved seeds and fertilizers, people do not consider them as full-time farmers (FAO, 2012, p.8). Also, although they are in charge of more than 40% of agricultural tasks, people do not consider those "female farmers' work" as farming activity. Therefore, common cultural norm of "women do not farm" has been widely shared in all regions (World Bank, 2010, p.62). There are many researchers who show that the agricultural extension workers tend not to approach female household heads because of the cultural norm, or have never approached female farmers having a husband because they think their advice will be eventually transferred from male household head to all other family members (Due et al, 1997;

Frischmuth, 1997; Meinzen-Dick et al, 2010; World Bank, 2010).

The second factor is the attitude of their husbands. Female farmers are sometimes not allowed to attend local meetings or to be deeply involved in it, especially if there is a cultural norm that men should work and women should stay at home. A World Bank report cited interviews with female farmers, which mentioned that after they returned home from meetings of a local female association, their husbands urged them not to be involved in such kind of nonsense things, about gender equality, which they heard at the meetings (World Bank, 2010, p.176).

The third factor is the sex of agricultural extension workers. In communities where restricts meetings between women and men from outside the family, the limited number of female extension workers obstructs female farmers from participating in extension programs (FAO, 2012, p.32). For example, some studies show male extension workers delivering services only to men, or focusing narrowly on traditional roles when giving advices to female farmers (Eboh, 1993; Fleck, 1994; Colverson, 1995).

The fourth factor is that agricultural extension services often do not fit female farmers' needs. Place and time of the extension meetings are the important factor for female farmers (Frischmuth, 1997, p.6). However, the place and time are often decided without considering female farmers' situations; i.e., that they are involved in not only agricultural activities but also housework, such as taking care of their children, preparing food, cleaning, and collecting of fuel (Kes & Swaminathan, 2006, p.3). Moreover, the contents of agricultural extension also often fail to address the needs of female farmers. Ponniah et al (2008) highlighted the importance of making agricultural extension more attractive to female farmers. They emphasized that "women's training must be planned according to their preferences, learning needs and abilities" for making agricultural extension more effective for female farmers (p.61).

The one thing which should not be forgotten is that female farmers are not a homogeneous group, especially in Sub-Saharan African countries. There are various studies pointing out that the concept misleads the agricultural extension. For example, Adekunle (2013) conducted a fieldwork in rural Nigeria and found that each female farmer represents different socioeconomic situations with different needs for extension contact and the use of extension methods (p.70). Ponniah et al (2008) also emphasized the difference between female household heads and wives. This is because each of the groups has specific interests, priorities, difficulties, and ideal way of receiving agricultural extension services (p.126).

2.2. Necessary Skills for Agricultural Extension Workers

This section focuses on skills of agricultural extension workers, which enable female farmers to be involved in agricultural extension. Currently, since agricultural extension approach shifted from top-down to bottom-up, it is not enough for agricultural extension workers to have only specialized knowledge and skills related to agricultural technology. In PEA, agricultural extension workers are expected to work as facilitators for farmers. Therefore, it is necessary for agricultural extension workers to have more "soft" skills.

2.2.1. Soft skills and Hard skills

There are two categories of skills, such as hard skills and soft skills. The hard skills are ones which most people imagine when they hear the word "skill." Schulz (2008) defined the hard skill as technical requirements for getting a particular job. Also, according to Burns (1997), hard skills have quantifiable elements and people can be rewarded by having them. Okoroafor (2008) gave a very concise definition of hard skills as "skills which might appear on people's CV or resume." Therefore, having hard skills has the same meaning as having an academic degree, a technical license, and/or good exam score.

Compared to hard skills, it is difficult to define soft skills since they are personality traits and social skills which everyone has to some extent (Schulz, 2008). Okoroafor (2008) mentioned that soft skills are non-technical, intangible, and personality-specific skills. Today, the importance of soft skills is being recognized and emphasized more and more in the job market. Ram Phani (2007) mentioned that soft skills play a vital role for professional success. Schulz (2008) also mentioned that soft skills are the most important skills in the employee selection process.

The literature seems to indicate that both hard skills and soft skills are important to job success because those two categories of skills are tightly correlated. People having only one of the two skills cannot be considered as skilled workers. The key to success is making them complement each other (Okoroafor, 2008). It is said that good soft skills can cover up a lack of hard skills (Schulz, 2008). However, having only soft skill is not enough since they have no quantifiable elements. Those who have both skills equally will be able to have many more opportunities to be employed and promoted.

2.2.2. Skills considered as Soft Skills

There are many skills which are categorized as soft skills. Table 2.2 shows the examples of soft skills which have been mentioned in previous studies. The most common ones are communication skills, problem solving skills, critical and structural thinking, decision making skills, teamwork capability, and good attitude. Ram Phani (2007) made a list of the “Top 60 Soft Skills” which is often used when selecting employees. The list includes much wider perception of skills, such as ability to fill out a job application, willingness to take instruction and responsibility, not expecting to become a supervisor in the first six months, and so on.

Table 2.2: Examples of Soft Skills

・ Communication skill (Listening skill, Language proficiency) ・ Problem solving skill ・ Critical and structured thinking ・ Decision making skill ・ Teamwork capability (Leadership, Motivating others, teamwork, teaching others, team building, interaction with others, Conflict management) ・ Good attitude (Positive attitude, Etiquette and good manners, Courtesy, Sociability, Honesty, Work ethic, Responsibility)		
・Common knowledge	・Negotiating skills	・Project management
・Presentation skill	・Time management	・Creativity

Source: Muthumanickam, n.d; Schulz, 2008; Okoroafor, 2008; Austin, 2010 compiled by author

However, one skill can be divided into both soft and hard parts in some situations. For example, in the English speaking societies, language proficiency is the ability to speak, read, and write Standard English in a business-like way. In those society, having the hard skill of language means knowing what is grammatically correct and having the soft-skills of language means knowing when to use the right words (Waggoner, 2002 cited in Schulz, 2008). In addition, since the perception of soft skills is different from situation to situation, a skill considered as a soft skill by a particular group of people, may be considered as a hard skill by others.

2.2.3. Importance of Soft-skills for Agricultural Extension Workers

While the main role of agricultural extension worker is considered as a facilitator in the current agricultural extension approach, skills which they need in the field are different from the previous period. Before the participatory approach was developed, the important skill of extension workers was conveying new technologies to farmers correctly. Opio-Odongo (2000) argued that extension workers tended to treat farmers as if they were

empty vessels to be filled (Opio-Odongo, 2010 cited in Belay & Abebaw, 2004). However, the skills to be a good facilitator have been emphasized in recent years. For instance, a good communication skill has been considered as one of the core skills for extension workers. Since agricultural extension workers are expected to have an intrinsic understanding of different cultures, norms, customs, and practices, they should have ability to communicate clearly and effectively with farmers (NAAD, 2003).

Nanok et al (2005) have listed skills which are needed to achieve food security and sustainable development in the agricultural sector. The list includes many skills categorized as soft skills. These soft skills are necessary for food security and sustainable rural development which are some of the objectives of agricultural extension. Therefore, as main actors, extension workers must have these skills to help the community achieve the objectives.

Table 2.3: Skills for Agriculture, Food Security, and Sustainable Rural Development

Basic skills needed for agricultural production	Additional skills needed for food security and sustainable rural development
・ Literacy ・ Numeracy ・ Basic decision-making and problem-solving skills ・ Technical and vocational skills in agriculture	・ Planning skills ・ Management skills ・ Negotiation skills ・ Facilitation skills ・ Critical thinking ・ Business skills ・ Marketing skills ・ Leadership skills ・ Income-generating skills ・ Entrepreneurial skills ・ Social, interpersonal, and communication skills ・ Food preservation and processing skills ・ Awareness about social, political, and legal institutions

Source: Nanok et al, 2005 compiled by author

In this section, necessary skills were introduced for the agricultural extension workers. As the previous studies emphasized, having only hard skills are not enough for the agricultural extension workers who must work closely with the farmers. Moral sensitivity, cultural sensitivity, and “gender-sensitivity” are also considered as soft skills. Currently, the EOSs used at ATVET Colleges still focus much on the hard skills. However, since DAs are

expected to improve women's access to the agricultural extension, the soft skills should also be emphasized in the DA training curriculum.

2.3. Discussions on Curriculum

In this section, the focus will move to the education sector, especially curriculum. The first part of this section will explain definition, levels, and categories of a curriculum to understand what have been discussed so far. Then, the second part will deal with the relationship between curriculum and society, since the objective of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum is to change the Ethiopian society to a gender equal society.

2.3.1. Definition of Curriculum

The term "curriculum" has several meanings and definitions which lead to various interpretations from different studies. In the narrowest term, a curriculum denotes a syllabus or a teaching guideline used in schools. This perspective limits curriculum as a set of contents or a body of knowledge in a specific course or area of study. For example, Ornstein and Hunkins (1993) defined curriculum as "a plan for action or a written document that includes strategies for achieving desired goals or ends (p.9)." There are researchers, however, who widen its definition to cover the whole planned activities in schools, including experiences which learners have under the supervision of school (Goodlad & Su, 1992; Kerr, 1968; Kern et al, 2009; Wheeler, 1983). In reaction, Kelly (1989) pointed out that those definitions exclude unplanned effects of teachers' activities, and emphasized the importance of seeing beyond the planned curriculum. Fish and Coles (2005) also defined the curriculum as "all the activities, all the experiences and all the learning opportunities for which an institution or a teacher takes responsibility, either deliberately or by default (pp.29-30)." Those researchers pointed out the volatile nature of curriculum and the importance of teachers in a curriculum.

Therefore, since this study focuses on the role of teachers in the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum, this wide definition is embraced as the definition of curriculum in this study.

2.3.2. Levels of Curriculum

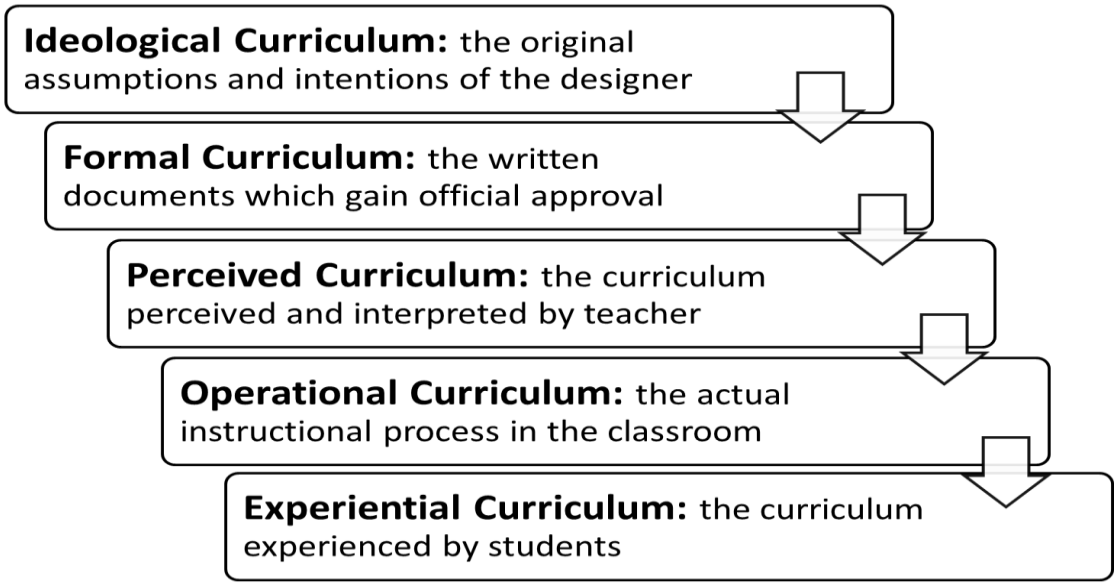
For the discussion on curriculum, it is helpful to use a typology introduced by Goodlad et al (1979). According to them, there are five levels of curriculum: ideological curriculum, the original assumptions and intentions of the curriculum designer; formal curriculum, the curriculum documents which gain official approval by state and local school boards and adoption; perceived curriculum, the curriculum perceived and interpreted by the teacher; operational curriculum, the actual instructional process in the classroom; and experiential curriculum, the curriculum experienced by students.

Among the five levels of curriculum, perceived curriculum and operational curriculum are the ones which highly depend on teachers. This study will focus on mostly those two curricula since the study aims to find out the role of ATVET teachers in implementation of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. Although all the teachers use a common formal curriculum, what they actually teach in classes cannot be the same as the formal curriculum. This is because what is officially approved for instruction and learning is not necessarily the same as how various interested teachers interpret these in their classes. Klein (1979) emphasized the importance of teachers in a curriculum and wrote that, “teachers can resist, modify, or even openly reject preceding decisions, in which case the curriculum planned at societal and institutional levels may never have a chance of being implemented” (p.184). Thus, how the teachers interpret a curriculum, the perceived curriculum, will be the basis of how they teach the curriculum, the operational curriculum. Nevertheless, how teachers interpret a curriculum to be and what they actually teach also may be different. There are several studies who listed the environment or situational factors which hinder the teachers

from implementing the curriculum as they perceived. The situational factors include staffing issues, time, unavailability of required instructional materials, school structure, teacher-pupil ratio, and so on (Bennie & Newstead, 1999; Murundu et al, 2010, Schagen, 2011). Even though the same teacher teaches the same contents, what and how he/she exactly teaches can be different in every class according to the situation. It means there are as many perceived curricula as the number of teachers, unless the teacher changes his/her perception, and there are as many operational curricula as the number of classes. This led McCutcheon (1997) to liken teachers to filters through which the mandated curriculum passes (p.193).

Kelly (1989) emphasized that it is also important to focus on what is actually received by students when we research on teachers. According to him, the experiential curriculum is strongly affected by the operational curriculum, so that it must be seen as the teacher's responsibility as well (p.13). In other words, it is necessary to focus on the experiential curriculum if we intend to reveal a role of teachers in a curriculum. Therefore, this study will focus not only on the perceived curriculum and the operational curriculum, but also on the experiential curriculum as the result of what happened in classrooms.

Figure 2.1: Level of Curriculum



Sauce: Goodlad, 1979 compiled by author

2.3.3. Categories of Operational Curriculum

The previous sub-section confirmed that teachers are involved the perceived curriculum, the operational curriculum, and the experiential curriculum. The operational curriculum is the intermediate one, being affected by the perceived curriculum and affecting the experimental curriculum. Thus, this section focuses on the operational curriculum. While Goodlad et al (1979) introduced the vertical typology categorizing curricula into different levels; Eisner (1979) introduced a horizontal typology dividing the operational curriculum into three groups: explicit curriculum, implicit curriculum, and null curriculum. This section introduces the definition and characteristics of these horizontally categorized curriculum.

2.3.3.1. Explicit Curriculum

The explicit curriculum is the same as the formal curriculum, which is also called as enacted curriculum, official curriculum, or overt curriculum. The explicit curriculum refers

to the contents of each course which teachers teach in classes, according to the fixed goals and objectives written in the formal curriculum, which includes teaching guides or course-planning materials. What is taught as the explicit curriculum can be recognized by outsiders even though they were not in classes.

2.3.3.2. Implicit Curriculum

The implicit curriculum is often called the hidden curriculum. This is because the implicit curriculum is neither written down nor fixed in the formal curriculum. The implicit curriculum involves all the incidental lessons that students learn in schools. It includes behavior, personal relationships, the use of power and authority, competition, sources of motivation and so on (UNESCO, 2010). Even though the implicit curriculum is hidden, its importance has been recognized for a long time. For example, Dewey (1938) mentioned that "perhaps the greatest of all pedagogical fallacies is the notion that a person learns only the particular thing he is studying at the time" (p.48).

McCutcheon (1997) explained the cause of the implicit curriculum as "teachers may be more enthusiastic about a certain topic, skill, or understanding, which may permit them to provide more intriguing lessons and assignments than when a topic, skill, or understanding is of less interest to them" (p.193). There are several other studies which also focus on the teachers' use of rewards and punishment to students according to their values, as a manifestation of the implicit curriculum (Giroux, 1984; Jackson, 1968; Palmer, 1983). Here, what should be emphasized is that the implicit curriculum was never planned or intended by teachers. This is because the implicit curriculum is taught to students while teachers do not realize they are teaching (Eisner, 1979, p.92), so that it may never be recognized or identified (Portelli, 1993, p.346). Thus, although the implicit curriculum exists all the time alongside the teachers' interests, beliefs, and motivation, the teachers do not even notice that they are

teaching so.

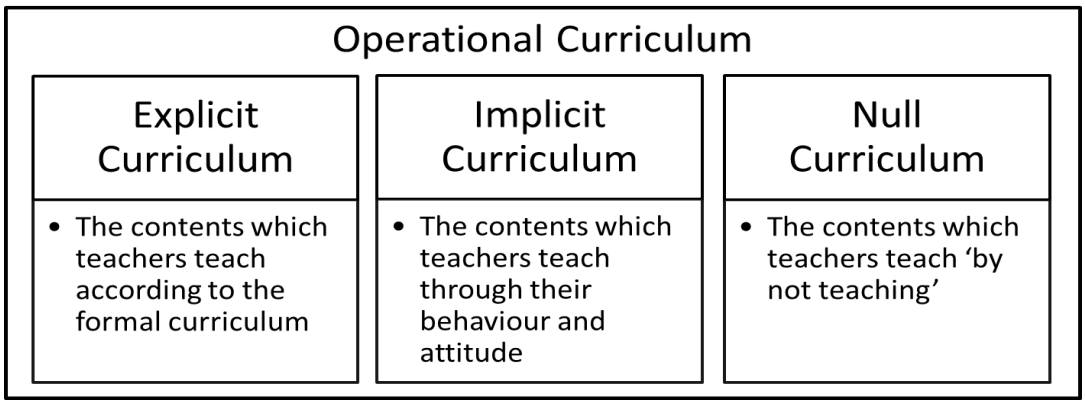
2.3.3.3. Null Curriculum

In contrast to the previous two curricula, the null curriculum is characterized as something which teachers teach "by not teaching." This means that some aspects or particular matters are consciously decided not to be included in the curriculum due to their controversial nature, a lack of proper equipment or time, or other reason (McCutcheon, 1997, p.189). The teachers' confidence and interests on teaching the specific contents are also important elements of the null curriculum (Callcott et al, 2012, p.87). Assemi and Sheikhzade (2013) found that the null curriculum also exists in all the levels of curriculum, from the ideological curriculum to the experimental curriculum, but its nature is the same. They explained that the null curriculum at the operational curriculum level is to exclude some parts of the content that is not fit to students' needs and interests (p.82). In other words, the null curriculum is brought not only by the teachers' own interests or convenience, but also by the interaction between teachers and students, when the teacher feels that the contents is not welcomed by his/her students.

This section introduced three categories of the operational curriculum and it was clarified that the teachers' interests, beliefs, and motivation have a strong effect on the operational curriculum, mainly as the implicit curriculum and the null curriculum. Of course, those elements also exert influence on the perceived curriculum and the experimental curriculum since they are connected to the operational curriculum. However, there are many studies stating that it is not only a matter of teachers' interests, but we have to see where the teachers' senses of values came from. In short, what is said as "teacher's interest" may not be his/her own interest but has been created by somebody. Ahwee et al (2004) emphasized that both the implicit curriculum and the null curriculum reflect the dominant ideologies of the

empowered cultural group through analyzing some cases in their study. For example, the null curriculum serves to sustain and stabilize the traditional values by neglecting marginalized group, race, and culture. McLaren (2007) also emphasized the concept of the curriculum as inextricably related to issues of social class, culture, gender, and power (p.213).

Figure 2.2: Categories of Operational Curriculum



Source: McLaren, 2007 compiled by author

The connection between curriculum and social power has been discussed for a long time. Since gender has been also discussed as the power relationship between men and women, it is necessary to review the discussion on gender and social power. The next section will focus on this issue, especially whether the curriculum is "transmitting the culture of society" or "bringing a change to the society."

2.3.4. Curriculum and Culture of Society

Education has been viewed as a function of a society and defined in the context of a particular culture. There is a group of intellectuals that regard curriculum as a production system of the society. For instance, Lawton (1975) argued that the school curriculum is essentially a selection from the culture of a society (p.7) or Williamson (2013) assumed that a

curriculum shapes minds and mentalities of young people and encourages them to understand and act in a society in particular approved ways (p.3).

Nevertheless, there are two types of camps in the group of educators divided between whether the curriculum is "transmitting the culture of society" or "bringing a change to the society." Apple (1982) advocated the first ideology. He regarded schools as institutions which mold students into passive beings who are able and eager to fit into an unequal society by being told the overt and covert knowledge (Apple, 1982, p.14). He also stated that schools preserve and distribute what is perceived to be legitimate knowledge and confer cultural legitimacy on the knowledge of specific groups (Apple, 1979, p.64). Williamson (2013) also used the similar term as legitimate knowledge and emphasized that the curriculum represents what society defines as "real culture" (p.119). Elliot Eisner (1979) supported this ideology, but in a different way. He focused on the null curriculum, what is not taught to students, and the social reproduction. He emphasized that what students do not know have consequences for the kinds of lives they lead (p.88).

On the other hand, there are educators who emphasized that the curriculum brings change to society. For example, one of the earliest advocates, John Dewey, regarded education as a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness; and that the adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction (Dewey, 1897). Paulo Freire also described education as a process for the poor people without political, economic, or social power to get away from their situation by becoming aware of how oppressed they are, which is called as *conscientization* (Freire, 1996). This point of view, where understanding the role of education as preparing people to construct a new and more just society, is called as the social reconstruction ideology.

Now, let us go back and think about the target of this study, the gender-sensitive

curriculum DA training curriculum at ATVET College. According to MoA, the curriculum aims to develop attitude among future DAs to achieve gender equality in the agricultural sector by providing necessary knowledge (Alage ATVET College, 2010). The government developed and implemented the curriculum to change the current gender inequality situation. Thus, in this sense, the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum at ATVET College is rooted in the social reconstruction ideology. The following sub-section 2.3.4.1 will explain a curriculum from the social reconstruction point of view and describe what a role of teachers is.

2.3.4.1. Curriculum in the Social Reconstruction Ideology

Schiro (2013) explained how the social reconstruction advocates view education through the following three points. First, he assumes that our society is unhealthy and its survival is threatened by the traditional mechanisms containing many problems, which include racism, conflict, sexism, poverty, and so on. Second, he supposes that something can be done to keep society from destruction and to develop a vision of a society better than the existing one. Third, he believes that education saves society by educating people to be able to analyze and understand social problems, envision a world where those problems do not exist, and bring that vision into existence (2013, pp.151-152). For example, Counts (1932) presumed that the good society is not something that is given by nature; it must be fashioned by the hand and brain of man (p.15). Consequently, the social reconstruction advocates consider that the purpose of education is to alleviate pervasive social inequities and reconstruct society into a new and more just social order (Sadker, Sadker & Zittleman, 2008, p.325). Dewey (1916) assumed that the purpose of education is to shape the experiences of the young, so that instead of reproducing current habits, better habits shall be formed, and thus the future adult society be an improvement on their own (p.92).

Another important point which represents the social reconstruction advocate's view is that they usually identify three subgroups in a society such as bad guys, good guys, and masses. The bad guys support ideas and institutions suited to the bygone age which created the current unequal society, and they are in control of the masses. On the other hand, the good guys have future-oriented minds attempting to bring a better and more just society run for the benefit of the masses, but they are out of power (Schiro, 2013, p.166). This means that the social reconstruction advocates believe that the bad guys are solely responsible for all the problems of society, and the masses are exploited by the bad guys. In contrast, they regard the good guys as only ones who know the truth and sense of value which lead to a better society that benefits the masses. Freire (1996) also used this kind of dichotomy and called the subgroups as oppressed and the oppressors. In the case of education, the learners are mostly categorized into the masses. According to Counts (1932), children are neither good nor bad; they are merely a bundle of potentials which may be developed in manifold directions (p.15), so education must guide the development of students' potentialities, and, in effect, lead them to support appropriate visions of the best possible future society. Nevertheless, I have to point out two things here. The first one is that the social reconstruction advocates link the relationship between the bad guys and the good guys with the past and the future. Since they consider the current society as corrupted, the better society always comes in the future. The second one is that the social reconstruction advocates simply assume that the idea of the good guys is good for the masses, and it does not matter whether the masses are conscious of it or not (Schiro, 2013, p.166). This means that the masses are not in charge of deciding what "the good society" is but what they are expected to do is only up to recognizing how they had been exploited by the bad guys.

Summarily, the social reconstruction advocates view curriculum as a medium which allows the masses, students, to recognize the problems in this crisis-ridden society

based on the traditional system, and to motivate them to mold it into a good society in the future. The gender-sensitive DA training curriculum also tries to change the current gender unequal society and make it as the gender equal society. Nevertheless, the definition of the "gender equal society" and the ideal situation of the society should be carefully analyzed.

2.3.4.2. The Role of Teachers in the Social Reconstruction Ideology

Since this study focuses on teachers, this sub-sector will view the role of teachers from the social reconstruction perspective. There are many previous studies, those which focused the education's reproduction aspect that described teachers as a part of the current society. They emphasized that teachers educate students to fit into the current social order. Ahwee et al (2004) focused especially the operational curriculum and assumed that the hidden and null curricula have a primary function the communication and reproduction of the values of a society (p.41).

According to Grant and Gomez (1996), the social reconstruction advocates consider teachers play a role to prepare students to examine and conceive of ways to challenge the problems and issues that impede self-empowerment (p.10). For example, Dewey (1897) expected the teacher to be a social servant set apart for the maintenance of proper social order and the securing of the right social growth. Thus, teachers are expected to stimulate students to construct a critical mind in perceiving and interpreting social events which let them confront the current society. Now, what we have to keep in mind is that the teacher-student relationship is not viewed as a unilateral top-down figure in the social reconstruction ideology. Rather, teachers are viewed as colleagues who think together with, and motivate students to take action for a future good society for them. Freire (1996) viewed teachers as having a revolutionary leadership who investigate the current problems together with students who are considered as the oppressed (p.65). Therefore, the social reconstruction

advocates assume that teachers and students are allied against evils of the world (Schiro, 2013, p.187). Eventually, teachers are considered as transmitters and supervisors who guide students to acculturate into the modes of knowing and acting the vision of the future good society in the social reconstruction ideology (Shiro, 2013, p.233).

The gender-sensitive curriculum at ATVET College also has a mandate to change the situation in rural areas. Thus, in this study, teachers at ATVET College will be considered as having a revolutionary leadership, who guide their students to know the current gender unequal situation by the problem-posting method, and let the students take actions for the future gender equal society.

2.4. Gender Attitude Formation

Now, what the ATVET College teachers mean by "current gender unequal situation" and "future gender equal society" should be considered. As it was confirmed, we should not forget that the teachers' interests, beliefs, and motivation have a strong effect on what they teach the students, the operational curriculum. According to the social reconstruction ideology, there must be a specific image of the good future, which is advocated by the good guys. Thus, let us move to the gender discussion now. The previous section confirmed that there are various ideologies focusing on gender. This section will move to the individual gender attitude. The first part shows the factors affecting people's gender attitude and the second part explains people's experience affecting the formation of gender attitude by using the social learning theory.

2.4.1. Social Learning Theory

Indirect factors have significant impact on people's gender attitude, especially when people form their attitudes through their experiences. The importance of indirect factors

has been discussed in the previous studies on people's attitude. Krech et al (1962), for instance, discussed importance of experience in the formation of attitude. One is through the way which people gain information. For example, people's attitude toward a new medicine would differ when they read a newspaper saying, "It is a great innovation for the future" compared to one saying, "It has not been approved yet." The other is through the group that people belong to, because they may form their attitude based on belief, values, and norms of the group. The group includes family, community, and society. The importance of experience can be explained by the social learning theory.

Albert Bandura explains how people learn new behavior through experience. Bandura (1977) categorized the experience into two types, direct experience and modelling. Direct experience is a way of learning a new behavior by getting reward or punishment. For example, a child possesses the "right" behavior by getting praise or scorched by parents. If the parents say "You are such a great sister!" when the girl takes care of her little brother and "Oh, you are bad sister!" when she hits him, she would learn that the right behavior of an elder sister is taking care of her little brother. Modelling, meanwhile, is learning a new behavior by observing people around him/her, as when children imitate the people around them as models whom they consider to be typical of their sex (Golombok & Fivush, 1994, p.88). Bandura also focuses on the strong impact of mass media (TV, film). He explained that it is because of the mass media that attention was drawn to many different groups of people, including young and old, rich and poor, and male and female (Bandura, 1977, p.27). His statement is supported by other researchers. For example, Ikeda (1993) mentioned that science, education, public information, and mass media create social reality, and often force people to take particular action.

2.4.2. Factors Affecting People's Gender Attitude

There are direct and indirect categories of factors affecting people's gender attitude. Firstly, indirect and direct factors will be introduced. Secondly, importance of the indirect factors, especially experience, for people's attitude formation by using the social learning theory will be explained.

2.4.2.1. Personal Factors

The first category is personal factors which include age, sex, and religion. About age, there are studies which presented various results, even opposing results sometimes. For example, the study conducted in Namibia with 15-20 years old people shows that younger people tend to embrace gender equality more (LaFont, 2010, p.23). On the other hand, a study on teachers' gender attitude conducted in Japan states that older teachers tend to have feminist mind than younger teachers (Suzuki et al, 1998, p.155). This result was confirmed by the other study, which explains that it is because older people have many experiences relating to gender (Tomabechi, 2009, p.99). About sex differences, there are many studies stating that females care about gender sensitivity more than males. Elene et al (2013) found that women are more liberal than men when they discuss issues related to gender; such as preferred gender of a child, gender distribution in employment, and so on (p.10). About religion, some studies supported the impact of religion on people's gender attitude and behavior (Odimegwu, 2005; Thornton & Camburn, 1989). One of the studies conducted in Nigeria with the university students mentioned that the students who are more religious tend to think the sexual intercourse should only be for married couples (Odinegwu, 2005, p.132).

On the other hand, there was a research which found that somebody's race has few effects on his/her gender attitudes (Kiecolt & Acock, 1988, p.713). A study focusing on the relationship between the racial difference and men's attitude toward gender role found that

there is a difference between African American men and White American men in their attitude toward gender role. However, the results clearly show that the difference occurs not because of the race itself, but because of the lifestyle and environmental differences which were based on their races (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995, pp.25-28).

2.4.2.2. Family Factors

The second category is family factors which include the relationship between parents, mother's work, and parent's expectation. The relationship between parents, how the parents behave in the family, brings a significant impact on their children's gender attitude. Suzuki et al (1998) found that people who were raised in a patriarchal family tend to have a positive attitude toward the gender-based division of labor (p.155). Mother's work also has an impact on the children's gender attitude. People who were brought up by a mother having full-time work tend to have a feminist mind (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Suzuki et al, 1998). Another study also found that women who were brought up by mothers working outside home have more non-traditional gender role attitude than others (Kiecolt & Acock, 1988, p.713). Some studies state that people who have lived in a family led by a single-mother tend to have egalitarian attitudes toward women. However, Kiecolt & Acock (1988) found that although both divorced mothers and widowed mothers are called as "single-mothers," people living with a widowed mother have a more traditional gender role attitude compared to people living with a divorced mother who tend to have egalitarian views. The researchers explained that it might be because widowed mothers received more help and support than the divorced mothers, which indirectly show the necessity of male (p.715). The other family factor is an expectation toward children from their parents; i.e., how people were treated by their parents in childhood. For example, one female teacher said that she chose the career because her father always told her "to work with the same qualification as men" when she was a child.

The experience made her decided to be a teacher, which she thought to be a gender equal career (Kimura & Naoi, 2009, p.427).

2.4.2.3. Environmental Factor

The third category is environmental factors. This includes environments at the place of settlement, workplace, and at home. Elene (2013) found that people from rural areas have more gender-determined views on gender role and women's private lives than those from big cities (p.11). This is because people living in urban areas have more chances to access information about gender equality. The second one is environment in a workplace. If there are many female workers in the workplace, people tend to have more gender equal attitude. For example, a study conducted in Japan with primary and secondary school teachers found that primary school teachers tend to see male and female students more equally compared to the secondary school teachers. The study explained that it may be because the primary school has many female teachers, compared to the secondary school. The other reason is that there is no obvious difference between boys and girls at the primary school level (Tomabechi, 2009). The last one is environment at home. Husbands whose wives work outside home tend to oppose the gender-based division of labor. Moreover, Shima (2012) found a relationship between the amount of economic contribution from wives and the husband's attitude toward the gender-based division of labor. The result of the study shows that if the husband's contribution to household income is lower than the wife's contribution, the husband tends to reject the traditional gender patterns, such as gender-based division of labor.

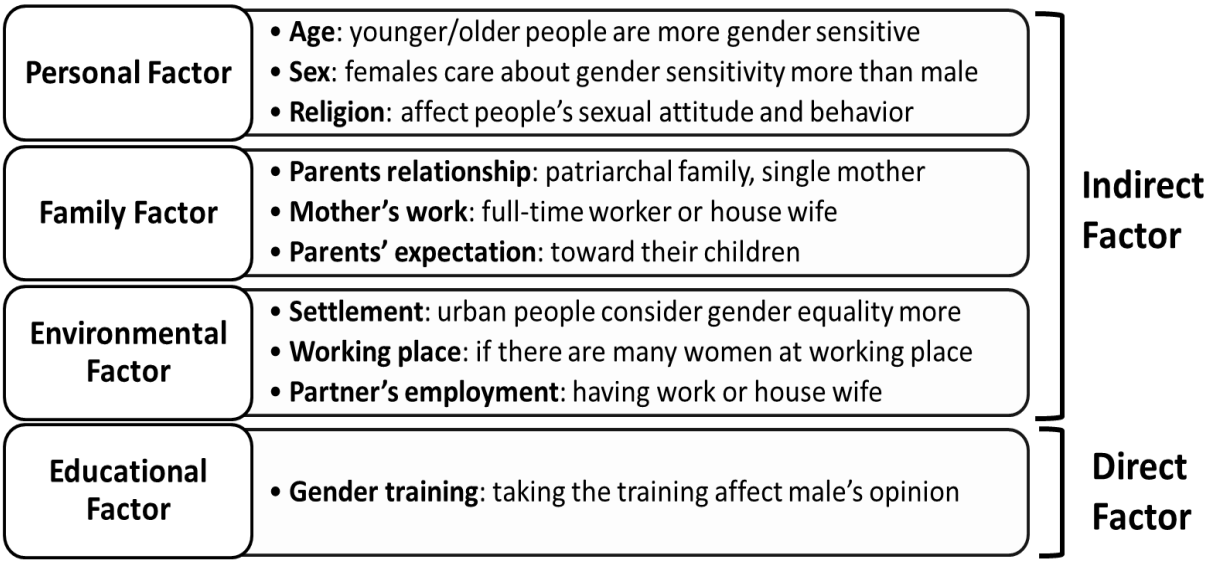
2.4.2.4. Educational Factor

The last category is educational factors, which look into whether people are taking

the gender training or not. Gender training refers to the training focusing on gender equality. The previous study, which focuses on secondary school teachers, found that the gender training is one of the factors which lead to people's gender-related behavior. In addition, it also found that the gender training has more impacts on male teachers than female teachers (Tatano & Tahara, 2001, p.114).

Figure 2.3 shows all the categories of the factors affecting people's gender attitude introduced in Section 2.4.

Figure 2.3: Factors Affecting People's Gender Attitude



Source: Elene et al, 2013; Kiecolt & Acock, 1988; LaFont, 2010; Odimegwu, 2005; Tatano & Tahara, 2001 compiled by author

2.5. Gender Inequality and Women in Sub-Saharan Africa

Lastly, this section focuses on gender inequality and women in Sub-Saharan Africa. The first part will delve on the studies that introduce the challenges which African women face. The second part will be about gender-sensitive development approaches which have been used by aid countries and international organizations. The last part will focus on how the women in Sub-Saharan Africa are described by outsiders, especially Western countries.

2.5.1. Socio-cultural Context and Gender Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa

There are many studies stating that the gender inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa is rooted in their socio-cultural context. This is because the culture and tradition in the region are considered as being strongly connected to male dominance, which has been oppressive to women. For example, Meer (1992), who studied on gender discrimination in South Africa, emphasized that each cultural and ethnic group is grooved in systems of values that perceive women as subordinate to men (p.30). Makinwa-Adebusoye (2001) also characterized general Sub-Saharan African households as patriarchal, hierarchical and polygynous organizations which perpetuate the low status of women in the society (p.6).

Njiro (1999) pointed out that the gender discrimination against women starts at birth and continues throughout their lives in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the culture of son preference is evident in many communities (p.43). This male dominant cultural context does not only prohibit women from accessing economically and socially significant materials and rights, but also causes many problems. This is because women themselves are accepting that they are inferior to men. One example is the traditional belief that men have a right to control or discipline women through physical means; thereby making women vulnerable to violence (WHO, 2009). In another example, women distribute the best part of food to their husband such that food containing rich vitamins and minerals will not reach them even when they are pregnant (Njiro, 1999, p.36). This kind of tendency starts in their childhood. Puja & Kassimoto (1994) found that girls are discouraged from studying at school and feared of becoming as intelligent as boys because they believe that a lot of men do not want to get married with clever women (p.64). There are researchers emphasizing that this kind of the patriarchal culture in Sub-Saharan Africa that is outdated, and which causes only problems but no benefit, should be abolished. Njiro (1999) mentioned that there is need to eliminate the cultural practices that have outlived their usefulness (p.45). Malueke (2012) also assumed that

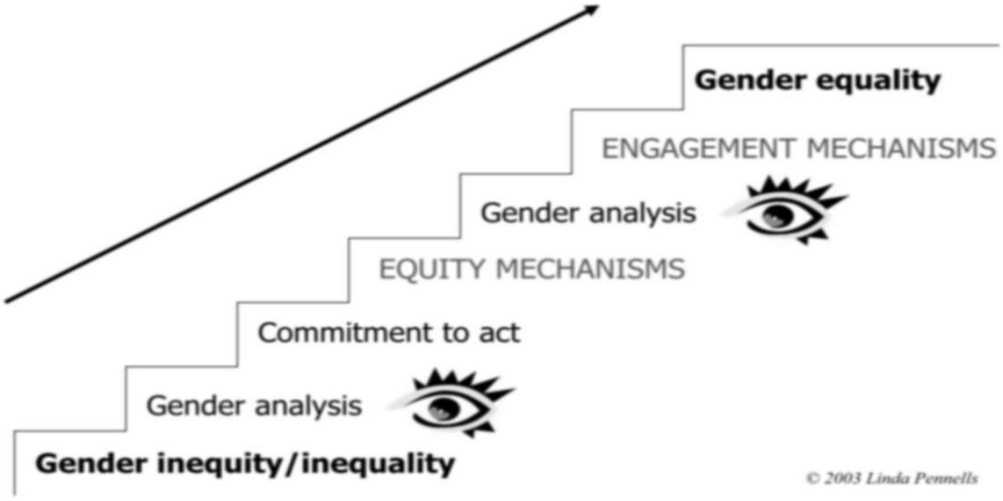
some parts of culture are unnecessary for the development and globalization (pp.9-10).

To liberate women in Sub-Saharan Africa who have been oppressed by the male dominate socio-cultural context, many gender approaches were introduced and challenged the supremacy of men. The two main approaches are Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD). WID is an approach which has been advocated since the 1970s. It insists that "women's problems" should be solved by gender-sensitive approach to improve women's status and condition. WID views inequality between men and women as the effect of women's displacement from productive work caused by imperfections in the modernization process. The key for WID is women's participation and access to social benefits. GAD is an approach which has been advocated since the 1980s. While WID focuses only on women, GAD focuses on relationships between men and women particularly the social construction of gender roles, relations, and hierarchies. GAD emphasizes the importance of examining gender-based division of labor specific, more invisible aspects of women's work, and the relation between the labor patterns and gender inequality.

The other terms which should be focused on are "gender equity" and "gender equality." According to international organizations, gender equity is the process of being fair to women and men (UNFPA, 2005) or fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs (IFAD, n.d.). Meanwhile, gender equality is defined as equal enjoyment by women and men of socially-valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards (UNFPA, 2005), or a situation wherein women and men have equal opportunities, or life chances, to access and control socially valued goods and resources (IFAD, n.d.). The concept of gender equity is considered as a step toward achieving gender equality. A toolkit for promoting gender equality developed by Gender in Education Network in Asia-Pacific (GENIA) also related the two by saying that "Equity is a means. Equality and equitable outcomes are the results (GENIA, 2006)." The Ethiopian government also clearly stated the relationship as

"Equity can be seen as a means and gender equality as an end (MoA, 2011, p. XXVII)." The relationship between gender equity and gender equality is picturized in the toolkit as follows.

Figure 2.4: Steps to Gender Equality



Source: Linda Pennells, 2003 cited in GENIA, 2006

Based on the concepts of WID/GAD and gender equity/equality, there are also sub-approaches which had been implemented at each period of time. The following sub-sections will explain how the sub-approaches viewed the condition of women and what they do to change the women's situation.

2.5.1.1. Welfare Approach

The welfare approach is considered as pre-WID, which was most popular in the 1950s-1960s and still widely used in development practice (Tasli, 2007, p.11). The main implementation method of the approach is the distribution of free goods and services in the forms of food aid, mother-child health programs, family planning programs, and so on. Existing studies argue that the welfare approach remains popular since it does not question or

attempt to change the traditional role of women (Moser, 1993, p.61). The welfare approach addresses women in their roles as wives and mothers, dependent on/protected by men; being a mother is the most important role for women in society and taking care of children is the most effective role for women. Women were considered as passive recipients of aid rather than active participants in the process of development, and their productive and community managing roles were ignored (Tanaka, 2002, p.36; Tasli, 2007, p.11).

2.5.1.2. Equity Approach

The equity approach is the original WID approach. It was introduced by the WID movement in the United States, and became popular during and after the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) (Chege, 2007, p.10). This approach recognizes women as not only recipients, but also participants in the development process, and emphasizes equal distribution of the benefits between women and men (Tanaka, 2002, p.38; Tasli, 2007, p.14). Compared to the welfare approach which considers women only in their reproductive role, the equity approach considers both their reproductive and productive roles. The equity approach demands economic and political autonomy for women through top-down intervention of the government in order to reduce the inequalities between men and women. For example, establishing/enhancing public institutions called national machinery for women's welfare, stating policies/strategies for women in the national development plans, and so on (Tanaka, 2002, p.38).

2.5.1.3. Anti-Poverty Approach

The anti-poverty approach is the second WID approach, became popular in the early 1970s, and is still popular. The anti-poverty approach also has an emphasis on reducing inequality between men and women, but it specifically focuses on income inequality (Moser,

1993, p.67). The approach is mentioned as “toned-down version of the equity approach” (Moser & Tinker, 1995, p.1116), mainly because its main target is low-income women with the principal goal of poverty reduction. Thus, it was considered as less threatening while it has a specific focus on poor women (Buvinic, 1983, p.26).

The anti-poverty approach is based on the basic needs strategy aiming to meet basic human needs including physical needs as well as social needs, since the trickle-down economic strategy failed to reach low-income people. During the 1970s, the anti-poverty approach was embraced by various international organizations concentrating on projects designed to increase women’s employment, income-generation opportunities, and their access to productive resources as credits (Tasli, 2007, p.16). However, although there were women who were able to succeed, the result was limited. One of the reasons is that most of the projects covered only a small/limited part both geographically and socially, also since the projects were implemented without analyzing diversified aspects and complicated structure of poverty (Tanaka, 2002, p.36). The second reason is that the approach emphasizes the productive role of women too much and often ignored their reproductive role. Income-generating projects and new employment opportunities may increase women’s access to additional income and lead to reduce the inequality between men and women. However, it could not achieve the goal without balancing women’s reproductive role, such as doing housework, taking care of children, fetching water, and so on. As a result, the projects became an extra burden for most women, rather changing their situations (Tanaka, 2002, p.36; Taski, 2007, p.16).

2.5.1.4. Efficiency Approach

The efficiency approach is the third WID approach which has been popular since late 1980s, and is still very popular. The significant difference between the efficiency

approach and the previous ones is that the emphasis shifts from women to development, on the assumption that increased economic participation of women leads to increased equity. The efficiency approach recognizes that development needs women, even if women's situation is not necessarily improved by the development (Moser & Tinker, 1995, p.1116). Women were regarded as unused or underutilized assets for development, and the approach aims to make development more efficient through women's economic contribution. The approach focuses mainly on economic growth, and considers women simply as an input factor for the economy (Taskli, 2007, p.18).

The efficiency approach was criticized for focusing only on the productive role of women, and the reproductive role is not taken into account, since it is not a part of paid economy (Moser, 1993, p.71). While this approach often counts on the elasticity of women's time and their capacity to extend their working day to undertake both paid and unpaid work, as a result, women bear the burden of longer working hours and increased unpaid work (Moser, 1995, p.1116). It is often stated that this approach was not intended to benefit women since its main target is the development (Tanaka, 2002, p.38).

2.5.1.5. Empowerment Approach

The empowerment approach arose out of the failure of equity approach, is very popular in the 1980s, and still quite popular. In contrast to the equity approach which aims to reduce the inequalities between men and women by using top-down intervention of the government, the empowerment approach uses bottom-up intervention through women's organizations. This approach was advocated by NGOs in developing countries. The origins of the approach can be traced back more from the grassroots experience of women in the South and less from research results from the North (Moser, 1995, p.1116). The empowerment approach expects women to possess problem analysis/solving skill, organizational skill,

negotiation power, and political power on their own, through their alignment or network (Tanaka, 2002, p.39).

2.5.1.6. Gender Mainstreaming Approach

The gender mainstreaming approach has been promoted by international agencies and governments since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995). The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defined the concept of gender mainstreaming as "making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated (ECOSOC, 2013)." Table 2.4 shows all the gender-sensitive development approaches explained in this section.

Table 2.4: Education and Gender Sensitive Development Approaches

Period Most Popular		Name of Approach	Who are "Women"?	Objectives
1950s-1960s	Pre-WID	Welfare Approach	Wives & Mothers Passive recipients	Helping women Protecting women
During and after the women's decade (1976-1985)	WID	Equity Approach	Recipients & Participants in the development process	Improving women's position in society
Early 1970s -	WID	Anti-Poverty Approach	Low-income/poor Economically vulnerable	Supporting women to be independent through economic assistance
Late 1980s -	WID	Efficiency Approach	Unused or underutilized assets for development	Educating/training women to be able to work like men
1980s -	GAD	Empowerment Approach	Respected key actors for development	Respecting women's independence
After the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995)	GAD	Gender Mainstreaming Approach	Equivalent partner for men	Creating gender equal society through social structure reform

Source: Kanno and Nishimura, 2012 compiled by author

As Table 2.4 shows, there are several gender approaches that have been tried for Sub-Saharan African women.

2.5.2. Colonization and Gender Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa

While there are researchers who decry the situation of women who have been oppressed by the patriarchal culture and tradition in Sub-Saharan Africa, there are also other researchers who argue otherwise. According to them, the reason why women in Sub-Saharan Africa have been portrayed as "oppressed" and "discriminated" is related to colonization. There are two groups of advocates. The first group assumes that Western feminists have not portrayed women in Sub-Saharan Africa correctly. According to them, colonization has been

used to produce a particular cultural discourse about what is called the Third World (Mohanty, 1984, p.333). The second group insists that the current situation of women was caused by the capitalism brought by Western countries during the colonial period. For example, Hussein (2004) insisted that gender inequality has hardened after the fall of the egalitarian social institutions in pre-colonial African societies (p.109). This section will discuss how they connect colonization and the current situation of women in Sub-Saharan Africa.

2.5.2.1. Western Feminism and Sub-Saharan Africa

The first group of researchers asserts that the women in Sub-Saharan Africa were not portrayed correctly in most of the existing studies. They pointed out that there is a common biased way of expressing African women as confused, powerless and unable to determine for themselves both the changes needed in their lives and the means to construct these changes (Okome, 1999, p.2); as well as victims of traditional practices that are often harmful to their well-being and that of their children (Giorgis, 1981, p.1). Ikpe (2013) assumed it is because the history of Sub-Saharan Africa has been described from Euro-American perspectives since the colonial period (p.109). Therefore, those scholars started emphasizing the importance of having a new ideology based on the lifestyles of women in Sub-Saharan Africa, which they called, African Feminism. In contrast to the previous studies, African feminists started to portray African women as strong, innovative agents, and decision-makers in their specific context.

The argument of African feminism started from the scholars suggesting that the existing feminisms in Western countries, Western feminism, do not acknowledge the agency and potential of African women (Nnameka, 2005, p.57). The word “Western” does not mean geographically in the west, but the way of thinking which is influenced by the so-called Western countries. Ikpe (2013) assumed that African researchers based in Western countries

are highly influenced by gender discourse in those societies. Even intellectuals based in Africa also adopt the Euro-American created images of African women because the published literatures which they reviewed were mostly written by Western feminists (p.110). The difference between Western feminists and African feminists is clearly seen over the sensitive issue, for example, of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). While Western feminists see FGM negatively as the ultimate signifier of African male dominance and women's powerlessness, African feminists see the issue as the mechanisms through which the communities have chosen to define roles and identities of themselves (Okome, 1999, p.6). This is because Western feminists were emphasizing individual female autonomy, while African women have been emphasizing culturally linked forms of public participation (Mikkel, 1997, p.4). Therefore, there was a case in Kenya that the missionaries tried to “help” women who have been “forced” to get “barbarous” FGM, but the women themselves resisted against the anti-FGM campaign (Presley, 1992). This was the case which clearly shows that the approaches based on Western feminism sometimes have difficulties in obtaining consent from the targets, the Sub-Saharan African women.

African feminists criticize not only the way of portraying African women, but also the way of describing a relationship between women in Sub-Saharan Africa and women in America and Europe. Mohanty et al (1984) argued that Western feminism considers third world women as a homogeneous powerless group which is inferior to the women in Europe and America, and, in effect, creates hierarchy among women. She assumed it is caused by colonization which has characterized everything from the most evident economic and political hierarchies to the production of a particular cultural discourse about what is called the Third World (p.333). Ikpe (2013) said that the biggest problem is that the histories and lives of American and European women has been considered as standard and ideal in many studies, which African women must strive to achieve (p.109). Amos and Parmar (1984) also criticized

how the Western feminists consider African women as politically immature women who need to be versed and schooled in the ethos of Western feminism (p.7). Thus, many African feminists strongly argued that this kind of hierarchical way of thinking must be eliminated. Beer and List (1999) even stepped further by saying Western women have no role play in supporting the struggles of non-Western women (p.59).

2.5.2.2. Capitalism and Women in Sub-Saharan Africa

There are also other advocates who agree that the women in Sub-Saharan Africa are oppressed; but they assume that the situation was brought about by colonial power. According to them, the inequality between men and women became wider during the colonial period in Sub-Saharan Africa (Swantz, 1985; Appiah & Gates, 1999; Hussein, 2004). They believe that there was an egalitarian social system in pre-colonial Sub-Saharan African countries. Cheater (1986) emphasized that the white male attitudes and colonial legislation distorted customary flexibility (p.77) and ranked women lower than men. Strobel (1982) also asserted that women have, for the most part, remained second-class citizens after the colonial period (p.511). Although Ethiopia has never been colonized, the previous studies pointed out that there were some influences from European countries. For example, Hussein (2004) stated the women in Oromia region in Ethiopia had a 'better position' in the past before the religious influence from the outside came (p.134). This section will focus on the history of East Sub-Saharan Africa to elaborate their points.

There are many historical studies showing that women could have political, social, and economic equality in foraging society, the earliest inhabitants of the African economy dependent on gathering and hunting. According to anthropologists, both men and women took equal part in ceremonial life, made decisions together, and contributed economically. Based on the situation, women had high status in the community and the family (Berger & White,

1999, p.33). In many foraging communities, greater emphasis was placed on age than on gender. Men and women occupied separate worlds having different economic, social, and cultural activities. Each of the spheres was highly organized, and each maintained its own social/political hierarchy (Farrar, 1997, p.592).

However, after Africa was integrated into the European political/economic system, the relationship between men and women was dramatically changed. It resulted from social-cultural problems that arose during the European colonization, as men were given more recognition relative to women (Mikkel, 1997, p.2). It put women in a disadvantageous position. Moreover, the slavery created the situation wherein women had to ask men for protection. This was because female slaves were more valued for both their reproductive and productive roles (Strobel, 1982, p.511). During the colonial period, great influence was put on the situation of rural women. Rural young men were taken away to work in plantations, diamond/gold mines, and other construction sites, such that rural women had to stay in the community to support men. Taking care of children, patients, and elders have thus totally become women's work (Berger & White, 1999, p. 68).

As time progressed, women's authority and economic position had been demoted rapidly in most of the rural areas because all the initiatives were handed to men. Since rural men were involved in the cash economy, including cash crop sector and migrant works, rural women remained in subsistence agricultural production, which made them economically vulnerable (Strobel, 1982, p.511). Although there were job opportunities for women in urban areas, these jobs were either unstable (small trade, prostitution, bootlegging, etc.) or low-paid (housework) works. Only a few women who could receive European education got feminine works as teacher, nurse, or social workers. European countries promoted girls' education, but it was European model girls' education focusing on Home Economics. This tied women at home even more. After the independence until now, even though there were various efforts

made, women's situation has altered little because industrial and commercial capital controlled by men has continued to dominate the production process (Berger & White, 1999, p.96). Eventually, from the historical perspectives, it can be said that the situation of women in East Sub-Saharan Africa has complicatedly changed according to the changes in lifestyle, religion, and influence from the colonial powers. Women's economic involvement was decreased, and their social rights were often ignored during the colonial period since capitalism came to Sub-Saharan Africa.

This section described the various points of view when people describe and portray the situation of women in Sub-Saharan Africa. While some of them portray the African women as a homogeneous group of oppressed, uneducated, and weak people, others emphasize the importance of considering the diversity among women. The idea of the first group of people has been cited by many development approaches and they tried to liberate women from some elements of their culture and tradition. On the other hand, the second group of people decried the way of portraying African women as "miserable", and blamed colonialism for considering the Western way of life as superior to that of Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, they started African feminism, which opposes Western feminism, and emphasizes the ability and peculiarities of women in Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, there are advocates emphasizing patriarchal culture and tradition, while others assume that gender inequality was brought from outside of Africa. This argument can also be seen between radical feminism and Marxist feminism. Although both of them agree that women have been oppressed by men, what they consider as the root of the inequality is different. Radical feminists consider gender inequality as related to patriarchy. For example, Kate Millett, one of the theoretical developers of the radical feminism, stated that, "sexual domination obtains nevertheless as perhaps the most pervasive ideology of our culture and provides it's most fundamental concept of power. This is so because our society, like all other historical civilizations, is a patriarchy" (Millett,

2000, p.25). In contrast, Marxist feminists assume that women are oppressed through systems of capitalism and private property.

One of the purposes of this study is finding out how the ATVET College teachers perceived the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum which aims to train students to contribute to achieve gender equality. Thus, it is necessary to keep in mind that there are various ways of describing the situation of women in Sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, it should be considered that “gender equal society” which the curriculum aims to achieve might be influenced by the Western point of view.

CHAPTER 3: THE CURRENT SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA

This chapter will introduce the current situation of agricultural extension services, formal Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET), and gender issues discussed in Ethiopia.

3.1. Agricultural Extension Services in Ethiopia

Agriculture is a major source of economic development in Ethiopia. The government considers agricultural extension as one of the most important tools to improve farmers' productivity and quality of their products.

3.1.1. Overview of the Agricultural Extension System

Agricultural extension services in Ethiopia started when the Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts (IECAMA), currently known as Haramaya University, was established in 1953 in Oromia region (AET Africa, n.d.). It was established by following a concept of land-grant college/university[3] in the United States of America and included three missions such as education, research, and extension. Contents of extension were mainly transferring research-based knowledge and modern technologies introduced from abroad to farmers. The college was providing extension services by using graduates from agricultural high schools as extension workers, known as development agents (DA), after they were trained. The number of DAs was 132 for 77 extension posts at the period (Gebremedhin

[3] Land-grant college/university: an educational institution in the United States which was designed by each state to receive the benefits of the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890. Every state territory of the United States has at least one land-grant institution now. The mission of these institutions, as set forth in the first Morrill Act in 1862, was to teach agriculture, military tactics, the mechanic arts, as well as classical studies, so that members of the working classes could obtain a liberal, practical education (WVU, 2010).

et al, 2006, p.9). IECAMA provided extension services by visiting individuals and groups in communities. It is still the most common approach which has been used for a long time in Ethiopia. Social and religious groups are also used as important entry points to transmit new knowledge and technologies to large communities. The extension services aimed to cover various agricultural sectors including poultry production, horticulture, tree seedling production and distribution, improved wheat varieties, and apiculture. However, the coverage of agricultural extension service was still smaller than demands and expectations of farmers, due to limited human resources and budgetary support (Gebremedhin et al, 2006, p.9).

When MoA was established in 1963, the mandate of agricultural extension services was transferred from IECAMA to MoA. However, although MoA established extension departments at the headquarters and regional bureaus, its extension system had not worked well at the beginning. In 1967, the Chillalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU), the first comprehensive package extension program, was started in Oromia region, financed by the Swedish International Development Agency. CADU aimed to enhance overall socioeconomic development by increasing production and infrastructure in the pilot areas. The program used small demonstration fields managed by DAs and model farmers. Many other projects and program having similar approaches with CADU were initiated with financing from different donors. However, since all the program were conducted in small areas, none of them managed to reach the majority of farmers due to limited budget (Gebremedhin et al, 2006, pp.9-10; Davis et al, 2009, p.19).

The first nationwide extension program started with the Third Five Year Development Plan (1971-74). The program, called the Minimum Package Program I (MPP-I, 1971-74), aimed to modernize Ethiopian agriculture through a comprehensive package approach at selected pilot areas, mainly financed by the Swedish International Development Agency. MoA established Extension and Project Implementation Department (EPID) at this

time. The MPP-I project established 55 minimum package areas (10km radius) with 346 development centers in 280 out of 58,011 *Kebele*s[4]. MPP-I was the first nationwide program, but it could not reach the majority of farmers either (Gebremedhin et al, 2006, p.11; Davis et al, 2009, p.19).

Ethiopia moved into a socialist period from 1975 and the government implemented Quasi-participatory Extension Approach during this period. In 1980, the Minimum Package Program II (MPP-II) was established with financial support from the World Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development, and other donor agencies. During MPP-II, the EPID was dismantled and the responsibility of the extension service was moved to each of the specialized agricultural commodity departments in the Ministry; for example, crop production department, livestock production department, forestry development department, and so on. MPP-II lasted until 1985, but it also failed to achieve its desired goals (Gebremedhin et al, 2006, p.11; Davis et al, 2009, p.19).

There were various new programs introduced during 1986-1995, which continued to be funded by foreign donor agencies. One of the programs was the Peasant Agriculture Development Extension Program (PADEP). It was the program which replaced MMP-II and began in 1986. PADEP categorized the country into several development zones. However, it created disparities among the zones because the program focused predominantly on the high potential areas. PADEP continued until 1995, even though the socialist regime ended in 1991 (Gebremedhin et al, 2006, p.11; Davis et al, 2009, p.19).

The PADEP was replaced by a new extension program known as the Participatory Demonstration and Extension Training System (PADETS) in 1995. It was the first agricultural

[4] *Kebele* is the smallest administrative unit of Ethiopia. There are 18,000 *Kebele*s in total (MoARD, 2010). Ethiopia has tiered a government system consisted of Regions, Zones, *Woreda*, and *Kebele*. *Woreda* is an administrative division of Ethiopia similar to district, and it is composed of a number of *Kebele*s.

extension approach which was developed without foreign support and managed within the national budget. PADETS aimed to improve farmers' incomes by increasing productivity, establishing farmer organizations, increasing the amount of export crops, conserving natural resources, and increasing women's participation in development. PADETS started with technology packages for staple crops in higher rainfall areas. Later, various packages were developed for other crops and livestock, natural resource management, post-harvest technology, and other income generation activities. During PADETS, the number of participating farmers increased from 32,000 to over 4,200,000. The number of DAs also increased from 2,500 in 1995 to 15,000 in 2002. However, the growth rate of the number of DAs was much lower than the farmers. It caused a serious shortage of human resources; DA-Farmer ratio increased from 1:5,000 to 1:8,000 at the time (Gebremedhin et al, 2006, pp.12-13; Bekele et al, 2006, p.3).

Since the serious shortage of human resources became apparent after implementing PADETS, the government realized the need to increase the number of DAs to achieve better adoption and production. The plan, using Technical and Vocational Education and Training, has been undertaken in the agricultural sector since the year 2000 to train additional DAs. Also, Farmer Training Centers (FTCs) have been built at *Kebele*s since 2002. FTCs are designed to be located where DAs provide extension services to farmers. There were approximately 8,500 FTCs in Ethiopia in 2009. There were 7,047 FTCs in Ethiopia in 2008 (Mengistu, 2009, p.131) and 8,500 more are under construction now. However, half of them are not "functional" as Table 3.1 below shows. There is a difference between "established" and "functional" FTCs (Davis et al, 2009, p.24). According to MoA, Functional-FTC refers to those that have enough facilities and materials to provide training and demonstrations to farmers, while Established-FTCs are those that have not been able to do so. This is due to a shortage of operational funds.

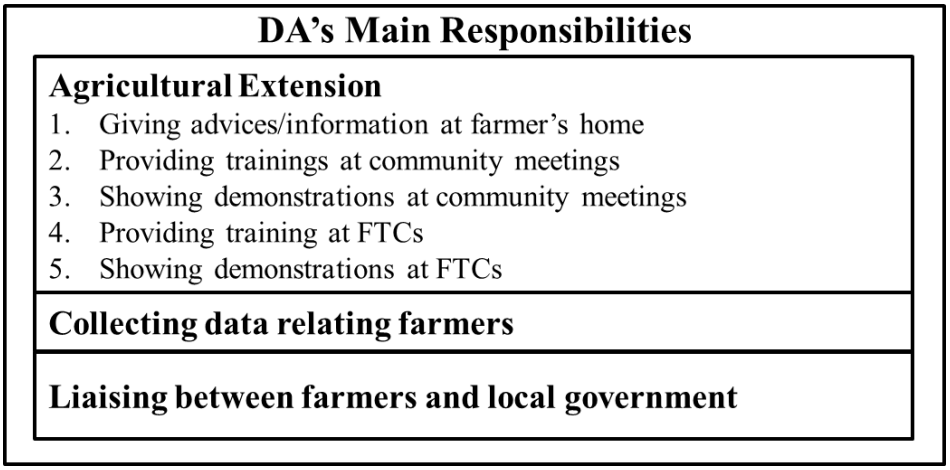
Table 3.1: Number of "Established" and "Functional" FTCs

	Name of Region	Established FTC	Functional FTC
1	Oromia	3012	1881
2	S.N.N.P.R	1610	857
3	Amhara	1725	318
4	Tigray	588	588
5	Somali	14	---
6	Afar	28	---
7	Harari	5	3
8	Benshagul-Gumez	39	---
9	Gambella	19	---
10	Dire Dawa	7	---
Total		7047	3647

Source: MoARD, 2008 as cited in Fisseha, 2009, p.131 compiled by author

DAs have three main responsibilities: providing agricultural extension services, collecting data related to farmers, and being intermediaries between farmers and the local government. The most important work for DAs is, of course, providing agricultural extension services to farmers. There are five ways of providing agricultural extension services to farmers in Ethiopia, 1) giving advices/information at farmers' home, 2) providing training at community meetings, 3) conducting demonstrations at community meetings, 4) providing training at FTCs, and 5) conducting demonstrations at FTCs. The community meetings are held among neighboring farmers several times in a month to discuss various issues related not only to agriculture, but also to family, finance, and political issues. Providing training at community meetings means that DAs visit the sites where several farmers gather to provide training as a part of the meeting. Training refers to providing information and knowledge through teaching farmers, while demonstration refers to using materials (new agricultural equipment, improved seeds, fertilizer, etc.) to show farmers new technologies and techniques.

Figure 3.1: DA's Main Responsibilities in Agricultural Extension

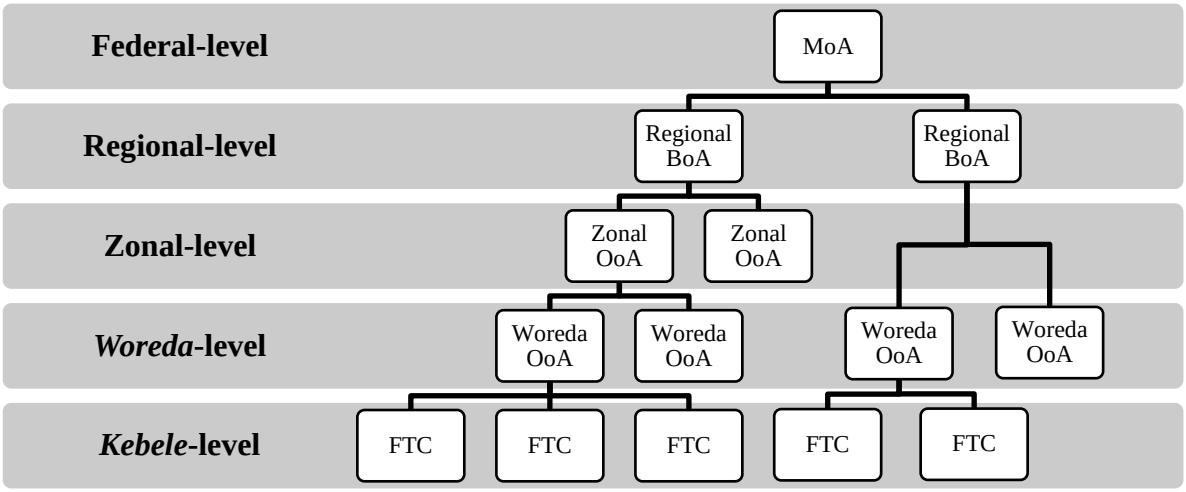


Source: MoA, personal interview, 2012

3.1.2. Organization of the Current Agricultural Extension System

Majority of the current agricultural extension service has been funded and provided by the Ethiopian government since 1995, when PADETS first started. The Ethiopian agricultural extension system starts from federal-level, Ministry of Agriculture (MoA). The system is arranged in a hierarchy from MoA down to FTCs which are closest to the farmers. The budget from MoA is provided to each FTC through *Woreda*-level Offices of Agriculture (OoA) which, in turn, is supported by regional-level Bureaus of Agriculture (BoA) (Davis et al, 2009, p.20). In S.N.N.P.R and the Oromia region, zone-level OoA are located between regional-level and *Woreda*-level. In addition, there are teams in *Woreda*-level OoA catering to specific needs, like crop production, natural resource management, extension, and so on. The teams managed by *Woreda*-level OoA are different in each region, depending on the situation (Gebremedhin et al, 2006, pp.15-16).

Figure3.2: Structure of Agricultural Extension System



Source: Davis et al, 2009, p.20; Gebremedhin et al, 2006, p.15 compiled by author

3.2. TVET System in Ethiopia

This section provides the information about the TVET system in Ethiopia, which is the basis of all TVET programs, including the DA training programs at ATVET Colleges.

3.2.1. The Government's Focus on TVET

Ethiopia is one of the countries which have been remarkably developing these years, registering 11% as the average annual GDP growth during the last five years 2005/06-2009/10. According to its national development plans, known as PASDEP (Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty 2005/06-2009/10) and GTP (Growth and Transformation Plan 2010/11-14/15), the poverty headcount ratio has decreased from 44.2% in 1999/00 to 29.2% in 2009/10 (MoFED, 2007, p.6; MoFED, 2010, p.32). The economy is still highly dependent on its agricultural sector. However, if we focus only on average growth rate, the industrial sector has exceeded the agricultural sector for the last five years. In GTP, the government expects the industrial sector to have grown rapidly by 2014/15;

targeting 20% annual growth on average, while 8.6% and 10.6% are expected for the agricultural sector and the service sector, respectively (MoFED, 2010, p.28). To achieve the target, Ethiopia needs to strengthen its workforce. Previous study showed that 35 million people are low-skilled and having below-average educational attainment level in the country. The unemployment ratio was 17.5% in 2012, but it can be higher in the capital city, Addis Ababa (CIA, 2014). Thus, the government has emphasized TVET as an important sector to reduce the large number of low-skilled, unemployed population and reduce poverty for training middle-level workforce. GTP also emphasizes the connection between micro and small enterprises (MSEs) and formal TVET to provide human resources which fit the market demands to increase the employment opportunities (MoFED, 2010, p.87). The government prescribes TVET institutions to provide opportunities for students to learn practical skills while cooperating as much as possible with local MSEs.

3.2.2. History of TVET in Ethiopia

Although TVET has been focused on by the Ethiopian government these years, the sector had been the most neglected area in the history of its education system for a long time. One of the reasons is that historically, TVET had not been considered a crucial element and a substructure of the nation's economic, social, and cultural development. To make matters worse, manually skilled people, like craftsmen and artisans, were despised, insulted, and discriminated in the rural society of Ethiopia because they were considered as sinners and of low social class. The first Technical Vocational School was founded 43 years later, after the establishment of modern schooling, to meet the growing demand for skilled technicians in its industrial sector (Teklehaimanot, 2002, p.1).

The secondary level TVET was started in the 1960s with USAID support not as a separate educational program, but as a part of the formal secondary education curriculum.

There were 105 practical modules introduced to the secondary schools in four areas, industrial arts, home economics, commerce, and agriculture. Those courses covered approximately 20% of all teaching hours. In the 1970s, polytechnic program was introduced and developed with Russian support to produce middle-level skilled manpower for a paraprofessional position. There were general polytechnics offered in Grade 9 and 10, and also advanced three years technical/vocational training program following (Lasonen et al, 2005, p.29).

In 1976, the first Community Skill Training Centers (CSTC) was established as a part of the non-formal education system targeting youths and adults who had completed their literacy education. The objectives of CSTC were: to introduce and expand appropriate technology for the rural community; improve the backward agriculture practice; and train community members with different vocational skills training areas (Beyazen, 2008, p.7). In 2008, there were 450 CTSCs across the country providing short-term basic literacy and numeracy classes as well as practical skills, such as entrepreneurship, handicrafts, ceramics, home economics, metalwork, traditional cloth-making, embroidery, woodwork and other trades (MoE, 2008b, p.13).

Despite those movements, the massive expansion of TVET had not started until the late 1990s. It is reported that there was no clear guideline, qualification, or planned curriculum for TVET in Ethiopia in 1992 (Edukans Foundation, 2009, p.2). International comparative data in 1994 showed that the proportion of TVET students to academic students at the secondary level of education in Ethiopia was 9 times less than that of other Sub-Saharan African countries and 36 times less than European countries (MoE, 2002, p.14). The first remarkable change was undertaken in 1994 when the government introduced Education and Training Policy (ETP) and Education Sector Strategy. ETP defined TVET as parallel to general education, diversified technical and vocational training will be provided for those who leave school from any level of education (MoE, 1994, p.16).

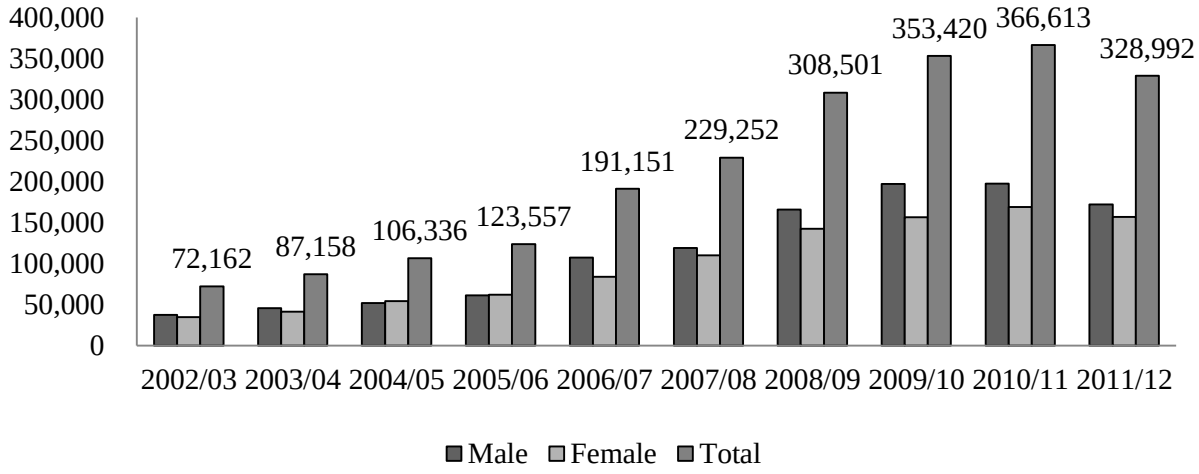
ETP provided guidelines for the planning of TVET reforms. It mainly focused on two levels of TVET: 1) post-primary level training in agriculture, industrial arts, construction, commerce and home science for those who may not continue in general education, and 2) training for those who complete Grade 10 to develop middle-level manpower (MoE, 1994, p.17). For the second level, ETP considered TVET as a complementary education for those who failed to go to senior secondary. This was because ETP divided secondary education into two parts - General Secondary (Grade 9-10) and Preparatory Secondary (Grade 11-12) - and set a national examination between them. Therefore, the government came to consider TVET as a second chance for those students who could not pass the national examination but would like to continue their education. TVET intention was considered for the students who complete their general education but are unable to directly move on to higher education (MoE, 2002, p.19).

The remarkable expansion of TVET has been seen since 2002 when the National TVET Strategy was adopted. The strategy was revised and embraced in 2008. It emphasized the importance of meeting the labor market demand and creating a competent, motivated, and adaptable workforce capable of leading economic growth and development of the country. In addition, the TVET Proclamation was subsequently adapted in 2004. The government then began reforming on the TVET system to meet these needs and increase participation from non-formal sectors. The reforms aimed to make the TVET system appropriate to the development needs of the economy by tailoring it to become employment-oriented, outcome-based, and demand-driven (MoE, 2008c, pp.9-12).

TVET has been rapidly expanding since 2001/02 with strong formal support aiming to meet the middle-level human power demand of the industry, service sector and commercial agriculture, which have become very essential to the overall development of the country (MoE, 2005, p.11). The number of TVET learners has increased from 2,924 in

1996/97 to 328,992 in 2011/12, especially in recent years as shown in Figure 3.1 which related to the increasing number of General Secondary students (MoE, 2005, p.9; MoE, 2011a, p.11).

Figure 3.3: Number of TVET Students



Source: MoE, 2008a, p.50; MoE 2012, p.54 compiled by author

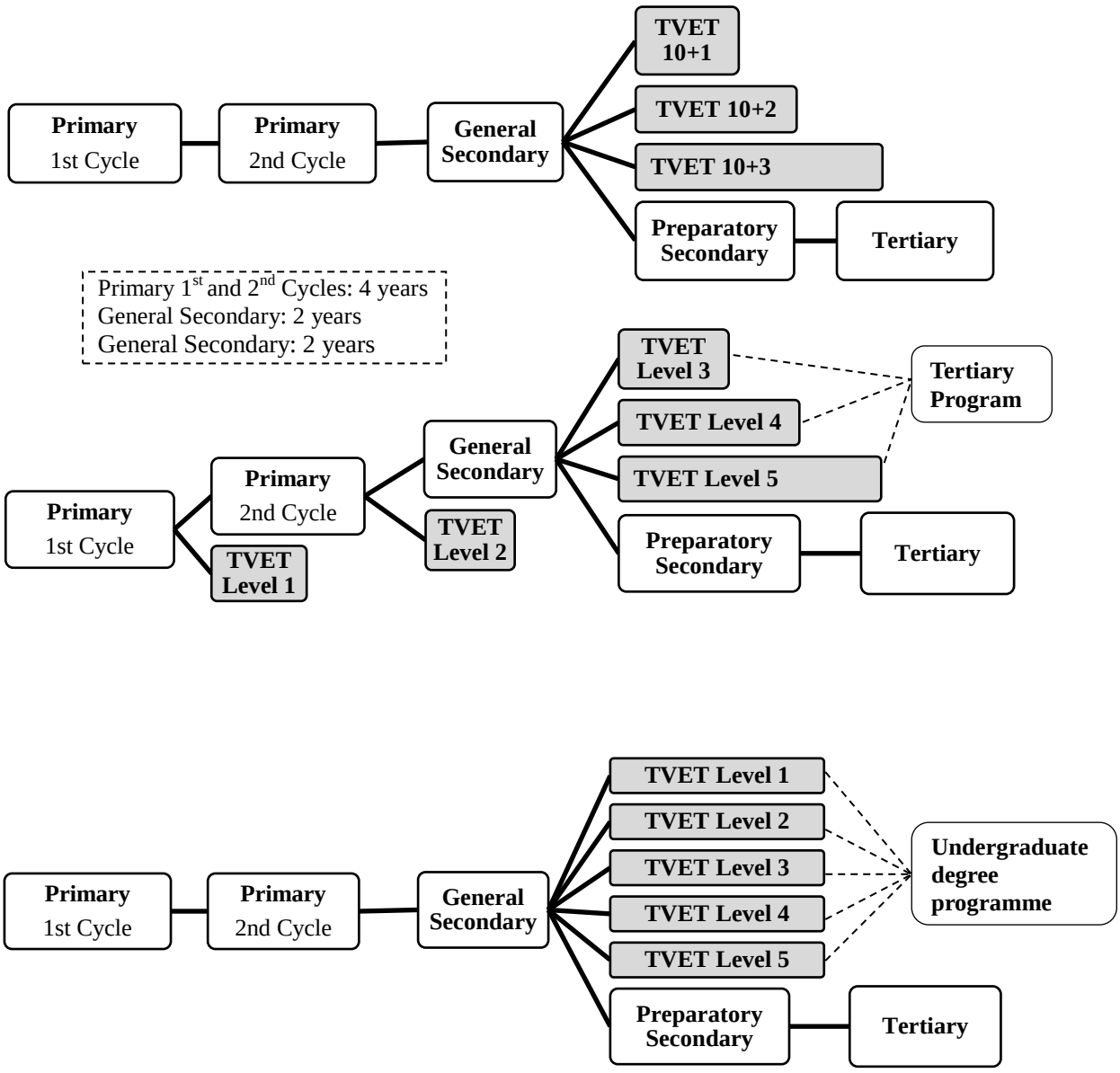
3.2.3. TVET System Reform

In the early stages, the TVET programs were developed by the government using the curriculum based on the Australian system, and the Philippines' curriculum, with the technical support of the German Society for Technical Cooperation. Thus, all the training Centers were using similar learning materials and teaching methods (Edukans Foundation, 2009, p.9). However, it was changed to "10+1/2/3 programs" in 2002 with TVET reform. In the program, the entrance requirement was completing Grade 10, as the main target of the TVET program at the time were people who had completed General Secondary and had abilities for TVET but could not reach the required score to enter Preparatory Secondary (MoE, 2006, p.11).

The TVET program was re-organized with the development of occupational standards. The government expanded its target and created the approach. TVET system aims to give opportunities to: 1) people who are willing to upgrade their careers, 2) reintegrate to the labor market, and 3) vulnerable people; i.e., school-dropouts, illiterates, single mothers, people with disabilities, and people from minority ethnic groups (MoE, 2008c, p.17). Therefore, "Level 1-5 programs" were developed in 2006 and were based upon 10+1/2/3 programs. Level 1-2 programs were developed for people who could not complete Grade 10. These were shorter than Level 3-5 programs and focused on more specific and narrower fields (Edukans Foundation, 2009, pp.9-10). Level 1 aims to "Make a living" and Level 2 aims to get "Pre-vocational" competencies (MoE, 2006, p.11).

The current TVET structure was established in 2010 targeting Grade 10 (General Secondary) graduates. According to the government's plan, 20% of the students who obtained advanced scores at a national examination, known as Ethiopian General Secondary Education Certificate Examination (EGSECE) taken at the end of Grade 10, will be able to move on to Grade 11, while the rest of them will be sent to TVET. The government also fixes the ratio of the number of students at TVET. The current ratio is "Level 1-2: Level 3-4: Level 5 = 24:3:1" and is called the National Human Resource Demand Pyramid. It is so-named because the market needs huge number of workers (Level 1-2) rather than supervisors (Level 3-4) or managers (Level 5). The ratio was decided according to the result of a questionnaire distributed to enterprises/factories which were selected randomly. After the students advanced to TVET, they can choose three fields offered at any levels at TVET institutions as their options. If the number of applicants is too large, they will be selected according to EGSECE again.

Figure 3.4: Formal TVET System in 2006/07, 2008/09, and 2010/11

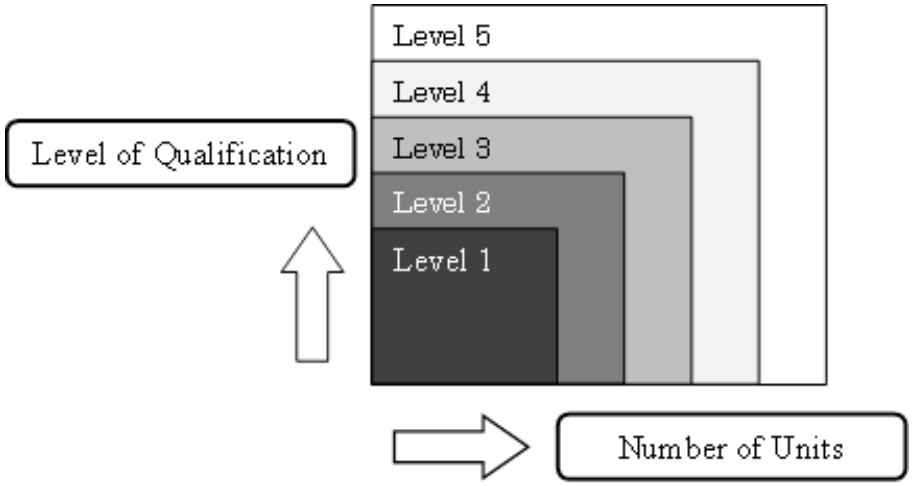


Source: MoE, 2008a; MoE, 2010; MoE, 2011a compiled by author

The government prepared Ethiopian TVET Qualification Framework (ETQF) and Ethiopian Occupational Standard (EOS) to warrant the certificate and all the TVET courses are offered by following the EOS. Students cannot graduate until they complete all the contents of the EOS and pass the final examination. EOSs were developed to define the

competence and outcomes of training and learning, expected by the labor market (AfDB/OECD, 2008, p.74). MoE emphasized that the EOS must be based on the demand of the labor market (MoE, 2008c, p.26) and in addition, EOS should be linked with the ETQF (MoE, 2009). There are different EOSs required for each occupation and also for the same occupation, according to which levels people want to achieve (MoE, 2006, p.20). Each OS can be broken down into "nits of competence" which are statements of the skills and knowledge required for a particular occupation. A unit of competence is formed by a group of elements of competence which describes the key activities or elements of the work covered by the unit, with performance criteria, a range of variables, and an evidence guide (MoE, 2009). The number of units of competence increases in the higher qualification levels.

Figure 3.5: TVET Qualification Levels and Number of Units



Source: MoE, 2006 compiled by author

3.3. Education and Training at ATVET College

This section will focus on the system and contents of the DA training program ATVET Colleges, especially the difference between the previous program under “10+1/2/3” and current program under” Level 1-5.”

3.3.1. Overview of ATVET College

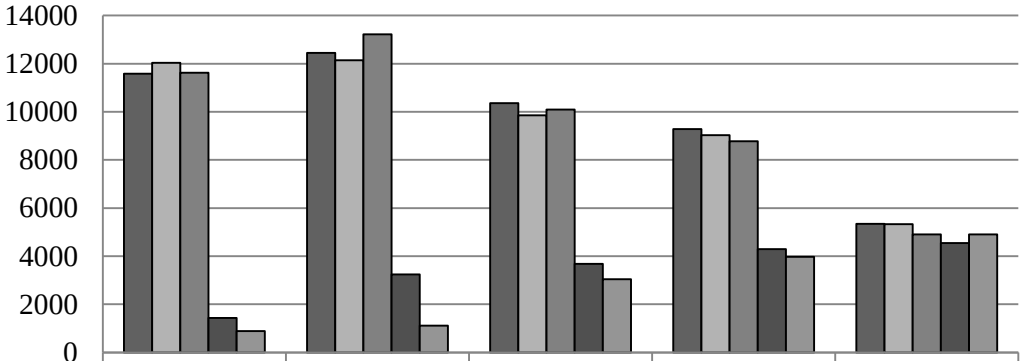
Since the Ethiopian economy highly depends on the agricultural sector, developing human resources to raise the amount and improve the quality of agricultural products are considered as the most important strategy for economic development.

The Ethiopian TVET program is divided into two, agricultural TVET and non-agricultural TVET. Although the non-agricultural TVET is mainly administered by MoE, the agricultural TVET (ATVET) has been administered by MoA (MoARD, 2005, p.1). There are three types of ATVET programs which offer qualifications in 2009, extension training, specialized training, and self-employment training. Extension training is categorized into TVET Level 4 and is provided for students who will become DAs, agricultural co-operators, and animal health workers. Specialized training is categorized as Level 5 and delivered in specific areas providing commercial crops - coffee, tea, spices, and horticulture. Those areas are chosen by the government as important areas for economic growth. The training aims to enhance the agricultural field and increase the amount of the commercial crops.
Self-employment training is flexible and delivered when there are requests from companies or individuals. There are different levels of the self-employment training, from Level 2 to Level 4, according to each specific need.

ATVET Colleges intend to contribute toward upgrading the technical knowledge and quality of the DAs. There were 22 ATVET Colleges in Ethiopia in 2011. The number of students in ATVET Colleges accounts for 10% of the total number of TVET students. There

were a total of 25,033 TVET students, including 16.4% of female students in the fiscal year 2007/08 (MoE, 2010, p.56). The total number of students majoring in Animal Science, Plant Science, and Natural Resources who will be DA is decreasing, while the others are increasing. This is because MoA controls the number of DA. Since there are enough DAs working at FTCs recently, the government needs a small number of new DAs, specifically for filling vacant posts (approximately 10% of DAs leave their jobs every year).

Figure 3.6: Number of Students in ATVET College



	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008
Animal Science	11588	12454	10361	9285	5344
Plant Science	12035	12145	9858	9028	5329
Natural Resource	11629	13219	10093	8780	4911
Animal Health	1439	3240	3677	4298	4545
Co-operation*	888	1117	3040	3974	4904

Note: Co-operation major is the current Business major and Accounting major

Source: MoE, 2008, p.52; MoE, 2010, p.56 compiled by author

The DA training program was introduced in September 2000 by MoA, and 28 ATVET Colleges were established all over the country. The number of colleges was reduced to 25 in 2001 and 22 in 2011 because some of them became universities. Before 2000, there was only a nine-month training for extension workers. The program was thus criticized as too short to learn all the skills, and the content was too general to be able to work as a DA who

has to have enough skills/knowledge to support farmers. Because of this, the government decided to develop a new program so that students can gain more specialized knowledge and skills. Its curriculum was developed by MoA, universities and colleges, research organizations, and NGOs based on the TVET qualification framework. However, since the management system of ATVET College was reformed in 2007, some regions or individual colleges arranged the curriculum or developed their own by following the standards.

Although ATVET Colleges were established to provide the DA training program in the beginning, there are only five ATVET Colleges currently providing the training program. Those five colleges accept students from all over the country. The other ATVET Colleges provide other levels of agricultural TVET training for farmers, self-employed individuals, and companies. For example, one of the ATVET Colleges provides training on horticulture for workers working at a flower exporting company in the *Woreda* where the ATVET College located. It offers specialized courses according to the company's needs. Teachers from the ATVET College visit the company several times per month to hear the demands or provide advice on their technology, new equipment, or business management.

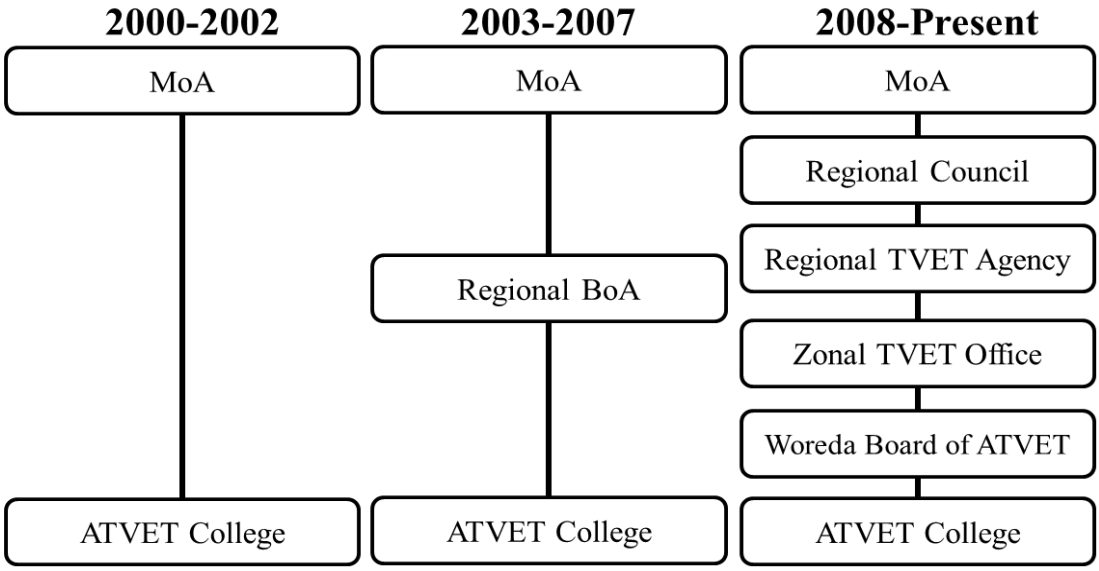
Figure 3.7: Flower Company Collaborating with an ATVET College

Source: Author's survey, 2012

3.3.2. System of ATVET College

Among 22 ATVET Colleges, five of them providing DA training program are administrated by the federal government and the rest of them are administrated by regional governments. At first, all the colleges were administrated by MoA but its management reform has taken place in 2003, at the same time as the system reform of national TVET. In 2007, ATVET management system reform was undertaken again at the regional-level by following the reform of the national TVET system done in 2006, and each region restructured the management system. Thus, there are various ways of management depending on the situations of regions. For instance; some regions combine ATVET College with other non-agricultural TVET institutions, while others manage the ATVET College with Office of Education. Figure 3.8 is an example of the Oromia region.

Figure 3.8: Management Structure of ATVET Colleges in Oromia Region



Source: Author's survey, 2012

The ATVET Colleges providing DA training are all under the direct management

of MoA. This management system has never changed. Each of those ATVET Colleges has its own characteristics and provides different DA trainings. The details will be explained in Section 3.3.3.

3.3.3 DA Training Program at ATVET College

Students enrolled in the DA training program have to select their major when they enter ATVET Colleges. There are six majors offered at the college, Animal Science, Plant Science, Natural Resource, Animal Science, Business, and Accounting. Students who major Animal Science, Plant Science, and Natural Resource are going to be DAs, while the rest of them are going to be animal health worker and co-operatives (co-DA). Animal Science, Plant Science, and Natural Resource majors are provided at four ATVET Colleges, but Animal Health, Business, and Accounting majors are provided at one college. This is because the required numbers of animal health workers and co-operatives are much fewer than DAs.

Table 3.2: Majors Provided at ATVET Colleges

Name of ATVET College	Animal Science	Plant Science	Natural Resource	Animal Health	Business	Accounting
Alage	○	○	○	○		
Agarfa	○	○	○			
Ardaita					○	○
Mizan	○	○	○			
Gawane	○	○	○			

Source: Author's survey, 2013

While ATVET College has been administrated within the formal TVET framework in Ethiopia, the education system of ATVET College changed a lot when the government

undertook the TVET reform. Under the "10+1/2/3 programs" of the TVET, the education of ATVET College was categorized as 10+3. The DA training was a three-year program including two years of school-based training and one-year apprenticeship. During the first two years of school-based training, students had to learn two types of courses such as academic courses and basic science and supportive courses. The academic courses are different according to major, but the basic science and supportive courses are taken by all students. Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 show the required courses for students who majored in Animal Science in "10+1/2/3 programs."

Table 3.3: List of the Required Academic Courses for Animal Science Major Students

Title of Courses (High Land[5])	Credits	Hours
Anatomy and Physiology of Farm Animal	4	120
Poultry Production	3	75
Livestock Farm Structure	3	75
Sheep and Goat Production	4	120
Hides and Skins	4	120
Camel Production	2	60
Animal Health	3	75
Dairy Farming	4	120
Bee Keeping	4	120
Fish Farming	4	120
Feeds and Applied Animal Nutrition	4	120
Beef Cattle Production	4	120
Total	**43**	**1245**

Source: MoARD, 2005, pp.13-33 compiled by author

[5] Animal Science major was divided into two programmes - Animal Science for Highland" and Animal Science for Pastoral Area." Each ATVET students could choose which programme to study according to their working place.

Table 3.4: List of the Required Basic Science and Supportive Courses for Animal Science Major Students

Title of Courses	Credits	Hours
Agricultural Cooperatives	3	60
Agricultural Extension & Communication	3	45
Computer Application[6]	2	-
English I	3	45
English II	3	45
Farm Management	2	60
General Business	3	45
Introduction to Agriculture	3	30
Mathematics I	3	45
Mathematics II	3	45
Pedagogy	1	15
Physical Education	P/F	15
Survey of Civics & Ethical Education	2	30
Total	**31**	**480**

Source: MoARD, 2005, p.19, pp.53-57 compiled by author

In "10+1/2/3 programs," students had to take all the credits before going for apprenticeship. To receive the credit, student had to pass the midterm and final exams for all the courses. The student's academic achievement was evaluated as A, B, C, D, and F (fail) for each course. For the apprenticeship period, students went back to their home district to work at a local agricultural office or an agricultural research institute. The achievement for the apprenticeship period was evaluated by staff at the host institute. The students could receive the ATVET graduate certificate when they attained all the requirements in three years.

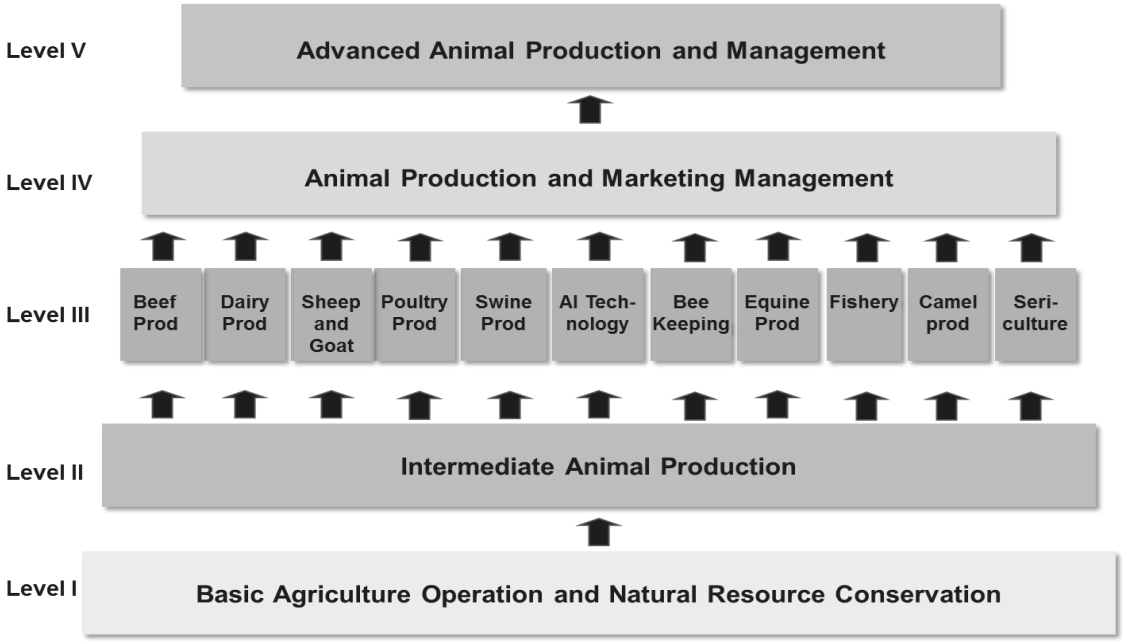
When the TVET system in Ethiopia was reformed to "Level 1-5 programs", the education at ATVET College also changed. After the government implemented EOSs, ATVET Colleges also had to follow the system, but there was no specific EOS developed for DA training. Therefore, ATVET College decided to borrow the EOS of Animal Production for Animal Science major, Crop Production for Plant Science major, Natural Resources

[6] There was no information available about class hours of Computer Application course.

Conservation for Natural Resource major, Animal Health for Animal Health major, and Agricultural Cooperatives for Business major and Accounting major.

In the current TVET framework, the DA training program is categorized as Level 4. The students have to take all the required courses in Level 1-4 within three years. Each level has its own EOS, so that the Animal Science major uses the 14 EOSs from Level 1 to Level 4 as the Figure 3.9 shows.

Figure 3.9: Occupational Map of Animal Production



Source: MoE, 2011b, p.5

The number of required courses was also increased. However, some of the courses, which are overlapping or considered as unnecessary, were eliminated. In Animal Science major, the number of courses was increased from 25 courses in "10+1/2/3 programs" to 144 sub-courses in current "Level 1-5 programs." This is because each course in the previous system was broken into small parts. Table 3.5 shows an example of Beef Production course.

In the previous system, Beef Cattle Production course was considered as one course. However, in the current system, it is considered as a group of 17 sub-courses.

Table 3.5: Difference between 10+1/2/3 programs and Level 1-5 programs in Number of Course

10+1/2/3 programs	Level 1-5 programs
Beef Cattle Production course	Beef Production course ● Maintain and monitor environmental work practices ● Respond to Emergencies ● Apply Quality Control ● Lead Workplace Communication ● Lead Small Team ● Improve Business Practice ● Coordinate Work Site Activities ● Identify and Sort Beef Animal ● Supervise the Design of Cattle Shed and Housing ● Supervise and Manage the Controlled Grazing Program ● Implement Feeding Plan for Beef Animals ● Implement Beef Animal Husbandry Practices ● Implement Animal Health Control Programs ● Supervise Handling of Products and By-products ● Supervise the Implementation of Breeding Cattle ● Implement Waste Management Program ● Transport, Handle and Store Chemicals

Source: Author's survey, 2013

There were only one midterm exam and one final exam for Beef Cattle Production course in the previous system, but the teachers have to provide 17 exams for the Beef Production course in the current system. Currently, the students' academic achievement is evaluated as C (Competent: more than 50%) and NYC (Not Yet Competent: less than 50%) in each course. Students who got NYC are allowed to take the same examination three times until they get C. After the students get C in all the courses in two years, they get a permit to do an apprenticeship. For the apprenticeship, the same as in the previous system, the students go back to their home district to work at the local agricultural office or agricultural research

institute. Nevertheless, the achievement of the apprenticeship period is evaluated not only by the staff at the host institution (50%), but also by ATVET College teachers (50%). The students have to submit a report and do a presentation in front of their own academic supervisor to show what they have learned. After the students receive C in all the courses, submit the report, and do the presentation, they will be qualified to take an exam provided by the Center of Competence (CoC). The exam has three parts, written exam, essay, and practical exam. Although the current DA training program is categorized as TVET Level 4, most of the students take Level 1-3 examinations instead of Level 4. This is because the exam is held only once a year and students are afraid to fail. All the differences between the DA training program provided in the previous system and the current system are shown in the following table.

Table 3.6: Difference between Number of Courses, Evaluation System, and Certificate in 10+1/2/3 Programs and Level 1-5 programs

	10+1/2/3 programs	**Level 1-5 programs**
Number of Courses e.g.) Animal Science major	25 courses	144 sub-courses
Evaluation	[School-based] A, B, C, D, F (fail) [Apprenticeship] Evaluated by staff at host institutes	[School-based] C (Competent) = more than 50% NYC (Not Yet Competent) = less than 50% [Apprenticeship] Host institutes: 50% ATVET College: 50%
Certificate	ATVET graduate certificate After the students attained all the requirements in three years.	TVET Level * certificate After the students pass the exam provided by CoC. The level depends on the students.

Source: Author's survey, 2013

In addition to the courses which are written on EOSs, ATVET Colleges also provide additional courses, such as Civics and Ethical Education course, Gender and Development course, and Information Technology course. Those three courses are not required in the TVET framework. Some of the sub-courses at Level 1-2 and the additional three courses are called “common courses”, while the other sub-courses at Level 1-2 and all the courses at Level 3-4 are called “specialized courses” in the current ATVET Colleges. The specialized courses aim to provide specialized knowledge and skills in their major, while the common courses aim to provide soft skills which are necessary for working as DAs. As the previous studies show, the soft skills (communication, ethics, general business, etc.) are important for DA because they are not only providing training to farmers, but also acting as intermediaries between farmers and local government.

Table 3.7: List of Specialized Courses and Common Courses in Animal Science Major

Specialized Courses	Common Courses
● Basic Agricultural and Natural Resources Conservation Operation (Level 1) ➢ Support agricultural crop work ➢ Support nursery work ➢ Support horticultural production ➢ Carry out basic measurement and calculations ➢ Operate basic machinery and equipment ➢ Support landscape work ➢ Support irrigation work ➢ Support arboriculture work ➢ Support natural area Conservation work ➢ Support Afforestation ➢ Support organic fertilizers preparation ➢ Support organic Production ➢ Support Extensive Livestock Work ➢ Support Intensive Livestock	● Basic Agricultural and Natural Resources Conservation Operation (Level 1) ➢ Receive and respond to workplace communication ➢ Apply quality procedures ➢ Work with others ➢ Develop and understand entrepreneurship ● Intermediate Animal Production (Level 2) ➢ Demonstrate work values ➢ Participate in workplace communication ➢ Work in team environment ➢ Develop business practices ● Civics and Ethical Education (additional) ● Gender and Development (additional)

➢ Support pasture Establishment and Preservation of feeds ➢ Support Artificial Insemination procedures ➢ Support Handling of Hide and Skin ➢ Follow basic chemical safety rules ● Intermediate Animal Production (Level 2) ➢ Raise Large Ruminants ➢ Raise Small Ruminants ➢ Raise Poultry ➢ Raise Swine ➢ Raise Draft Animals ➢ Raise Camel ➢ Produce Fish ➢ Carry out Beekeeping Operations ➢ Carry out Sericulture Development ➢ Treat Crop Residue for Feedstuffs ➢ Handle and Process Milk ➢ Assist with Artificial Insemination Procedures ➢ Follow Site Quarantine Procedures ➢ Operate Machinery and Equipment ➢ Implement quality systems and procedures ● Dairy Production (Level 3) ● Beef Production (Level 3) ● Poultry Production (Level 3) ● Beekeeping (Level 3) ● Sheep and Goat Production (Level 3) ● Swine Production (Level 3) ● Equine Production (Level 3) ● Camel Production (Level 3)	● Information Technology (additional)

● Fish Production (Level 3) ● Seri-culture (Level 3) ● Artificial Insemination Technology Services (Level 3) ● Animal Production and Marketing Management (Level 4)	

Source: Author's survey, 2013

3.4. Current Gender Situation and Gender Strategies of the Ethiopian Government in Agricultural Extension

This section shows the current situation of agricultural extension from a gender perspective and the gender strategies that have been implemented by the Ethiopian government.

3.4.1. Current Gender Situation in Agricultural Extension

As the previous chapter showed, female farmers play an important role in agriculture. In many Sub-Saharan African countries, they are the main producers. In Ethiopia, female farmers account for 45.5% of agricultural labor force in 2010 (FAO, 2011, p.111). Therefore, providing new information and technology to female farmers through agricultural extension services is necessary for rural development in Ethiopia. However, the access rate of female farmers to modular training provided at FTCs is much lower than that of male farmers. For example, the study conducted by the author in 2010 shows that there were only seven female participants in the past three years at Cheri FTC, Sibu Sire *Woreda*, East Welega zone, Oromia region.

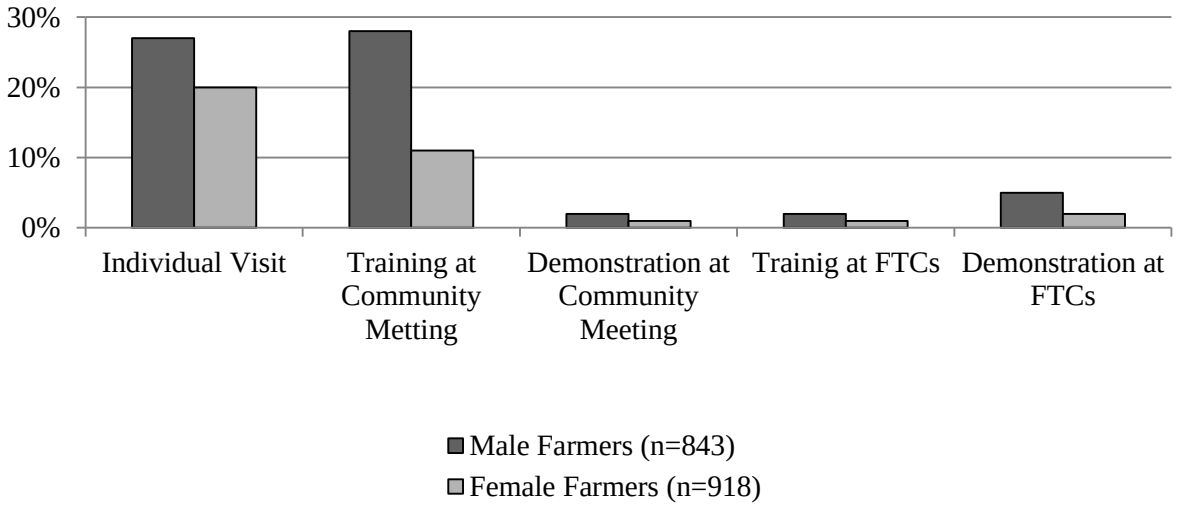
Table 3.8: Number of Participants in Modular Training at Cheri FTC

Year	Number of Male Farmers	Number of Female Farmers
2007	44	5
2008	41	1
2009	42	1

Source: Author's survey, 2010

Female farmers have less access than male farmers to all agricultural extension services as Figure 3.10 shows. There is a significant gender gap when it comes to access to technical advice through community meetings organized by extension workers. Moreover, an agricultural survey data for 2001 showed that female farmers who accessed to agricultural extension services were only 9% (MoWA, 2006b, p.6).

Figure 3.10: Access to Agricultural Extension Services by Sex



Source: WB, 2010, p. 163 modified by author

The Ethiopian government seriously pointed out the female farmers' limited access to agricultural extension since they are critical components of the rural economy and engaged

in many agricultural activities. MoA stated in the policy document that gender inequality in agriculture is a serious problem because gender inequality is related to poverty, and the female farmers consist mostly of the poorest population in Ethiopia (MoA, 2011, p.1). Thus, female farmers' low productivity has been considered as one of the results of female farmers' limited access to agricultural extension services (MoA, 2011, p.8).

3.4.2. Gender Strategies for Agricultural Extension

There are a number of policies mentioning the necessity of improving female farmers' access to agricultural extension since 2000. The first was a five-year national development strategy, titled Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) 2000/01-2003/04, aimed to enhance agricultural extension services to meet the needs of rural poor female farmers (MoFED, 2002, p.123). The next national development strategy, titled Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) 2005/06-2009/10, set the target number of female participants as "all female-headed households" and "30% of women in male-headed households" (MoFED, 2007, p.31). The current national development strategy, titled Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) 2010/11-2014/15, also stated the importance of improving female farmers' access and aimed to increase the female farmers' access rate to be 40% (MoFED, 2010, p.47). GTP does not divide women in two categories as PASDEP did.

Gender policies also focus on agricultural extension services. The National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAP-GE) 2006-2010 aims to enhance female farmers' equal access to, and control over productive resources and services (MoWA, 2006a). Development and Change Package of Ethiopian Women divides female farmers into three groups, married, single, and household head. The policy emphasizes that even though the agricultural extension is mainly for household heads, others should also receive sufficient training. To

increase the female farmers' access to agricultural extension services, MoA has set a number of strategies in the gender guidelines in 2011. One of them is increasing the number of female DAs. Female DAs have been focused on as one of the important actors to reach local female farmers, but currently, their number makes up only 12-22% of all the number of DAs. This is because the agricultural extension services staffed by male DAs has had huge implications for the active attendance of female farmers especially in areas where women cannot easily interact with men due to cultural and/or religious restrictions (MoA, 2011, p.V). This idea is supported by the World Bank as the effort to expand the extension service means that many more women have the opportunity to work as agents, in all course matter areas (World Bank, 2010, p.177).

The other strategy is to develop the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum for ATVET Colleges. The gender-sensitive DA training curriculum was developed by MoA based on the concern that the agricultural extensions are less benefitting female farmers because gender related topics have not been adequately addressed in the ATVET College (MoA, 2011, p.14). According to MoA, the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum has three pillars: 1) providing an additional course titled Gender and Development, 2) providing gender-related activities through a gender office in each college, and 3) encouraging teachers to be gender-sensitive when they teach their courses (personal interview, 2012)..

A teaching module of the Gender and Development clearly states that the course expects students to understand basic concepts of gender equality, women's right in general, gender related problems, gender analysis, and mainstreaming. The module starts by explaining the meanings of WID, WAD, and GAD, and moves to the second part which introduces various issues with gender, such as HIV/AIDS, environment, poverty, food security, and reproductive health. The third part of the course is about agreements, policies, and laws related to gender in Ethiopia. The fourth part is an introduction to gender related problems,

such as gender-based violence, harmful traditional practices, educational disparities, and lack of access to resources. The last part explains about the gender analysis and gender mainstreaming.

The gender office at ATVET College was established mainly for two purposes; one is to support female students, and the other is to monitor males, both male teachers and male students. MoA has not yet set a regulation, but they advised the gender office to have four main activities: 1) empowering female students by having out of class activities (giving voice to female students), 2) supporting female students economically, 3) listening to female students who have faced problems (rape and sexual harassment), and 4) penalizing the male teachers and male students who have harassed female students. The gender office at ATVET College aims to support the daily lives of female students inside the college compound. The important point is that, here also, the main focus is female students' situation based on vulnerability and harmful tradition.

The gender education provided for ATVET College teachers aims to raise their awareness about gender issues. The contents of the training are almost the same as the contents of the Gender and Development course, such as gender related problems, gender policies and law, gender analysis, and so on. The gender office at MoA emphasizes that all teachers must take this training. They said that, "*We convey teachers to put gender issues into their course…. All the technologies should be women friendly* (personal interview, 2013)." However, how to teach and what to teach in classrooms depend on each teacher, according to the contents of the course. The gender education for ATVET College teachers was developed to make the teachers think about gender concerns and reflect these in their own ways on the course under their charge.

Overall, gender-sensitive DA training curriculum was planned to work in two ways. One is providing the gender training to students who will become DAs. It aims DAs to have

gender related knowledge/skills by providing the gender course and being taught by the teachers having gender related knowledge. The other is in supporting female students facing gender-based problems in the college compound.

CHAPTER 4: FEMALE FARMERS AND AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE IN ETHIOPIA

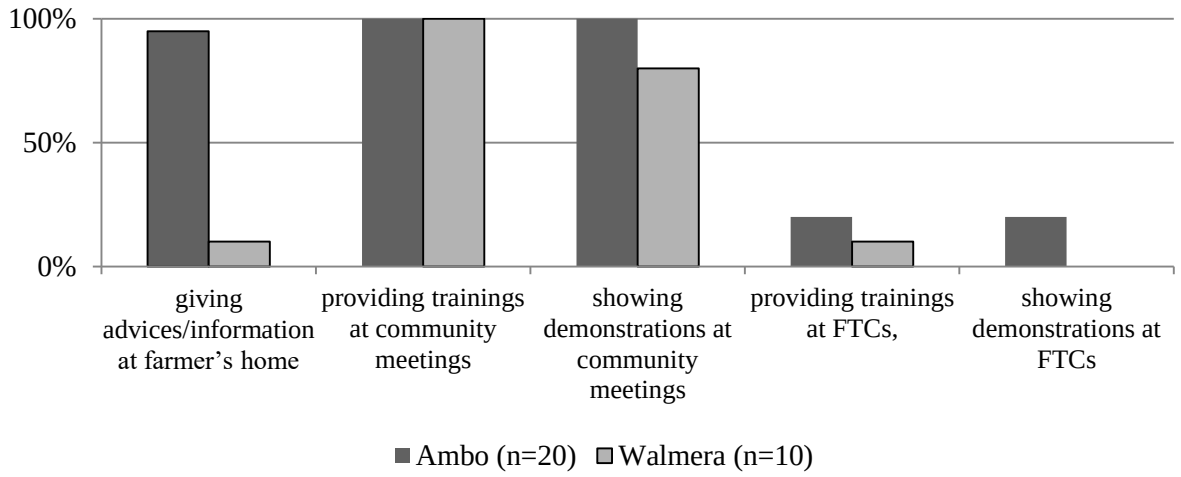
Providing the agricultural extension service is the most important work of DAs. Before analyzing the gender-sensitive curriculum of the DA training program at ATVET College, this chapter argues what knowledge and skills are required for DAs make the agricultural extension services more accessible to female farmers. To achieve this, this chapter has three sections. The first section shows the current situation of the agricultural extension services in selected two districts, *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts. The second section focuses on how female farmers in the two districts receive the agricultural extension services from DAs. In addition, the section looks into the relationship between the female farmers and the female DAs, since the Ethiopian government expects female DAs to bring benefit to female farmers. It especially focuses on what demands the female farmers have toward the female DAs, and how the female DAs take care of the female farmers. It will also argue whether the biological category, sex of DA, really brings a positive effect on the female farmers or not. Finally, the last section summarize the knowledge and skills required for DAs make the agricultural extension services more accessible to female farmers

4.1. Agricultural Extension Services in *Ambo* District and *Walmera* District

According to MoA, there are five approaches in providing agricultural extension services in Ethiopia: 1) giving advices/information at the farmers' home, 2) providing training at community meetings, 3) conducting demonstrations at community meetings, 4) providing training at FTCs, and 5) conducting demonstrations at FTCs (MoA, personal interview, 2012). The survey shows that the DAs mostly use only three approaches in the districts - giving advices/information at farmer's home, providing training at community meetings, and

conducting demonstrations at community meetings. Most of the DAs have never used FTCs.

Figure 4.1: Approaches for Providing Agricultural Extension Services



Source: Author's survey, 2012

There are several FTCs in both *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts, but few of them are "functional FTCs[7]." This does not mean that DAs neglect FTCs. They have tried to utilize FTCs by preparing various types of training materials and inviting farmers for training and demonstrations many times. Nevertheless, their efforts rarely bear fruit. One of the DAs at *Ambo* district showed his training materials at FTC. He mentioned that both FTCs and farmers have problems. According to him, FTCs are too small and far to invite farmers for training and demonstrations, and farmers are not willing to come to FTCs.

[7] Functional FTC means the one which 1) has enough facilities and materials and 2) provides training and demonstrations to farmers. (See Chapter 3)

Figure 4.2: Training Materials Prepared by DAs at a FTC in *Ambo* District

Source: Author's survey, 2012

In *Walmera* district, only one of the DAs gives advice and information through visiting a farmer's home because the DAs are too busy. They said that in addition to their daily works, they are often asked to conduct fieldworks (on the number of cattle, size of land area, household income etc.) by the local government or research institutes. They said it reduces their time to work for farmers. They repeatedly stated that the local government must provide motorbikes or cars for all the DAs to shorten the travelling time to farmers' homes.

Almost all the DAs at *Ambo* district visit farmers individually to check the condition of agricultural products or to provide new information from the local government. However, they visit each farmer once a year or only when they are asked to do so. Also, they visit mostly the distinct farmers living near the central part of the district and communicating with DAs aggressively. Other farmers have few chances to be visited by DAs. There are mainly two reasons. One is that each DA is in charge of more than 100 households on average. In *Ambo* district, 34 villages are allocated to 79 DAs[8]. 14 villages have three DAs and three villages have only one DA in their area. In particular, those DAs taking care of one village by himself/herself tend to have too many works to visit the households. The second reason is the

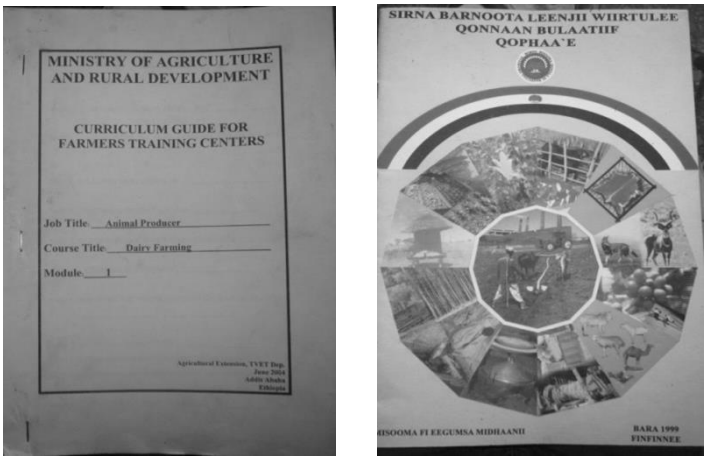
[8] Total number of DAs working only for Natural Resource, Animal Science, and Plant Science areas. In addition, there are 7 DAs working as Animal Health worker and 5 DAs working as co-operatives (co-DA).

absence of transportation to the farmers' homes. Many DAs have difficulties to visit farmers' homes without vehicle or public transportation, especially if the farmers live in remote areas where the roads become impassably muddy during the rainy season. One of the DAs mentioned that it takes him four days, sleeping at farmers' homes for three nights, to visit farmers living in the farthest area. Another DA also mentioned her experience that she walked for 2-3 hours to reach a farmer's home, found nobody there on that day, and came back without accomplishing anything.

The DAs provide training and conduct demonstrations at community meetings in both *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts. The DAs think providing training at community meetings is much easier than that at FTCs. It is because providing training at FTCs means that the DAs have to call farmers to the venue, which is quite far from the residential area, while providing training at community meetings means that the DAs come to the venue where farmers are already gathered. According to the interviewees, almost all the contents of the training are decided by DAs based on a topic list which is given by the local agricultural office. DAs choose a few topics from the list for their trainings but they rarely ask farmers what they want to know. This practice is widely used in many districts in the Oromia region. For example, during the fieldwork in *Ambo* district, DAs attended a three-day seminar titled Summer Work at the local agricultural office and received the topic list. The seminar was about what kinds of work farmers must do during summer. After the seminar, the DAs selected one or two topics from the list and provided training to farmers. The most common topics selected by the DAs were irrigation, livestock fattening (feeding method), and yield increasing at this time. In addition to the topic list, there are also many training materials including textbooks and training guidelines, stored at FTCs.

Figure 4.3 are training guidelines prepared by MoARD in 2004 and 2007[9]. One is written in English and the other is in Oromo language.

Figure 4.3: Training Guidelines Stored at an FTC in *Ambo* District



Source: Author's survey, 2012

Nevertheless, none of the DAs have used the training materials because they thought the contents do not fit the actual situation and they do not have enough time to use. For example, in a part about feeding daily cattle, the training guideline requires DAs to give lectures, facilitate discussions, take farmers to grazing lands, and show videos to identify the major legume species, type and quantity of straws, and availability of industrial by-products (oil-cakes, brewery by-products, sugar plant by-products, flour mill by-product etc.) in the area. The DAs think it is impossible for them to work according to the training guideline since there is no available equipment and most of farmers already know the information listed above. Furthermore, none of the DAs collect additional information or make teaching aids by themselves, even though MoA recommends them to do so. According to the DAs, they are too

[9] The publication year written on the yellow guideline is 1999 in the Ethiopian calendar which is 2007 in the Gregorian calendar.

busy to do so.

Summarizing above, the DAs in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts provide the agricultural extension services mainly through training and demonstrations provided at community meetings. The training contents are decided by the DAs based on the local governments' interests and farmers are not involved in the decision making process. Most of DAs think training materials prepared by MoA are difficult to use since the contents do not fit the actual situation in rural areas. Some of the DAs use individual household visit as an approach, but it is not a common way of providing agricultural extension services in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts.

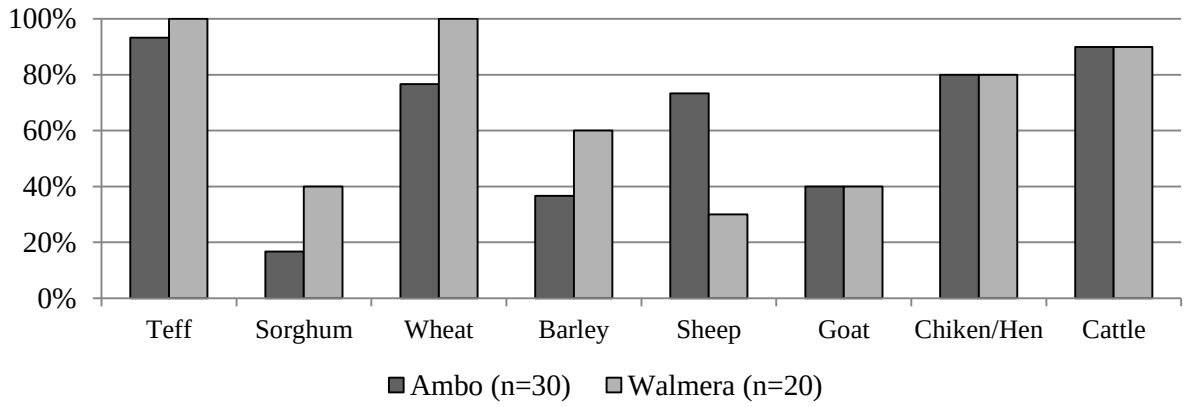
4.2. Female Farmers and the Agricultural Extension Services

The previous section introduced the current situation of the agricultural extension service in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts. This section focuses on how female farmers receive agricultural extension services. The first sub-section introduces the daily lives of the female farmers in both districts, especially what kind of tasks they have in farming, to analyze what knowledge and technologies they should learn from agricultural extension services. The second and third sub-sections show how the female farmers access to agricultural extension services provided by DAs and what kind of expectations they have toward the DAs, especially the female DAs.

4.2.1. Lives of Female farmers in Rural Areas

In *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts, farmers cultivate similar agricultural crops (teff, sorghum, wheat, and barley) and livestock (sheep, goat, chicken/hen, and cattle). Most of the farmers cultivate teff and wheat in their field, and taking care of some livestock near their houses. Vegetable, coffee, and fruits were not included in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: Agricultural Products in *Ambo* District and *Walmera* District



Source: Author's survey, 2012

Farmers' activities differ according to seasons. There are short and long rainy seasons in Ethiopia. The short rainy season is from February to March and the long rainy season[10] is from June to August. The farmers take care of livestock mostly during the long rainy season and the main harvest month is November in both districts. Farmers also decide their work schedule according to the market-day and religious feast in each district. For example, in *Ambo* district, the farmers go to village markets every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday to sell their agricultural products. They also go to a bigger market in the neighboring district once or twice a month. Every Sunday is a holiday for them because they have to go to church. Since almost all the farmers in *Ambo* district belong to Ethiopian Orthodox church, they also do not work every 21st (day of Holy Virgin Mary) and 29th (day of the birth of Christ) of the month because these days are considered as religious feasts. Farmers also have a religious feast every 23rd (day of St. George) of the month in *the Ambo district* because there is a church enshrined to St. George in the district. Therefore, the DAs are expected to work according to the work schedule of farmers when they provide agricultural extension services. Even though most of the DAs are from the district, it is difficult for them to consider all the

[10] The long rainy season is called as *Kiremt* (ክረምት) in Amharic. Its precipitation provides a significant water supply for Ethiopia.

work schedules.

On the tasks in farming, just as previous studies have found, male farmers and female farmers also have different tasks in both *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts. For example, among the tasks related to livestock, female farmers are in charge of taking care of chicken/hen, feeding cattle/sheep, milking, and selling butter and milk, while the males are in charge of building/fixing cattle shed and selling livestock. It means the busiest period/time for the male and female farmers is different. The male farmers tend to have heavy works in a specific period, but the female farmers have light works everyday as their routine tasks. It makes their working hour longer than male farmers. Based on the situation described above, the various reports issued by international organizations insisted that women are too much burdened in developing countries. However, in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts, how the female farmers think about their situation is quite different. All the interviewed female farmers consider having different tasks from male farmers as normal and fair. When the author asked female farmers whether or not they have ever felt that they were discriminated by male farmers, most of them started laughing. They mentioned that they have never felt that way, but it is a good thing instead. One of female farmers sorting seeds in *Walmera* district said that, *"I am sorting because I am more careful. He does not even recognize which is a bean and which is dirt, hahaha."* Another woman at the market in *Ambo* district also said *"I am selling tomatoes here. My husband is selling sheep there. Is this discrimination?"* Female farmers in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts think that different tasks between male farmers and female farmers are not a problem. They rather believe it is the most effective way of doing tasks of firming.

In addition to differences by sex, the author also found that there is a significant difference among female farmers depending on their marital status. Female farmers can be divided into two groups in this study; namely, female household head group, who is doing all

the agricultural tasks without their husbands, and farmer's wife group, who is doing agricultural tasks with their husbands[11]. Table 4.1 shows the first and second responsible persons for each task of firming (a common example in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts according to the interviews).

Table 4.1: Difference between Female Household Head and Farmer's Wife

	Female Household Head				Farmer's Wife			
	None	Wife	Husband	Children	None	Wife	Husband	Children
Preparing land	2	1				2	1	
Deciding what to plant	2	1				2	1	
Fertilization	2	1				2	1	
Plowing	2	1				2	1	
Planting	2	1				2	1	
Hoeing	2	1				1	2	
Weeding	2	1				1	2	
Harvesting	2	1				2	1	
Sorting		1		2		1		2
Storing		1		2			1	2
Preservation of food		1		2		1		2
Sheep and goat care		2		1		2		1
Chickens and hens care		1		2		1		2
Cattle care		2		1		2		1
Milking	2	1			2	1		
Making butter and cheese	2	1			2	1		
Selling crops	2	1				2	1	
Selling livestock	2	1			2		1	
Selling butter and milk	2	1			2	1		

Note: The numbers show the first and second responsible persons of the task

Source: Author's survey, 2012

While the farmers' wives share the tasks with their husbands, female household heads have to do all the tasks under their own responsibility. For instance, for farmers' wives,

[11] Those women having husbands but not working with them are counted as "female household head." e.g., husband is sick/injured, husband is working in the capital city, husband has another woman to take care of, and so on.

preparing the land, fertilization, plowing, and planting are husband's tasks, while hoeing, weeding, and storing are wife's works. In comparison, female household heads have to do all the tasks by themselves. Female household heads do not have anybody to help them in doing the tasks, except their children or relatives. In that case, nobody helps them if their children are still too young or have already moved out from their homes. Most of the time, they ask their relatives to help them during the harvest season or hire a person if they have enough money. However, one of the female household heads mentioned that it is difficult for her to afford the payment. She mentioned,

If the work is impossible for me to do, I have to hire a person. If I think I cannot afford the payment, I will just give up. There is no other choice for me (*Ambo*, female head of a household, 30s).

As described above, there is a big difference not only between male farmers and female farmers, but also "among female farmers" in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts. Thus, when the DAs provide the agricultural extension services to female farmers, they must consider the differences in lifestyles, tasks, and demands among female farmers. Moreover, the DAs must know that the gender-based division of labor is considered by female farmers as a strategy to work more efficient way rather than a bad custom hurting them.

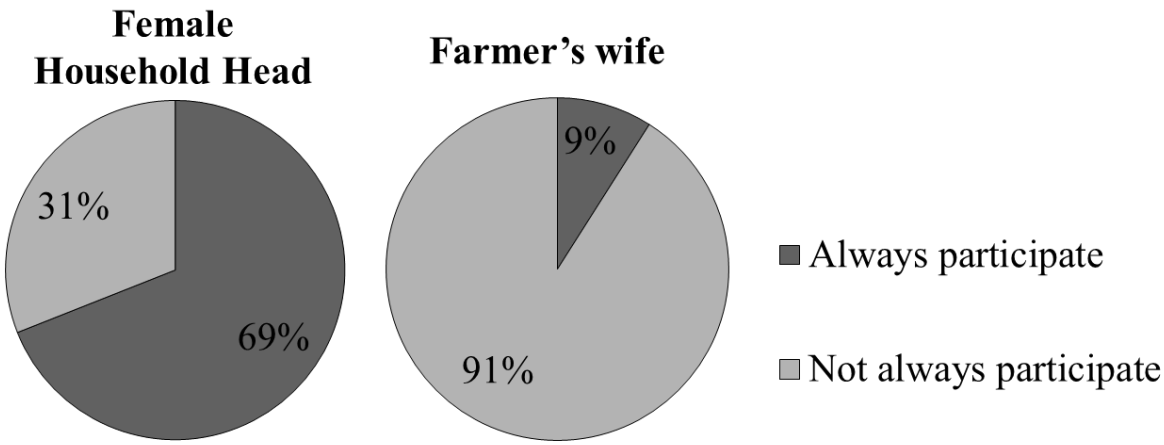
4.2.2. Agricultural Extension Services and Female Farmers

As the previous section explained, the DAs in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts provide the agricultural extension services mostly through training and demonstrations at a community meeting, and visiting farmers' home. This section focuses on how female farmers in both districts access to the agricultural extension services provided by the DAs.

4.2.2.1. Training/Demonstration Provided at Community Meetings

According to the interviews, 69% of female household heads always attend the training and demonstrations provided at community meetings while more than 90% of farmers' wives do not[12].

Figure 4.5: Attendance Rate of Female Farmers to Training/Demonstration Provided at Community Meetings



Source: Author's survey, 2012

According to the interview, female household heads and farmers' wives have different reasons for attending or not attending the training and demonstrations provided at community meetings by DAs. The major reasons are shown in Table 4.2.

[12] This figure only shows the ratio of female farmers who "always" attend the training and demonstrations. The attendance rate will increase if female farmers who answered "sometimes" or "once" are included.

Table 4.2: Major Reasons for Attending or Not Attending the Training/Demonstration Provided at Community Meetings

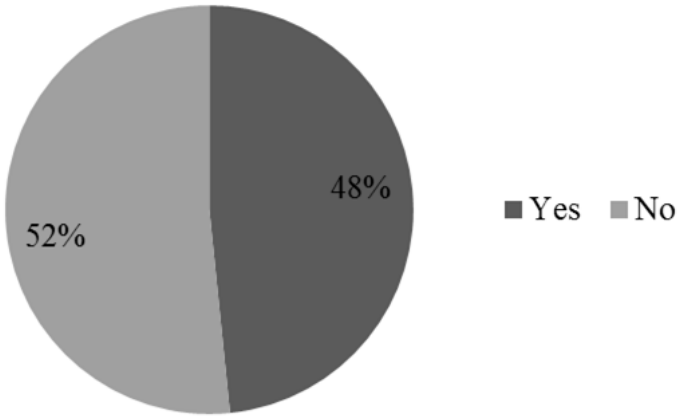
	Female household heads	Farmers' wives
Reasons for attending	· It is useful for me · I need information · It is my responsibility to attend · Other farmers are attending · DA asks me to attend	· It is useful for me · I need information
Reasons for not attending	· I am too busy to attend · Time does not suit me	· I am too busy to attend · Time does not suit me · Other family member is attending · I feel uncomfortable there · Few female farmers there

Source: Author's survey, 2012

The most common reasons for attending the training and demonstrations are, "It is useful for me" and 'I need information" in both groups. However, a few of them have a specific idea on how useful it is or what information they need. Most of them mentioned that the information provided by the DAs and the information they would like to know is slightly different. They think the information might be useful one day in the future, but it has no immediate effect on their daily lives. While most of the DAs provide the information about how to improve the productivity by implementing new technology, the female farmers would like to have more practical information; for example, "whether or not they can get subsidies from the local government to purchase more fertilizer/feedstuff" or "when improved seeds will be distributed at the local agricultural office." Unfortunately, those needs of female farmers do not suit the purpose of the agricultural extension services which aims to transfer new technology and technique to farmers to improve their productivity and quality of their products. It seems that most of female farmers consider DAs as civil servants who convey their requests to the local government, but not as experts who can advise/teach them to improve their productivity and the quality of the products. Therefore, more than half of the

DAs mentioned that they have not utilized the specialized knowledge learned at ATVET College.

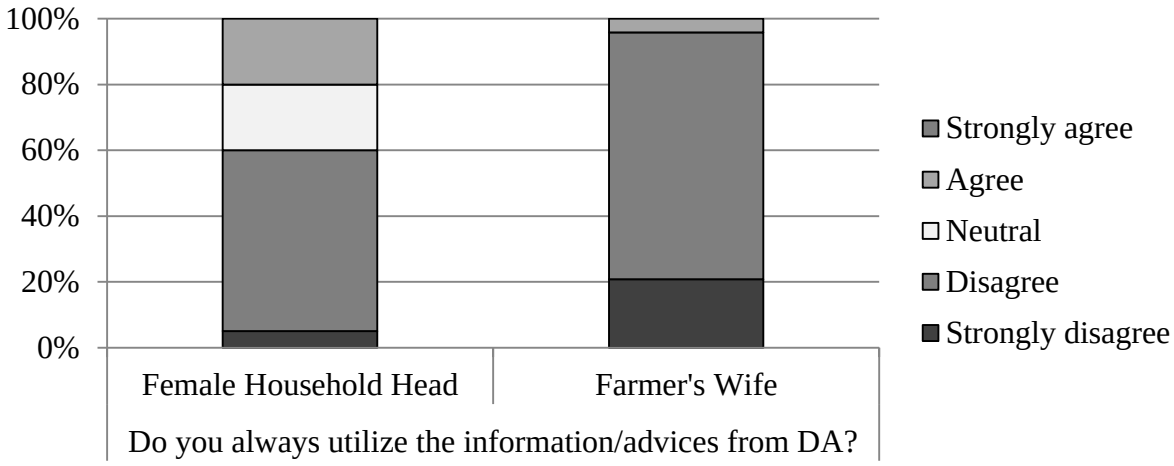
Figure 4.6: DAs who think that they have utilized what they learned at ATVET Colleges



Source: Author's survey, 2012

Moreover, many of female farmers accessing to the agricultural extension services have never utilized what they learned from DAs. One of the reasons is DAs choice of topics. Most of the time, DAs choose the topics from the list provided by the local government. Also, they normally choose topics related to "male farmers' works" because most of the participants are male. As Figure 4.7 shows, the majority of female farmers does not utilize the information and advices from DAs. It seems that what female farmers learned at the training and demonstrations are not utilized in their daily lives.

Figure 4.7: Female Farmers' Opinions on Training/Demonstration Provided at Community Meetings



Source: Author's survey, 2012

Going back to the reasons for attending or not attending the training and demonstrations provided at community meetings, female household heads often have a feeling of responsibility as a household head. They mentioned that they must attend community meetings if other farmers attend. Otherwise, they will be blamed for breaking a harmony in the community. The feeling of responsibility leads to the quite high attendance rate of female household heads. Their reasons for not attending the training and demonstrations also relate to their role in their families. They said it is difficult to manage the time to attend the training and demonstrations because they have a lot of work to do at home, not only as a mother, but also as a breadwinner. They attend the community meeting because it is their responsibility; but they cannot stay long because of their work at home. On the other hand, the attendance rate of farmers' wives is very low. Compared to female household heads, they hesitate to attend the training because they are not a household head. They consider the community meeting as an occasion which only household heads can attend. One of the wives in *Ambo* district mentioned, *"I think it is strange if I go there. It is not normal."* She was afraid of being considered as strange by other community members. Another wife said she

might feel more comfortable if there are more wives. She said *"I will come if the others come."* Perhaps, providing training and demonstrations at community meetings is easy approach for DAs because it does not require them to gather farmers, but DAs must know the fact that the community meeting is neither convenient nor comfortable place for both female head of household and farmers' wives.

The condition of female farmers at the training and demonstrations also needs to be observed carefully. Table 4.3 shows one of the examples of trainings provided by DAs in *Ambo* district. As it shows, only male farmers expressed their opinions. Female farmers do not say anything during the community meeting.

Table 4.3: A Case of Training Provided at a Community Meeting

8:34	Leader of farmer: greetings Village manager: thanking farmers for giving their time District officer: greetings
8:37	<u>DA explains the purpose of the training</u> DA1: (While showing the handout which he got at DA training) explains that he would like to start the training named "Summer Work" aiming to increase farmers' yields.
8:41	<u>Question and answer</u> Male farmer 1: *"I need to have fertilizer to increase the yield."* Male farmer 2: *"Fertilizer is too expensive to purchase. Its price has increased rapidly."* Male farmer 3: *"Why does not the local government give a loan to us?"* Male farmer 4: *"Everything will be OK if the government gives a loan to us."* DA1: *"Why don't you make composts instead of purchasing fertilizer?"* All farmers: *"We don't have enough time." "It requires additional works."* DA1 & DA2: Explaining positive points of compost. All farmers: (against DAs) *"We have to buy materials to make compost." "Purchasing fertilizer is much better than making composts."* → Time runs out because the discussion went into a deadlock → DA decided to do the training another day
9:07	<u>DA makes an appointment with farmers</u> DA2: *"How about tomorrow?" "What time is the most convenient for you?"* Male farmer 1: *"Not tomorrow. It's market day."* All farmers: *"No. Not tomorrow." "I am busy tomorrow."* DA3: *"By the way, why only a few people are here today?"* Male farmer 1: *"Because there is a big market in a nearby village."* Male farmer 2: *"Because people want to cultivate their fields."*
9:15	<u>Village manager asks farmers for their cooperation</u> Village manager: *"This training is very important for you. It is necessary to do it as soon as possible."* → Two farmers, DA3, and the Village manger started a discussion. → The other male farmers also joined the discussion, → The Farmers decided to receive the training on the next day

Note:
[Participants] 22 farmers (20 males, 2 females), 3 DAs
1 village manager, 1 officer from the local agricultural office (district level)
[Venue] Near a road construction site (because farmers refused to move to another place)

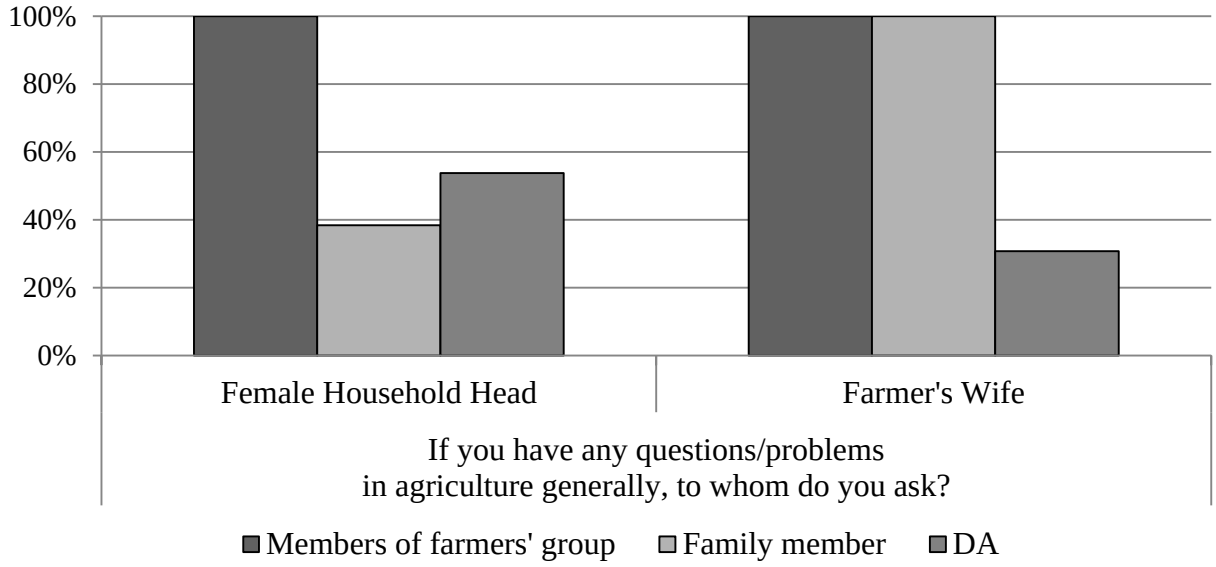
Source: Author's survey, 2012

Most of the time, they are listening male farmers' opinions in a passive manner and just nodding. It is because most of the discussion topics are not related to the works which female farmers are normally in charge of. For example, if farmers start talking about fertilization, which is normally considered as male farmer's work, female farmers tend to stay quiet although female household heads fertilize their crops. Moreover, they often come to community meetings late and leave early because the time is not convenient to them. Making a balance between participating in the training and demonstrations, and doing housework is difficult.

4.2.2.2. Individual Household Visit

In *Walmera* district, more than half of female farmers had never talked with DAs individually because most of the DAs do not visit households. Neither female farmers nor DAs actively communicate with each other. In *Ambo* district, more than 90% of female farmers had experienced the individual household visit by the DAs at least once. However, female farmers usually do not spend a long time with the DAs. If they have some farming-related questions, they tend to ask other farmers for advice, especially members of farmers' group which they belong to. This is not only because they have little chance to meet the DAs individually, but also because they have a traditional intelligence sharing mechanism among their neighbors. Female farmers value their relationship among the group members more than the relationship with the DAs. One of the female household heads who have never asked the DAs for help explained, "*There are young people visiting us to teach us something but we know everything already. God always helps us to decide what to do. We talk and decide among us. We can do everything for ourselves*." In some cases, the farmer's wife discusses about the problems with their husbands first and ask the questions to others if they still need additional opinions.

Figure 4.8: Female Farmers' Channels to Receive Advices



Source: Author's survey, 2012

Summarizing the above, the attendance rate of female farmers is not high. It is because the training and demonstrations is provided mostly at the time which does not suit their convenience. Female farmers attending the training and demonstrations provided at community meetings are mostly female household head. One of the factors causing the situation is a characteristic of "community meeting." The community meeting has traditionally been used for information exchange among household heads in rural areas. Therefore, female household heads think that it is their responsibility to attend the community meeting, while the farmers' wives hesitate to attend. Those female farmers attending the training and demonstrations think the information provided by the DAs might be useful, but they rarely utilize what they learned from the DAs. It is because what female farmers want is more practical information which they can use as soon as possible, such as the price of fertilizer/feedstuff or availability of improved seeds. Also, the trainings and demonstration provided by the DAs usually focus on the "male farmers' works." The situation hinders

female farmers from active participation in the discussion. Moreover, female farmers depend more on the traditional intelligence sharing mechanism than the information from the DAs. This leads to the situation where neither the DAs nor the female farmers actively communicate with each other.

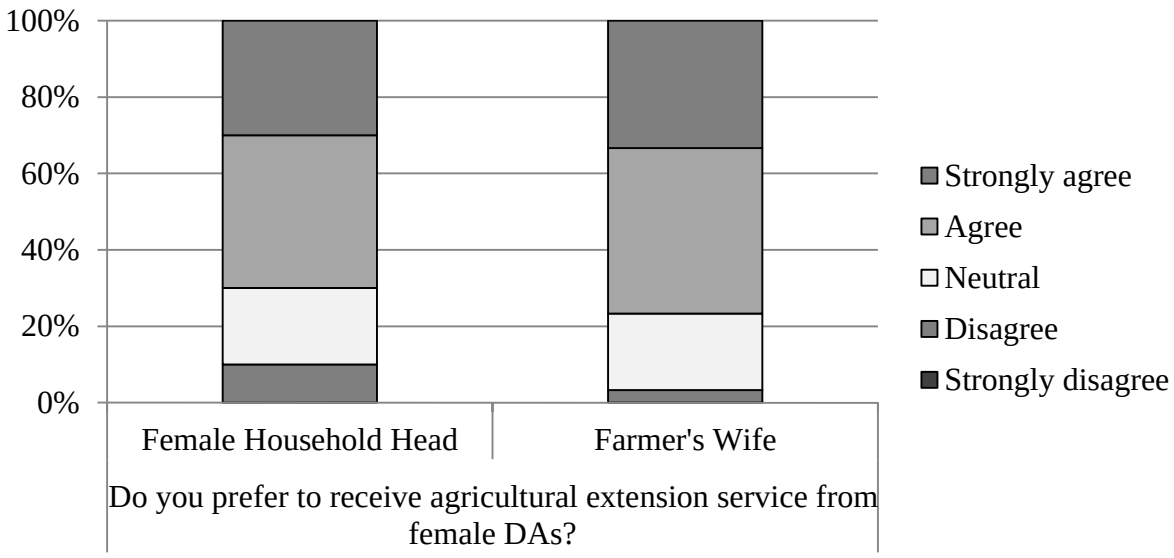
4.2.3. Relationship between Female Farmers and Female DAs

This sub-section focuses on the relationship between female farmers and female DAs. The reason why female DAs are focused on is because the Ethiopian government aims to increase the number of female DAs to support the female farmers. This sub-section discusses whether the aim suits the actual situation or not by seeing the opinions that female farmers and female DAs have toward each other.

4.2.3.1. Rural Female Farmers' Opinions toward Female DAs

Female farmers have high expectations toward female DAs. As Figure 4.9 shows, more than 70% of female farmers, regardless of their at-home roles (female household head or farmer's wife), would like to receive agricultural extension services from female DAs than the male DAs. They said that they are going to attend the training and demonstrations provided at the community meetings more often if the female DAs are in charge of their areas.

Figure 4.9: Percentage of Female Farmers who Prefer Female DAs to Male DAs



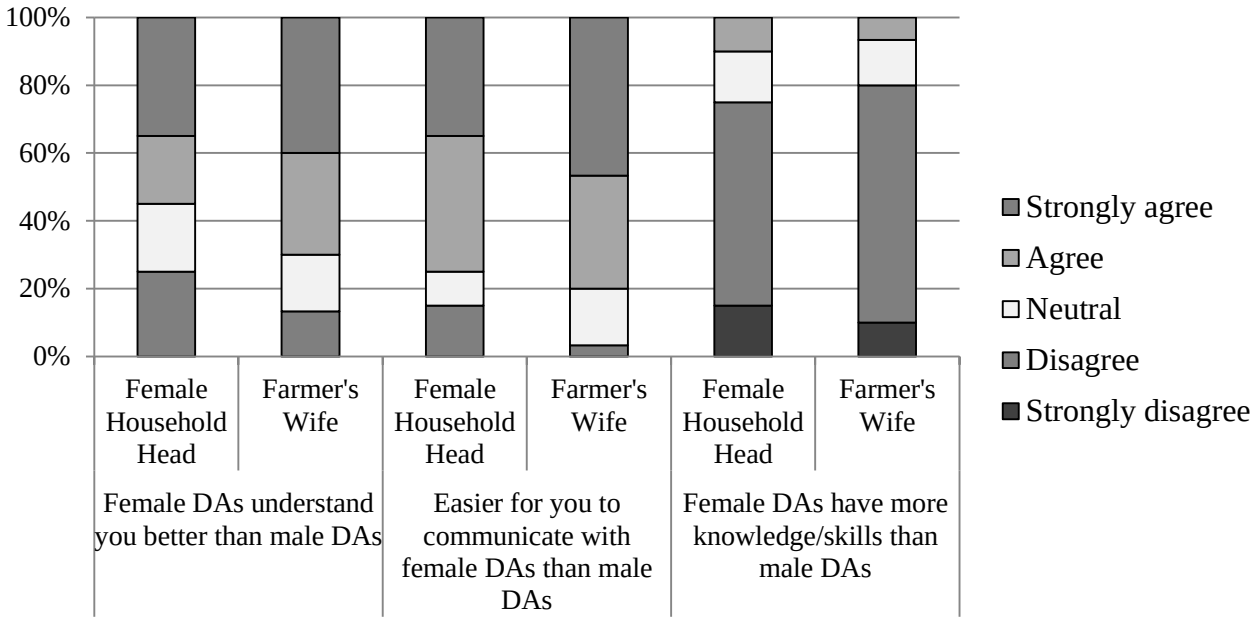
Source: Author's survey, 2012

There are two reasons why female farmers prefer female DAs. One is because they assume female DAs understand them better than male DAs. The other is because they feel that it is easier to communicate with female DAs than with male DAs.

In particular, farmers' wives prefer communicating with female DAs. Some of them mentioned that they do not want male DAs to visit their homes individually if their husbands are not at home. It is because they do not know what to talk with male DAs. They think that they may be able to have more open conversations with female DAs not only about farming, but also about daily lives, if they come to their homes when their husbands are absent. Female farmers do not think female DAs have more knowledge and skills than male DAs. Most of them mentioned that both male DAs and female DAs have the same knowledge and skills. Only four of female farmers answered that female DAs may have more knowledge and skills than male DAs. They expect female DAs to know more about "female farmers' work." For example, how to take care of chickens in a better way or how to do hand-milking

more effectively.

Figure 4.10: Female Farmers' Opinions toward Female DAs



Source: Author's survey, 2012

There are eight female farmers who have never met female DAs. Those female farmers' expectation toward female DAs is higher than the other female farmers. They think that female DAs should be much friendlier and willing to work more for female farmers than male DAs. Since male DAs in their area do not aggressively communicate with them, female farmers have high expectation toward female DAs to communicate with them more. The following are opinions of those female farmers.

I have never met a female DA, but I think we can understand each other more since both of us are women. I think <u>it is difficult for male DAs to understand us</u> (*Ambo*, farmer's wife, 30s; emphasis by author).

I do not really talk with DAs in our area (they are male DAs). I just greet them. That's all I do. I sometimes think that <u>if only he is a woman, we can talk more friendly way</u> (*Walmera*, farmer's wife, 40s; emphasis by author).

I think female DAs will work more than male DAs for us. They want to improve our lives (*Walmera*, female head of a household, 50s; emphasis by author).

Nevertheless, in contrast with the opinions above, female farmers who always receive the agricultural extension services from female DAs said that female DAs are not as good as they expected before. They have never felt that female DAs are taking care of them. They are exactly the same as male DAs, unfriendly and not willing to work for them. They said that female DAs neither pay more attention to female farmers nor provide specific information related to "female farmers' work." It means, although there is a high demand from female farmers, female DAs do not meet the expectations of female farmers in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts.

4.2.3.2. DAs Opinions toward Female Farmers

According to DAs, they thought the agricultural extension services are mainly for household heads, both male and female. This means that farmers' wives are not considered as their main targets even though the Ethiopian government and the local agricultural office want DAs to involve "all" female farmers. Most of DAs also knew that they should provide the agricultural extension services to farmers' wives, but they think that providing the services only at specific occasions, when her husband is absent, is enough. DAs said farmers' wives are too busy doing housework to attend the training and demonstrations.

DAs consider female household heads are targets of the agricultural extension services. Nevertheless, DAs do not usually ask female household heads to attend training and demonstrations either, because they think those females are also very busy. One of the DAs explained, "*All the female farmers are so busy. They have to go to the market, take care of the children, cook for the family, and feed animals. I think we cannot do anything for them."* In addition, DAs think attending the training and demonstrations seems to have no meaning for

female farmers since they are too passive during the meeting.

In the case of *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts, neither male DAs nor female DAs have made any efforts to increase female farmer's access rate to the training and demonstrations. The DAs know that the Ethiopian government tries to increase the female farmers' access, but they have done almost nothing for it. Even though many of female household heads mentioned that the time of training and demonstrations does not suit their schedule or the farmers' wives felt community meeting is uncomfortable for them, the DAs have never tried to make the venue and time flexible nor increase the frequency of individual household visits for the female farmers.

Although female farmers have high expectations toward female DAs, female DAs do not provide any special activities for female farmers. Only two female DAs in *Ambo* district mentioned that they let female farmers speak first during the training and demonstrations or ask them whether they have difficulties or not after meetings. Meanwhile, other female DAs do not think female farmers need special care from them. Also, they strongly believe that they must use the same approaches which male DAs use. Some of them even consider it not fair to provide special care to only female farmers. Two female DAs in *Ambo* district mentioned that providing different activities only for female farmers is "gender equality." One of the female DAs said *"Men and female farmers can do the same work you know? I can do whatever the guys do. I know whatever the guys know. We are the same. We must give training for male farmers and female farmers together."* She emphasized that, taking care of male farmers and female farmers equally is the most important thing for all the females in the district. She believed that treating all the farmers equally should be the first step in achieving the gender equality. Other female DAs also think it is not necessary to change extension approaches for male farmers and female farmers because they are in the same condition.

Based on the observations above, there was no female DA meeting female farmers' needs in *Ambo* and *Walmera* district. This is because female DAs do not know that female farmers want them to work for females. Since female DAs normally interact with male farmers when they provide training and demonstrations, they have a few chances to talk to female farmers about their expectations and opinions to them. Moreover, female DAs think that they have to treat male farmers and female farmers equally to achieve gender equality in the rural areas. This reveals that female DAs do not work for female farmers as expected by the Ethiopian government.

4.3. Necessary Knowledge and Skills for DAs to Improve Female Farmers' Access to the Agricultural Extension Services

Finally, this section tries to summarize what knowledge and skills are necessary for DAs to improve female farmers' access to agricultural extension services based on the result of fieldwork in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts.

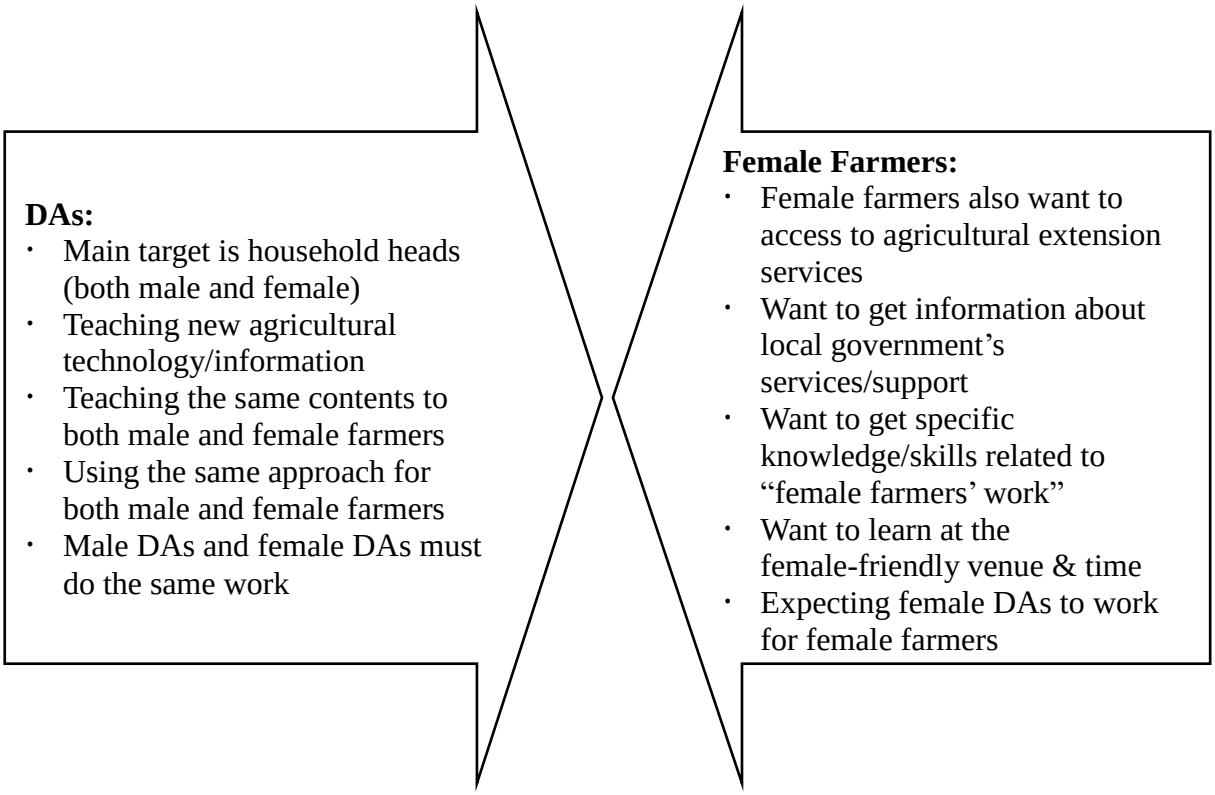
In both *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts, the most common approach for providing agricultural extension services was providing training and demonstrations at community meetings. However, many female farmers have difficulties to attend the training and demonstrations provided at community meetings. The main cause of this situation is that the approach does not suit female farmer's lifestyle. Based on the interviews, it was found that female farmers have various reasons for not attending the training. For farmers' wives, one of the important factors is a venue of the training. Although DAs prefer to provide the training at community meetings, it is not the best venue to reach the farmers' wives. Providing training at community meetings is easier for DAs but it is not a comfortable venue for farmer's wives, because everybody thinks that the meeting is for household heads. Female household heads tend to attend the training and demonstrations more than farmers' wives, but they also feel

that community meetings are not preferable venue because the time is not convenient for them. In addition, they cannot express their ideas during the training and demonstrations, or get a chance to talk to DAs before and after the training because the contents of training are mostly about "male farmers' works." Although female farmers facing those difficulties, DAs do not make any effort to change their approach in order to increase number of female farmers attending the training and demonstrations. The biggest reason is that DAs do not think female farmers are the main target of agricultural extension services. They somehow try to increase the number of female household heads accessing the agricultural extension services, but not farmers' wives. This is a kind of mutual influence. DAs do not actively provide the training to female farmers, especially farmers' wives, because they do not consider the farmers' wives as the main target of the agricultural extension services. Likewise, female farmers, especially farmers' wives, do not come to the training because they know that DAs do not pay attention to them.

Another finding is that most of female farmers (both female household heads and farmers' wives) have high expectations toward female DAs. Female farmers want female DAs to communicate with them more actively and understand their situations/demands better than male DAs. One reason is that they expect female DAs to have more knowledge on "female farmers' work" than male DAs. The other reason is that female farmers feel more comfortable to communicate with female DAs than male DAs. Nevertheless, since female DAs do not know that female farmers expect highly of them, there is no difference in the current works of male DAs and female DAs. Most of the female DAs believe they must have the same role as male DAs. Female DAs even think that it is not fair to give a special attention to female farmers because it must be against "gender equality." Thus, although female farmers want female DAs to interact with them more, which is also what the Ethiopian government expects, female DAs do not accept the role.

This fieldwork found that there is a conflict between the opinions of DAs and female farmers as the following figure shows. DAs think teaching the same new agricultural technologies/information to both male and female household heads by using the same approach is the ideal way of providing agricultural extension services. On the other hand, female farmers would like to get information about local government services and support or specific knowledge and skills related to "female farmers' work" from female DAs at the most convenient venue and time for them. It means that, although female farmers want the agricultural extension services to be more "gender equity", providing necessary services differently for male and female, DAs have emphasized "gender equality," providing the same services to both male and female.

Figure 4.11: Conflict between the Opinions of DAs and Female Farmers



Source: Author's survey, 2012

Currently, DAs in *Ambo* and *Walmera* districts tend to think that the main cause of the low access rate of female farmers to the agricultural extension services is only because they are too busy. However, the problem is much complicated than what DAs thought. The DA training program in ATVET Colleges should be aware of the conflict, so that students will be ready to tackle the issue with the necessary knowledge and skills to improve the situation. The most important thing for the ATVET College students is having knowledge about the actual situation of rural areas before start working as DAs. For example, they must know that there are differences among women in terms of their agricultural tasks, needs, and challenges. Also, they must have knowledge of the government's policies and strategies for agricultural extension services, especially who the targets of agricultural extension services are. All the students must have a consensus that all female farmers are the targets. They also have to learn that female household heads and farmers' wives have different challenges to access to the agricultural extension services. Since the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum has the Gender and Development course aiming to provide knowledge about gender related problems and policies and laws related to gender issues in Ethiopia, those differences among female farmers should be highlighted in the course. In addition to the knowledge, students should have skills to flexibly change the approaches of agricultural extension services according to female farmers' situations. Currently, DAs provide the training and demonstrations based on the local government's interests, no matter whether female farmers are interested in the contents or not. ATVET Colleges must provide training to students to be able to develop the original trainings according to female farmers' interests and needs.

Moreover, providing separated training for female students is also recommended to be able to work for female farmers. It is because the current female DAs' works do not match what female farmers want them to do. Most of the female DAs emphasize the importance of treating male farmers and female farmers in the same way because they view it as a "gender

equality" situation. They believe "working as the same way as male DAs" and "treating female farmers in the same way as male farmers" are the ideal situation to achieve gender equality in rural areas. Nevertheless, female farmers need "gender equity" rather than gender equality to access the agricultural extension services. While male farmers and female farmers are implementing gender-based division of labor as their work strategy, different knowledge and skills are required for male farmers and female farmers. It is necessary to let female DAs understand their roles, since they have a high potential to improve female farmers' access to the agricultural extension services. ATVET Colleges need to contain certain topics to teach female students, for example, how important they are for female farmers and how the Ethiopian government expects them to work. However, to work for female farmers, only knowing their expectation is inadequate. Female DAs should possess knowledge and skills on "female farmers' work." The Table 4.4 summarizes the points listed above and what training should be provided to ATVET students.

Table 4.4: Necessary Knowledge and Skills to Increase Female Farmers' Access to Agricultural Extension Services and Necessary Trainings at ATVET Colleges

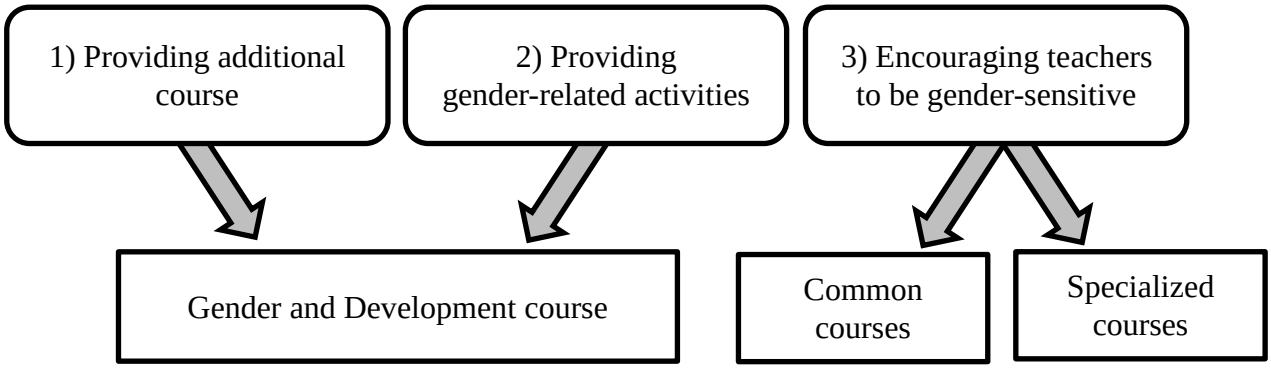
	Necessary Skills/Knowledge	Training at ATVET College
All DAs	・Knowledge about the actual situations of different female farmers. ・Knowledge about the problems in the field which female farmers face. ・Knowledge about the target of agricultural extension services and the government's strategies. ・Skills to flexibly change the approach of agricultural extension services according to female farmers' situation.	・Trainings focusing on the various situations of female farmers. ・Trainings to know the actual situation to identify the problems of agricultural extension services. ・Lectures about agricultural policies and strategies of the government, especially the target of agricultural extension services. ・Trainings to develop original training according to female farmers' interests and needs.
Female DAs	・Knowledge and skills more related to "female farmers' work." ・Knowledge about the expectation of female farmers toward female DAs. ・Knowledge about the gender equity approach in agricultural extension.	・Separated training about "female farmers' work." ・Trainings to change their attitude toward "gender equality." ・Training about "gender equity" approach in agricultural extension.

Source: Author's survey, 2012

CHAPTER 5: GENDER-SENSITIVE DA TRAINING CURRICULUM

In this chapter, the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum will be analyzed to discuss whether the curriculum has successfully trained ATVET College students who possess the required knowledge and skills for DAs. There are three pillars of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum: 1) providing an additional course titled Gender and Development, 2) providing gender-related activities through a gender office in each college, and 3) encouraging teachers to be gender-sensitive when they teach their courses (personal interview, 2012).. Figure 5.1 shows which pillar of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum relates to which course.

Figure 5.1: Pillars of Gender-sensitive DA Training Curriculum and Courses



Source: Author's survey, 2013

This study uses the model of Goodlad et al (1979), which divides a curriculum in five levels, to analyzes the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. This chapter focuses on formal curriculum, perceived curriculum, operational curriculum, and experiential curriculum.

5.1. Formal Curriculum

Firstly, the formal curriculum will be analyzed. In this section, a module of the Gender and Development course developed by MoA and a textbook developed by Alage ATVET Colleges will be focused on to see what topics have been selected by the government and Alage ATVET College. The same textbooks are used at Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College. Secondly, course modules written in EOSs and a textbook of selected common course and specialized course will be dealt with to see whether the courses have any gender related topics. Participate in Workplace Communication course (a sub-course of Intermediate Animal Production Level 2) was selected from the common courses since communication is one of the most important soft skills which DAs must possess. Handle and Process Milk course (a sub-course of Intermediate Animal Production Level 2) was selected from the specialized courses because milking and processing milk are considered as the typical female farmers' work in rural areas.

5.1.1. Course Module and Textbook of Gender and Development Course

The Gender and Development course plays an important role in the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. Normally, teachers working at the gender office at ATVET Colleges are in charge of teaching the course. The course was designed "to equip trainees with knowledge, skills, and attitude on gender issues in the development sector" (MoA, 2010, p.1). The total time allotted for the course is 78 hours, and it covers several topics on basic concepts of gender equality, women's rights, gender and gender related problems, gender analysis, and gender mainstreaming approach (MoA, 2010, p.1). The course module has a table of contents, course time, evaluation method, and teaching materials. Table 5.1 shows the table of contents of the Gender and Development course.

Table 5.1: Contents of Gender and Development Course

1. Gender Concepts and Terminologies
2. Gender and Development
    - 2.1. Gender and Development: An Overview
    - 2.2. Gender-sensitive Development Approaches
        - 2.2.1. Women in Development
        - 2.2.2. Women and Development
        - 2.2.3. Gender and Development
    - 2.3. Gender and Development in Ethiopia
        - 2.3.1. Evolution of Gender and Development in the case of Ethiopia
        - 2.3.2. Gender and HIV/AIDS
        - 2.3.3. Gender and Environment
        - 2.3.4. Gender, Poverty and Food security
        - 2.3.5. Gender and Reproductive Health
3. Major Actions of the Government of Ethiopia to Promote Gender Equality
    - 3.1. International Conventions and Agreements on Women's Right
        - 3.1.1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Relation to Gender
        - 3.1.2. Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
        - 3.1.3. Beijing Platform for Action (BPA)
        - 3.1.4. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)
    - 3.2. National Laws, Policies, and Strategies in Relation to Gender
        - 3.2.1. The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
        - 3.2. 2.Family Law and Criminal (Penal) Code
        - 3.2.3. Labor Law
        - 3.2.4. Gender Related Policies and Strategies
4. Gender and Gender Related Problems
    - 4.1. Gender Related Socio Cultural Problems
        - 4.1.1. Gender-based Violence
        - 4.1.2. Harmful Traditional Practices
        - 4.1.3. Educational Disparities
    - 4.2. Economic and Political Inequalities
        - 4.2.1. Access to and Control Over Resources and Services
        - 4.2.2. Decision Making and Power Relation
    - 4.3. Addressing Gender and Gender Related Problems
        - 4.3.1. Enhancing Women Empowerment and Gender Equality
5. Gender Analysis and Mainstreaming
    - 5.1 Gender Analysis
        - 5.1.1. Gender Analysis Framework/Tools
        - 5.1.2. Harvard Gender Analytical Framework
    - 5.2 Gender Mainstreaming
        - 5.2.1. Definition and Concepts of Gender Mainstreaming
        - 5.2.2. Rationale for Gender Mainstreaming
        - 5.2.3. General Principles of Gender
        - 5.2.4. Types of Gender Mainstreaming
        - 5.2.5. Steps of Gender Mainstreaming

5.2.6. Outcome Indicators for Successful Gender Mainstreaming 5.3 Gender Sensitive Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation 5.3.1. Gender Sensitive Planning 5.3.2. Gender Sensitive Monitoring and Evaluation

Source: MoA, 2010

As Table 5.1 shows, there is no specific part related to agricultural extension services, even though this module was developed by MoA. Since the module aims to provide more general knowledge about gender issues, which are less related to the agricultural sector, the teachers are required to add contents about agricultural extension services by themselves when they teach.

The 66 page-textbook for the Gender and Development course were developed by the Alage ATVET College teachers by following the course module. Although the module has no topic about agricultural extension services separately, the textbook contain a few parts about agricultural extension services. The word "extension" is seen only 10 times in the textbook. There is a small part titled "agricultural research and extension services" with 18 lines which explains mostly women's limited access to agricultural extension services and a few numbers of female DAs. The textbook does not mention anything about "female farmers' work", demands of female farmers, or difference between female household head and farmer's wife, although those knowledge and skills are required for DAs in the field. Moreover, it states as if the cultural bias is the biggest factor hindering female farmers from accessing to agricultural extension services. The following is a part of the explanation.

Past failures of government extension services to reach women farmers and the cultural bias have prevented women from active participation in group training, extension meeting and, most importantly, access to inputs such as credit and fertilizer (Alage ATVET College, 2010, pp.42; emphasis by author).

Moreover, the handouts emphasize the importance of increasing the number of female DAs, but it does not focus on "how" female DAs should work for female farmers to improve their access.

In the textbook, there are some parts which show what Alage ATVET College expects the students to learn through the course. One of the examples is "gender-related socio cultural problems," which possibly include various issues under the title. In the module, "gender related socio-cultural problems" part is divided into three sub-topics such as gender-based violence, harmful tradition, and educational disparities. While those titles are also vague, teachers at Alage ATVET College selected some cases which "they" think are important to teach students. The first sub-topic is gender-based violence. Although the topic has a wide definition, the textbook mentions mostly about physical violence and sexual violence. All lines are talking about how women have suffered from violence from men in Ethiopia. The following lines are examples from the textbook.

- *Usually violence takes place among men and women in social groups. However, in the context of Ethiopia, most of the violence occurs on women.*
- *Abuse like wife beating, rape, and abductions are pervasive social problems that degrade the status of Ethiopian women.*
- *Sexual violence is a term used to describe sexual exploitation, rape against women and girls by men.*

  (Alage ATVET College, 2010, p.36; emphasis by author)

In addition, the textbook tries to connect violence against women with poor economic status. The following lines clearly state that poverty is one of the main reasons why men behave violently and why women suffer from violence without explaining why. This simple explanation may prejudice the students against the poor families.

- *Sexual violence always comes up because of low socioeconomic status of the society.*
- *Wife beating is common among housewives due to their poor economic status.*
- *Abduction is common in rural areas especially among the poor man.*
  (Alage ATVET College, 2010, pp.36-37; emphasis by author)

The second sub-topic for gender-related socio-cultural problems is harmful tradition. While there are many ethnic groups living in Ethiopia, thousands of different traditions exist. However, the textbook selected only three of them as harmful tradition such as female genital mutilation (FGM), early marriage, tattooing, and *Abusuma*[13]. According to the survey conducted by UNICEF, 74% of women aged 15 to 49 years have undergone FGM in Ethiopia (UNICEF, 2013, p.26). Also, nearly 7% girls aged 12 to 24 had been married before they were 10 years old and nearly 27% married between the ages of 11 and 14 (Marshall et al, 2016, p.15). According to the textbook, FGM and early marriage hurt girls physically, curtail their opportunity for formal education and wage employment, and spread HIV/AIDS. On the other hand, the *Abusuma* type of marriage is common only in Muslim society in Ethiopia. The textbook explains that *Abusuma* is also harmful because girls commit suicide rather than accept the marriage. However, *Abusuma* has been implemented in the Muslim society in order to increase the size of clam, promote harmonious relations between spouses, and retain properties within a clan (Alage ATVET College, 2010, p.39). Therefore, there is some doubt to criticizing the specific traditions by only observing one side.

According to the textbook, the biggest reason why those harmful traditions still exist is due to community leaders' encouragement. It emphasizes that people (especially elders in communities, religious leaders, or traditional leaders) need to be aware and enlightened that those traditions are dangerous for women. Therefore, in the sub-topic, the

[13] *Abusuma* is one of the marriage types that women get married with a son of her mother's brother (cousin).

importance of awareness-raising activities is highlighted. The textbook says that most Ethiopian people do not know that their traditions are harmful. Actually, the term “harmful tradition” has been seen not only in this sub-topic, but also in many other sub-topics focusing on HIV/AIDS, women’s human right, women’s reproductive health, and access to agricultural extension services. The textbook tries to connect violence against women not only with “poor economic status” but also with “tradition.”

Summarizing the above, the formal curriculum developed by MoA and Alage ATVET College for the Gender and Development course has two characteristics. One is that, even though the Gender and Development course has been provided “*to equip trainees with knowledge, skills, and attitude on gender issues in the development sector* (MoA, 2010, p.1),” most of the knowledge which the course intends to provide do not relate to agricultural extension services or DA’s work. It means that teachers have to add topics by themselves if they would like to teach about gender-issues related to the agricultural extension services. The other characteristic is that the course aims to highlight poverty and traditions as the main reasons of gender inequality and violence against women in Ethiopia. Moreover, the textbook clearly states that cultural bias has prevented women from access to the agricultural extension services. Nevertheless, as the studies advocating African feminism states, it is dangerous to label all the cultures and traditions in African countries as harmful or the root of all evils.

5.1.2. Module and Sample Handout of Participate in Workplace Communication Course

In this part, the contents of Participate in Workplace Communication course module and a textbook will be analyzed. According to the module, the course aims for students to possess abilities to follow simple spoken messages, perform routine workplace duties, follow simple written notices, obtain and provide information in response to workplace requirements, complete relevant work-related documents, and participate in workplace

meetings and discussions, all in 30 hours.

The first thing that should be focused on is a meaning of "workplace" in the course. Since ATVET Colleges borrow EOSs which were not meant for DA training, the "workplace" in this course should be different from the workplace of DA. The following is a description of the course in the module. It shows that the "workplace" in this course means mostly enterprise.

Participating in workplace communications requires an understanding of different modes of communication, basic mathematical processes, and knowledge of communication procedures and systems and technology relevant to the enterprise and the individual's work responsibilities (MoE, 2011d, p.61; emphasis by author).

The table of contents also shows that the course is developed for improving communication skills of people working in enterprises. One of the examples is the sub-topic titled "perform workplace duties following routine written notices." The sub-topic requires students to acquire skills to read and interpret written workplace notices and instructions correctly (MoE, 2011d, p.61). According to the module, "notice" means "instructions, labels, symbols, signs, tables, simple graphs, personal information, notes, rosters, safety material, dockets with customer/client details, messages, enterprise specific data, and industry network details" (MoE, 2011d, p. 62). Nevertheless, none of them are usually seen in the workplace of DAs. In addition, there is no agricultural related title in the table of contents.

The other thing that should be focused on is the meaning of "communication" in the course. Participate in Workplace Communication is one of the sub-courses of Intermediate Animal Production (Level 2) of EOS. In the Ethiopian formal TVET system, Level 2 is categorized as training for people who expect to be normal workers under the supervision of managers. Therefore, the meaning of "communication" in the course is interactions between a

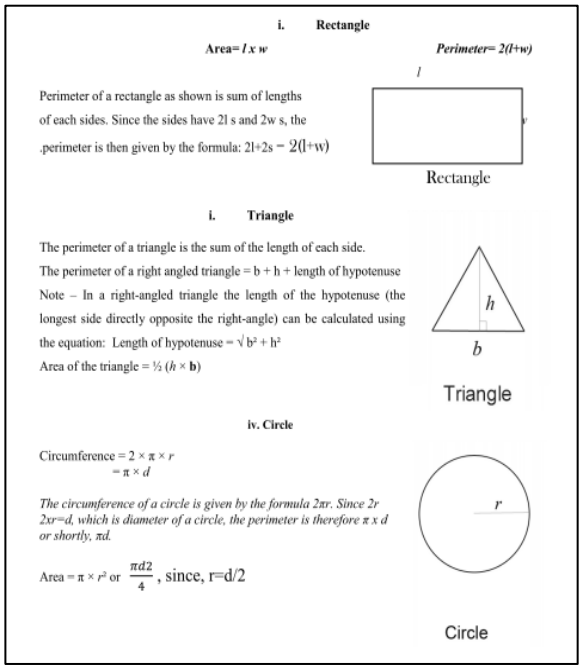
supervisor and a worker, or among workers. It shows that the course would like to train people working under the supervision of managers, which is totally different from the working condition of DAs. The communication skills which are written in the module and the communication skills which DAs should possess to work effectively in the field must be different. The following lines are some of the evaluation criteria written in the module. All the criteria try to measure whether workers can follow the guidance of the supervisor/enterprise or make a good environment with co-workers or not.

- *Team meetings are attended on time.*
- *Clarification is sought from workplace supervisor on all occasions when any instruction/procedure is not understood.*
- *Reporting requirements to supervisors are completed according to enterprise guidelines.*

(MoE, 2011d, pp.61-62)

The textbook of Participate in Workplace Communication course was also developed by Alage ATVET College teachers. The textbook consists of 29 pages, including table of contents and reference. Throughout the handout, the topic which uses most of the pages is “using basic mathematical processes for routine calculations.” The topic uses more than 10 pages to explain how to do distance conversion, how to calculate area or volume, what are percentage and ratio, and so on. The following figure shows the pages on the handout. According to the handout, “the ability to perform basic calculation is essential to the efficiency and productivity of farms and other rural enterprises (Alage ATVET College, 2011b).” However, there are few chances for DAs to utilize those calculation skills when they provide the agricultural extension services.

Figure 5.2: Contents of "Participate in Workplace Communication" Course



i. Rectangle

Area= *l x w* *Perimeter= 2(l+w)*

Perimeter of a rectangle as shown is sum of lengths of each sides. Since the sides have 2l s and 2w s, the .perimeter is then given by the formula: 2l+2s = 2(l+w)

Rectangle

i. Triangle

The perimeter of a triangle is the sum of the length of each side.
The perimeter of a right angled triangle = b + h + length of hypotenuse
Note – In a right-angled triangle the length of the hypotenuse (the longest side directly opposite the right-angle) can be calculated using the equation: Length of hypotenuse = $\sqrt{b^2 + h^2}$
Area of the triangle = ½ (*h* × **b**)

Triangle

iv. Circle

Circumference = 2 × π × *r*
= π × *d*

The circumference of a circle is given by the formula 2πr. Since 2r 2πr=d, which is diameter of a circle, the perimeter is therefore π x d or shortly, πd.

Area = $\pi \times r^2$ or $\frac{\pi d2}{4}$, since, r=d/2

Circle

Measurement and Calculation

A number of measurement units are used in agriculture and horticultural activities. For instance, in Australia, a metric system is used especially in measuring height and weight. Once the measurements are taken, other measurements such as area and volume can be calculated. The metric system is an international standard of measurement based on factors and multiples of ten. Follow the link below to Table 2. This table shows the relationship between distance, area, volume and weight in the metric system. Standard abbreviations are also included. You may like to print this information to keep as a handy reckoner.

Measurement	Unit	Abbreviation	Relationship to meter
Length	Millimeter	Mm	1mm = 1/1000m = 0.001m
	Centimeter	Cm	1cm = 1/100m = 0.01m
	Metre	M	
	Kilometer	Km	1km = 1000 m
Area	Millimeter squared	mm^2	$100mm^2 = 1cm^2$
	centimeter squared	cm^2	$10\,000\ cm^2 = 1m^2$
	meter squared	m^2	$1m^2 = 1m \times 1m$
	Hectare	Ha	$1ha = 10\,000m^2$
Volume	milliliter	ml	1mL = 1/1000L = 0.001L
	Liter	L	$1L = 1000cm^3$
	Mega liter	ML	1ML = 1 million liter
	cubic centimeter	Cc	1cc = 1mL
	cubic meter	m^3	$1m^3 = 1m \times 1m \& \times 1m$

Source: Alage ATVET College, 2011b, p.18 & p.20

The figures listed on the textbook also show that the course does not focus on the agricultural extension workers, even though it was created by teachers at Alage ATVET College. The following is one of the figures used in the handout.

Figure 5.3: Figure used in the Textbook of "Participate in Workplace Communication" Course

"What we've got here is a failure to communicate."

Source: Alage ATVET College, 2011b, p.7

By analyzing the course module and the textbook of Participate in Workplace Communication course, it was found that the target of the course is people working at enterprise as normal workers under supervisors. None of the content written in the module or the handout focuses on agricultural extension works of DA. Actually, defining “workplace” or “communication” for DA training is quite challenging. This is because their workplaces differ according to the site where the students will be sent after graduation. DAs’ workplace can be FTC, demonstration fields, the local agricultural office, or even farmers’ homes. The necessary communication skills of DAs are also complicated. DAs do not communicate only with their supervisors at the local agricultural offices or other DAs. The most important stakeholder to communicate with is the farmers. It is necessary for the students to start thinking what the best way to communicate with the farmers is before they start working as DAs. However, this point is totally neglected in the course module and textbook of Workplace Communication course.

5.1.3. Course Module and Textbook of Handle and Process Milk Course

Lastly, the contents of the course module and textbook of Handle and Process Milk course will be analyzed. There are four milking courses provided in ATVET College, which are Handle and Process Milk course, Supervise Milk Processing course, Service and Repair Milking-equipment course, and Co-ordinate Milking Operations course. The Handle and Process Milk course is categorized as Level 2 while the rest are Level 3.

By analyzing the contents of course module, the module also mainly focuses on enterprise, industry, and following a supervisor. Table 5.2 is a list of elements of competence and performance criteria of Handle and Process Milk course. The emphasized parts show that most of the elements aim to train people to work by following a supervisor’s instruction, and providing products meeting industry standard and enterprise requirements. The other milking

courses, which are categorized as Level 3, are not emphasizing on "following a supervisor" but rather, they expect students to coordinate and control products by themselves. This is because TVET Level 3 courses were prepared to train students to be supervisors. Nevertheless, other courses are also focusing on how to produce high quality milk to send to the big market and how to add value through processing.

Table 5.2: List of Elements of Competence and Performance Criteria of "Handle and Process Milk" Course

Elements of Competency	Performance criteria
1.Preserve milk	1.1. Milk is cooled after milking using different cooling systems available to extend its life span. 1.2. Milk is boiled in the absence of cooling system, using boiling equipment according to enterprise guidelines. 1.3. The boiled milk is kept at a lower temperature (cold place) before consumption or delivery.
2. Convert milk into different products	2.1. The types of products to be processed are determined based on the enterprise requirements. 2.2. Processing equipment and materials are prepared based on the amount of milk to be processed. 2.3. Raw milk and other ingredients are prepared 2.4. Milk is processed into different types of products according to enterprise requirement and guidelines 2.5. Any OHS hazards are identified and appropriate action is taken according to enterprise policy and Occupational Health and Safety (OHS) legislation and codes 2.6. Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) are used in accordance to enterprise guidelines 2.7. Sanitary procedure are observed based on industry standard
3. Clean up on completion of milk and milk by products processing work	3.1. The processed milk and milk by products are properly stored until transporting according to supervisor's instruction. 3.2. Materials are returned to store or disposed of according to supervisor's instructions. 3.3. Tools and equipment are cleaned, maintained and stored according to manufacturer's specifications and supervisor's instructions. 3.4. All waste products are disposed of according to enterprise procedures. 3.5. Work outcomes are reported to the supervisor.

Source: MoE, 2011c, pp.54-55

Handle and Process Milk course focuses more on mass production of milk products by using various types of equipment. For example, the course expects students to learn how to use the following equipment which is not used by farmers in rural areas. Most of them are normally used at milk plants or milk processing plants.

- *Cooling system (refrigerator)*
- *Boiling equipment (boiler)*
- *Equipment and materials (cream separator, churner, pasteurizer, homogenizer)*

(MoE, 2011c, p.55)

The textbook does not have any agricultural extension services-related issues either. Most of the contents are prepared to provide scientific knowledge about milk and milk-related products. For example, how many percentages of fat, protein, lactose, and calcium of various types of milks (human's milk, cow's milk, sheep milk etc.), acidity and PH of milk, freezing point of milk, and so on. There are two things which can be said by analyzing the handout. One is "amount of products" and another is "knowledge of product."

The first is the amount of products. The explanations used in the handout tend to focus on mass production of milk products. The following lines explain how much milk products they can produce from how much amount of milk. As it shows, the amount of milk is much more than individual farmers produce. This course also aims to train factory workers.

- *The yield depends on milk composition and on the moisture content of the product, but should be at least 1 kg of cottage cheese from 8 liters of milk (12.5%).*
- *You should be able to get about 1-2 liters of cream from 10 liters of milk.*
- *100 liters of milk with a 4% fat content produces 20-30 liters of cream, which yields about 4kg of butter.*

(Alage ATVET College, 2011c)

The second is knowledge of products. As explained above, the handout tends to teach scientific knowledge, but not practical knowledge which can be used by DAs. The food processing part also focuses more on knowledge which may not be used in the actual field. Figure 5.4 is part of teaching yogurt making. It explains why yoghurt becomes sour, how temperature affects yoghurt, and how long it takes to turn sour. Nevertheless, there is neither a farmer who uses a thermometer to measure the temperature of milk nor a farmer who has a refrigerator to keep yoghurt cool in rural areas. The course was not prepared to be used for a small-scale household level production either.

Figure 5.4: Contents of Sample Handout of Handle and Process Milk Course

5.3.7. Yoghurt

Yoghurt is produced when milk is soured by certain lactic-acid bacteria, which prefer growing temperature far above room temperature: 37 – 45°C. The milk should first be heated to 85°C or higher. A high pasteurization temperature (above 72°C) gives a better consistency (thickness) to the final product. After the milk has been soured, the resulting yoghurt can be used to make more fresh yoghurt by adding it to fresh milk.

Basic recipe for yoghurt one will need:

- Fresh raw milk,
- Heat source
- A heat saucepan
- A spoon
- A thermometer
- A cooling facility
- A cool place (refrigerator or cellar)
- Starter culture for yoghurt or some fresh yoghurt
- Thermos-flask or a box covered with a blanket

Heat the milk to 85°C or higher and keep it at this temperature for 3 minutes. Cool the milk to 45°C. Add 30ml (2-3 tablespoons) of fresh yoghurt to each litre of milk; the yoghurt should not be more than 2 days old. Instead of fresh yoghurt you can use a yoghurt starter culture. Mix the milk and the starter and leave it to ferment. The time required for the milk to turn sour depends on the temperature. To give you an idea:

- At 40 - 45°C it take about 3 – 6hours
- At 35 - 37°C it take about 20 to 15 hours
- At 30°C it takes about 24 hours.

The ideal temperature to make pleasant-tasting yoghurt with a firm consistency is 40 – 45°C. It is not possible to produce yoghurt at temperature below 30°C or above 50. The correct temperature can be maintained using an insulated box or a blanket. Yoghurt is ready for consumption once the incubation period is finished. If cooled, yoghurt can be kept for one week.

Yoghurt can be made from different methods; such as using a thermos flask, milk powder,

Source: Alage ATVET College, 2011c, p.27

By examining the course modules and textbook of the Gender and Development course, selected common course and specialized course, two things are found. Firstly, none of the written modules and handouts was developed for training DAs. For example, the Gender and Development course's module and textbook have only a small section to teach gender inequality in the access to agricultural extension services. It explains that culture is the biggest factor hindering female farmers to access to agricultural extension services, but in the reality, there are various factors causing female farmers low access rate. Secondly, most of the contents of common courses and specialized courses aim to train people to work in enterprises or factories for mass production, not to work as DAs. This is because ATVET College borrows EOSs from other occupations. As a consequence, the teachers in charge of those courses are required to revise the contents or add more information which is related to DA's work.

5.2. Perceived Curriculum

This section focuses on teachers' perception toward the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. The data collected through in-depth interviews with the 16 samples at Alage ATVET Collage and Agarfa ATVET College will be analyzed in this section. The interviews were started from a fundamental, but the most important question, that is, "What is a gender-sensitive curriculum?" MoA already decided on three pillars of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. One of them expects teachers to be gender-sensitive. After analyzing the interviews, it was found that each teacher has a slightly different opinion toward the curriculum and how to be gender-sensitive when they teach.

5.2.1. Perceptions of the Gender and Development Course Teachers

Firstly, the perception of the Gender and Development course teachers will be

analyzed. Since they are teachers working at the gender office at ATVET College, both of them believe the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum is a very important tool to make Ethiopian society "better." They believe the Gender and Development course can provide useful knowledge to change the student's attitude to establish a gender equal society. They think that the most important part of the course is teaching "gender and gender related problems" to make students realize that women, especially those who live in rural areas, face many challenges in the current Ethiopian society. According to them, "gender related problems" means mainly sexual abuse toward women. Therefore, they tend to think that it is necessary to spend more time on teaching what kinds of sexual abuse occur.

The teachers said that students at ATVET College must be aware of the "vulnerability of women" first through the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. According to them, the main target of the curriculum should be female students. The teachers emphasized the vulnerable situation of female students at ATVET College and in rural areas where they originally come from. One of the teachers mentioned that he has seen many female students who became victims of rape and sexual harassment by males in ATVET College. He mentioned as follows.

There are different gender-related discriminations or violence, such as rape, abduction, and so on. There are still those harmful traditions remaining in rural areas. Male teachers and students at ATVET College also sexually abuse girls (Teacher A3, Gender and Development course; emphasis by author).

In fact, during the author's fieldwork, there was also a female student who visited the gender office together with her friends. She was sent to the hospital because of being raped by male students in the college compound the day before. According to the teacher, sometimes female students obey male teachers or male students for a small amount of money

for transportation or stationeries (books and pens). He also attested that some teachers sexually abuse female students in exchange for changing their exam results or giving good marks.

Summarizing the above, the Gender and Development course teachers perceived the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum as a way of supporting female students at ATVET College. This is because female students have been vulnerable to sexual abuse by males inside and outside of ATVET College.

5.2.2. Perceptions of Common Courses Teachers

Secondly, perceptions of common course teachers will be analyzed. The author interviewed five teachers who are in charge of common courses. Two of them are in charge of Civics and Ethical Education course, the other two teachers are in charge of Communication courses[14], and the last one teacher is in charge of Business courses[15]. According to MoA, all the teachers at ATVET College are expected to be gender-sensitive when they teach their courses. The result shows that teachers consider "being gender-sensitive" in two different ways. One is "including gender and female-related issues" and the other is "teaching in an easier way for female students."

Four out of five teachers emphasized the importance of teaching gender and female related contents in their courses. This is because they believe that their courses are related to gender issues. For example, the Civics and Ethical Education course teacher at Agarfa ATVET College and the Communication courses teacher at Alage ATVET College explained how their courses are related to gender. The Civics and Ethical Education course teacher believes it

[14] "Communication" includes four courses, such as Receive and Respond to Workplace Communication course, Work with Others course, Participate in Workplace Communication course, and Work in Team Environment course.

[15] "Business" includes two courses, such as Development and Understand Entrepreneurship course and Develop Business Practices course.

is necessary for female students to know about their rights in the society since most of them are passive and always obey males. He assumed that this is because they have not learned about their rights to speak up in their hometown, rural areas. He also expects female students to convey the knowledge about their rights to other women in rural areas. The Communication course teacher said that good communication is necessary to teach people about gender issues after they start working as DAs. He said that students must learn how to communicate with female farmers in rural areas because they are too passive to communicate with.

The Business courses teacher considered that "being gender-sensitive" means "teaching in an easier way for female students." This is because he thought the current training provided at ATVET Colleges seems to be too difficult for female students. According to him, most of female students are neither as clever nor as motivated as male students. This is based on his experience that most of students who get a good score on the exam or actively answer questions during his class are male students. He thought it was because of living environment where they were raised. According to him, there is no education, no opportunity, and no right for women in the female students' hometowns, rural areas. Therefore, he believes that teachers must be kind to those "poor" female students and teach in an easier way; for example, using easy English words, eliminating some parts of difficult contents, reducing the number of questions in exams, and so on.

By analyzing the perception of the common course teachers, it was found that they understand the term "being gender-sensitive" in two different ways. One is teaching knowledge which is useful for female students to learn their rights, and for all the students to teach female farmers in rural areas. These teachers think that they have to teach the knowledge to change the current situation, to change female students by empowering them,

and to change the rural areas by teaching them females' rights. The other one is making each course easier for female students. The teacher emphasized more on supporting female student.

5.2.3. Perceptions of Specialized Courses Teachers

Compared to the common course teachers, there were various answers heard from the specialized course teachers about how to "be gender-sensitive." One of the teachers mentioned "including gender and female related issues," another teacher said "teaching in easier way for female students," but the majority of them, seven teachers, answered "prioritizing female students."

Like most of the common course teachers, one specialized courses teacher mentioned the importance of teaching gender and female related issues in his course. This is because he thought the courses provided in Animal Science major are important for female farmers. He has working experience in rural area with female farmers and knows about "female farmers' work" very well. His answer is quite different from common course teachers. While common course teachers mentioned that they have to teach females' rights to students to bring "change" to the current situation, he thinks that he has to teach knowledge related to female farmers' work to improve the productivity of female farmers. He said that it is important to teach what female farmers' work are and what kind of new technologies can be implemented in the field based on female farmers' work. The following is what he mentioned.

Especially animal productions, most of the works are related to female because most of the animal production activity is female work, female activity… So, giving good training on it to students, especially female students, is essential. So, after training, these students will give advices for female farmers. (Teacher B8, specialized courses; emphasis by author)

He thinks that all specialized courses should be more practical. He said specialized

course teachers must teach practical skills rather than scientific knowledge. He also mentioned,

For beekeeping, the students have to remember the definition of honey, chemical properties of honey, physical properties of honey, and so on. But those knowledge is not useful in the field. Learning how to build different types of beehives should be more useful (Teacher B8, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

Another teacher has the same idea as the Business courses teachers introduced in sub-section 5.2.2. He thinks being gender-sensitive means "teaching in an easier way for female students." He assumed that the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum aims to improve female students' academic achievement and passing rate of exams. This is also based on his experience that most of female students do not understand what he teaches at all. He thought that teaching in an easier way is the best way to improve their understanding because they are passive and easily discouraged.

The other seven teachers considered being gender-sensitive means "prioritizing female students." The common idea among them is that their courses do not relate to gender issues. Therefore, they believe that there is nothing to teach about gender issues in their courses. Since they teach their courses by following the course modules and the textbook, the most important thing for them is to finish all the required contents. They think that they cannot teach anything about gender issues, so that they decided to prioritize female student in their classes. According to the teachers, there are two ways of "prioritizing" female students. The first way is encouraging female students to speak and discuss more in their classes. Some teachers said that they have to ask female students to answer questions before male students. Other teachers said that they must consult female students to check whether they understand what they teach or not. The second way is providing tutorial classes only for female students.

The teachers are concerned with a low achievement of female students which may lead to a low passing rate in the exam provided by CoC. According to the teachers, the tutorial classes is not a mandatory for teachers, but they think it is better to provide the tutorial classes in order to increase female students' achievement.

Unlike Teacher A8, who mentioned specialized courses also provide gender-related knowledge to students, those teachers do not mention about "female farmers' work" in the field. Some of them know that courses in the Animal Science major should be related to "female farmers' work", but they think that it is not good for students if they emphasize on it. They said that focusing on the females' works means focusing on the gender-based division of labor. They said the gender-based division of labor should be abolished as soon as possible because it is a kind of "gender inequality."

The specialized course teachers perceived the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum in three different ways. The first one is including knowledge related to female farmer's work. The second one is teaching in an easier way for female students because their academic achievement is lower than male students. The last is prioritizing female students. They think that female students should be supported by providing consultation or tutorial classes. By analyzing the perceived curriculum of the specialized course teachers, it was found that their perceptions are based on how they view female students and the situation in rural areas.

5.3. Operational Curriculum

This part focuses on what exactly the teachers teach as the content of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

5.3.3. Implementation of "Gender and Development" Course

When the Gender and Development course teachers explain about the course, they emphasized the limitation of class time. Even though the course module allocated 78 hours for the course, they had never been able to use all the hours. This is because the specialized course teachers always ask them to give their time. According to them, the specialized courses are considered as more important among teachers and staffs at ATVET College because all the specialized courses are necessary to pass the exam provided by CoC. Therefore, the Gender and Development course teachers always select only important contents by themselves when they teach. The teachers mentioned that they spend most of the time on teaching "Chapter 2: Gender and Development" and "Chapter 4: Gender and Gender Related Problems" because they thought those chapters are the main parts of the course. Table 5.3 shows an example of which topics were selected and neglected by the Gender and Development course teacher at Agarfa ATVET College. The topics indicated by strike-through were the ones which he does not teach because of time limitation.

Table 5.3: Topics Written on the Course Module and Selected by Gender and Development Course Teacher at Agarfa ATVET College

Topics written on the course manual	Topics selected by the teacher
2. Gender and Development	
2.1. Gender and Development: An Overview	2.1. Gender and Development: An Overview*
2.2. Gender Sensitive Development Approaches 2.2.1. Women in Development 2.2.2. Women and Development 2.2.3. Gender and Development	2.2. Gender Sensitive Development Approaches 2.2.1. Women in Development* 2.2.2. Women and Development* 2.2.3. Gender and Development*
2.3. Gender and Development in Ethiopia 2.3.1. Evolution of Gender and Development in the Case of Ethiopia 2.3.2. Gender and HIV/AIDS 2.3.3. Gender and Environment 2.3.4. Gender, Poverty and Food security 2.3.5. Gender and Reproductive Health	2.3. Gender and Development in Ethiopia ~~2.3.1. Evolution of Gender and Development in the Case of Ethiopia~~ 2.3.2. Gender and HIV/AIDS** 2.3.3. Gender and Environment* ~~2.3.4. Gender, Poverty and Food security~~ 2.3.5. Gender and Reproductive Health** (family planning, contraception, safe sex)
4. Gender and Gender Related Problems	
4.1. Gender Related Socio Cultural Problems 4.1.1. Gender-based Violence 4.1.2. Harmful Traditional Practices 4.1.3. Educational Disparities	4.1. Gender Related Socio Cultural Problems 4.1.1. Gender-based Violence** (abduction, rape) 4.1.2. Harmful Traditional Practices** (FGM, early marriage) 4.1.3. Educational Disparities*
4.2. Economic and Political Inequalities 4.2.1. Access to and Control over Resources and Services 4.2.2. Decision Making/Power Relation	4.2. Economic and Political Inequalities 4.2.1. Access to and Control over Resources and Services* 4.2.2. Decision Making/Power Relation*
4.3. Addressing Gender and Gender Related Problems 4.3.1. Enhancing Women Empowerment and Gender Equality	~~4.3. Addressing Gender and Gender Related Problems~~ ~~4.3.1. Enhancing Women Empowerment and Gender Equality~~

Note:
Two asterisks (**): topics which the teacher spends most of his class hour to teach.
One asterisk (*): topics which the teacher teaches briefly.
Source: Author's survey, 2013

As Table 5.3 shows, the teacher focused on topics related to women's health or sexual violence. Among those topics, he assumed that "2.3.5 Gender and Reproductive Health" is the most valuable topic for students, especially female students. For the topic, the textbook

mentions the high maternal mortality rate in Ethiopia due to infections communicable disease, malnutrition, poor living condition, and so on. It suggests that the high maternal mortality rate can be reduced by reducing unwanted pregnancy, early marriage, providing better nutrition, and increasing the coverage of prenatal and postnatal health services for mothers (Alage ATVET, 2010, pp.22-23). The teacher at Agarfa ATVET College went further than what is written on the textbook when he taught the topic to students, especially contraceptive methods and family planning.

He believes that students must know the details on how to reduce unwanted pregnancy. He said there are two reasons why he thought it is important to teach how to reduce unwanted pregnancy. The first reason is that the knowledge will help female students at ATVET Colleges since they sometimes become victims of unwanted pregnancy. The second reason is that he considers the knowledge to be the most helpful gender-related knowledge for DAs when they provide extension services. According to him, the most important work of DAs for female farmers is to teach how to prevent unwanted pregnancy, especially how to use a condom. He said that women should not have too many babies because it may harm their health and decrease their productivity at work. He also emphasized that using a condom is the best way to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. On the other hand, although issues related to agricultural extension services were written in “4.2.1 Access to and Control over Resources and Services” part, he spends only a short time on the topic.

The Gender and Development course teachers are also in charge of managing the gender office in ATVET College. There are four types of activities, such as 1) holding events to crack down violence against women in ATVET College, 2) having meetings to encourage female students, 3) punishing male teachers and male students who had harassed female students, and 4) supporting female students economically. For the events, they are providing

special seminars and workshops to provide knowledge to, and create awareness among all the teachers and students in ATVET Colleges. Nevertheless, the main objective is to empower female students. The workshops held during the author's visit was focused on abilities of women, which men do not have; for example, "women can do two things at once, but men cannot," "women are good at sharing feeling, but men are not," and so on. The teachers expected female students to be more confident and try to fight violence against women by knowing that women have more ability than men. The Gender and Development course teachers also formed gender clubs among students (both male students and female students) to hold workshops focusing on gender equality at ATVET Colleges or empowerment of female students. Members of the gender club make panels and present about gender equality in front of other students. The Gender and Development course teachers supervise the club's activities and provide advices. Moreover, the teachers hold campaigns on HIV/AIDS several times with other teachers for awareness-raising among the students.

Figure 5.5: Activity of Gender Office at Agarfa ATVET College

Source: Agarfa ATVET College Gender Office, 2013

The second activity of the gender office - holding meetings - aims to provide opportunities for female students to discuss about their problems among them without any

hesitation. The teachers call the meeting as “coffee ceremony” because they would like to make the meeting a more comfortable place for female students. Students attending the meeting prepare and drink coffee together and discuss various problems and difficulties they have faced.

The third activity is punishing male teachers and male students who had harassed female students. They believe it is a way to make ATVET College safer place for female students. According to the teachers, if a name of male teacher or male student is mentioned by female students as a perpetrator of sexual harassment, the gender office will call the person for a talk. If he really had harassed the female students, the gender office will monitor him and provide counselling several times.

The last activity of the gender office is supporting female students economically. Since there are some female students obeying males to receive a little amount of money, the Gender and Development course teachers think financial support is one of the most important ways to empower female students at the college. The office lets only female students use a photocopy machine for free before exams or provide stationery (notebooks and pens) for free. Also, female students are able to receive transportation allowance to go back to their home towns or medical treatment fee if they have to go to hospital. However, of course, the gender office does not have enough budgets to cover all the expenses. The office collects a certain amount of money as donation from teachers at ATVET Colleges. According to the Gender and Development course teachers, awareness-raising among teachers and male students is necessary to support female students. Some of teachers and male students complain about this activity because they feel that the gender office discriminates male students. The Gender and Development course teachers emphasized that there will be no complaint if everybody understands the vulnerable situation of female students.

5.3.4. Implementation of Common Courses

Among five common course teachers, four of them considered that "being gender-sensitive" means teaching gender and female related contents, and one of them said it means to teach in a way that is easier for female students. When it comes to implementation, only two of the teachers implemented something for the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. One is Civics and Ethical Education course teacher and the other is Communication courses teacher. Both of them mentioned that they have added some new contents because there is no specific topic focusing on gender in their courses. The other teachers have never done anything for the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

The Civics and Ethical Education teacher has taught women' rights to students, especially women's land right. He picked up articles of the Ethiopian constitution and emphasized the importance of knowing that both male and female has the same rights. He also uses National Policy on Ethiopian Women (NPEW) in 1993, National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAP-GE) in 2006, and Development and Change Package of Ethiopian Women in 2010 as references when he teaches about gender equality. The course module of Civics and Ethical Education course does not have specific parts for teaching the gender-related policies, but he has added new contents by himself. This is because he thinks students must know the fact that gender equality is necessary for national development. He considers gender inequality situation in Ethiopia as a hindrance to economic development because half of people, which are women, cannot contribute as men do for economic development. He repeatedly mentioned that women are staying at home doing housework, but in charge of "productive work" just like men.

Communication courses teacher, for his part, has taught the following contents as a "right way to communicate with passive women in rural areas," which is not written on the course module.

- Female DAs must wear similar clothes with female farmers in rural areas (for example, wearing a scarf in front of Muslim women or not wearing expensive accessories) because women in rural areas are afraid of outsiders.
- DAs must encourage women in rural areas because they are passive, shy, and afraid of accessing to agricultural extension services.
- DAs must encourage women that they are equal to men. They do not feel confident about themselves because they have been oppressed by men since they were born as women.
- DAs sometimes have to force women to say their opinion during training because they are very passive in front of men.

The contents above are decided by the teacher, although he does not have work experience in rural areas with DAs and female farmers. He decided what to teach according to his image of rural areas and what he learned through gender training for ATVET College teachers provided by MoA. Moreover, he mentioned that he has heard about the situation in rural areas from media, his friends, or his students.

The common course teachers add gender-related contents which “they” think important/necessary. This is because they believe that their courses are related to gender issues. Nevertheless, since the common course teachers started teaching right after they graduate universities, most of them do not have any work experience in rural areas. Therefore, what they teach tends to be based on their own understanding than the actual situation.

5.3.5. Implementation of Specialized Courses

There are three types of perceived curriculum of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum among specialized course teachers. One out of the nine teachers mentioned “including gender and female related issues,” and another one of them said “teaching in an easier way for female students,” but the majority of them, seven teachers, answered

"prioritizing female students." However, when it comes to implementation, there is only one type, which is "prioritizing female students."

The teacher who mentioned "including gender and female related issues" gave up implementing. According to him, he tried to put as much information about rural women as possible since he started teaching two years ago. He believed it would be useful if he conveys his work experiences in rural areas to students because he had various ideas about what kinds of issues are important for DAs. However, he already stopped doing so. He said that the biggest reason was the attitude of students, especially female students. His reason will be discussed later, in Chapter 6. The teacher who mentioned "teaching in an easier way for female students" also does not implement what he mentioned either. He believed that reducing the contents and exams, or using Amharic as a medium of instruction is necessary for female students who tend to get lower grades than that of male students. However, while the contents and the medium of instruction are already decided by the EOSs, he thought it was difficult for him to change. Therefore, most of the specialized course teachers try to be gender-sensitive by "prioritizing female students" as the result of implementation of the Gender sensitive DA training curriculum.

How to prioritize female students is totally dependent on each teacher. For example, a teacher teaching Milk Qualification course lets female students show hand milking in front of male students. This teacher tries to encourage female students by using their strong points. Since the gender-based division of labor in agriculture is widely seen all the regions in Ethiopia, there are some activities which female students can do better than male students. He thinks that those advantages should be used to encourage female students. He mentioned that most of female students feel proud of themselves when they are asked to perform in front of teacher. Nevertheless, the teacher asks male students to perform if they have to use a milking machine because he thinks male students are better in handling machines.

Another teacher uses a different way to prioritize female students. As quoted below, he always encourages female students to express their opinions in his classes. He believes that sometimes it is necessary to push them since the first step is always the hardest, especially for those passive female students. Specialized courses teachers emphasize the importance of empowering female students.

I encourage female students. When I teach students, before I ask male students, before males answer, I just ask female students more forcefully than males because they must have power. They must equally participate (Teacher A4, specialized courses).

At the perceived curriculum level, some teachers mentioned about providing tutorial classes only for female students. A few of them provide tutorial classes in the evening or on weekends as a volunteer work. Nevertheless, providing tutorial classes has not been willingly implemented by the teachers. The reason also will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Unlike common course teachers, specialized course teachers do not add any contents on their courses. Although there are some teachers having work experience in rural areas, those teachers rarely teach their experience to students. This is because they think that hearing their experience is not necessary for students to pass the exam provided by CoC. Specialized courses teachers tend to teach exactly what are written on the course modules because they emphasize on "finishing all the contents written on the course module" rather than "teaching relevant knowledge for DAs."

Since specialized course teachers teach according to the course module, there are gaps between skills/knowledge taught in ATVET Colleges and the actual situation. For example, Figure 5.6 shows cattle sheds at a farmer's house and at Alage ATVET College. Teachers teach how to take care of many cattle in an efficient way to produce a huge amount

of high quality milk which meets the industry standard. Teachers also teach how to use a milking machine, mechanical equipment for quality check, and cooling machines for quality control. However, in rural areas, most of farmers have only one cattle at their house. They do not use any machines at their homes when they produce milk. Most of the time, their milk will be sold to neighbors when a customer comes with a small jar, or at local markets, after it is processed into cheese/butter.

Figure 5.6: Cattle Sheds at Farmer's House and at Alage ATVET College

Source: Author's survey, 2013

Therefore, what the DAs learn at the ATVET College through specialized courses might not be put to use when they provide agricultural extension services. According to interviews with female farmers in *Ambo* district and *Walmera* district, most of female farmers do not ask DAs for advice. The gap between knowledge and skills provided at ATVET College and information needed in rural areas might cause this situation in rural areas.

5.4. Experiential Curriculum

Finally, this section will focus on what students learn through the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. The data collected through the group discussions with students will

be analyzed. This section will focus on three issues which were repeatedly mentioned by students during the group discussion. The first one is about images of rural areas, the second one is importance of gender equality, and the last one is ability of women.

5.4.1. Images of Rural Area

Images of a rural area were often described by students. Students strongly believed that the current gender situation in rural area is "wrong" and the mind of farmers is "primitive." There was a common opinion of students both in Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College such as "change rural people." Most of the students said that the reason for low access of female farmers to agricultural extension services is lack of awareness. They thought that the access rate of female farmers will increase if DAs teach the importance of gender equality to farmers. The followings are two examples.

In rural areas, people still believe "pillow is enough for girls[16]*." In many rural communities, people consider female is under male. It causes female farmer's low access rate* (Male students, Alage ATVET College; emphasis by author).

We have to give education and training to farmers. It means we have to create awareness about gender equality among farmers. We have to change their mind to improve female farmers' access to the agricultural extension services (Male student, Alage ATVET College; emphasis by author).

They assumed that the biggest problem is lack of awareness among farmers. They mentioned that they must teach farmers about the importance of gender equality after they became DAs to correct the wrong situation in the rural areas. Another student also mentioned

[16] *"Pillow is enough for girls"* is one of the proverbs mostly mentioned by the students from Amhara region. It means that "parents must give house, land, and cattle to son because he will be the head of a family, but pillow is enough for a daughter because she will get married and leave home soon."

something similar as cited below. This student said that female students do not know their rights because they are from rural areas. Students tend to connect images of rural areas with gender inequality, and have an image of struggling rural women.

Some students are from very rural areas. They don't know female rights. They don't know how to solve violence against women (Male student, Agarfa ATVET College).

However, it should be questioned where those images come from. There were some students who mentioned that they were "changed" after they came to ATVET Colleges.

I know there are many harmful traditions. I did not know that they are bad when I was in rural areas (Female student, Alage ATVET College; emphasis by author).

My family thinks men are superior and female are inferior. I had such idea and belief like my family. But since I came to this college, my perception was changed (Male student, Alage ATVET College; emphasis by author).

Both students above emphasized that they were wrong and ignorant in rural areas, but changed after they came to ATVET Colleges. This means that students got those ideas of "gender inequality in rural areas" and "struggling rural women" in ATVET Colleges. Also, they even started to deny their families or their values which they had before coming to ATVET Colleges.

5.4.2. Importance of "Gender Equality"

Students repeatedly stated the importance of gender equality during the group discussions. It was found that there were common answers to the questions: "What is gender equality?" and "Why is it important?"

All the students of Alage and Agarfa ATVET Colleges agreed that gender equality means "women work, participate, and receive the same as men do." They had an assumption that women work more but gain less than men do. Gender-based division of labor was raised as an example in both Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College. They consider the gender-based division of labor causes the prevailing "wrong" gender situation in rural areas. They said that women are burdened by much housework, but have no rights inside and outside home. It was emphasized that many positive benefits will come to rural areas if there is no gender-based division of labor.

If there is no gender-based division of labor, both men and women participate equally in every activity. It will achieve sustainable and efficient development (Male student, Alage ATVET College; emphasis by author).

Without gender equality, there is no civilization or development. We know MDGs and goals. Without female participation, there is no development or any change (Male student, Agarfa ATVET College; emphasis by author).

Those two students connect gender equality with development. There were also many other students who mentioned the same thing. They believed that Ethiopia will develop soon if women start to work as men do. In addition, there were other students who connect gender equality with health problems. The student said that it is necessary to teach the importance of gender equality to solve those health-related issues of rural people, even though it is not a part of the DA's work.

This idea of "gender equality solves all the problems in rural areas" was widely shared among students in both Alage ATVET College and Agarfa ATVET College. Eventually,

it was found that most of the issues which they mentioned are related to the contents of the Gender and Development course. This means that most of the knowledge about gender issues was learnt through the course. In addition to the Gender and Development course, the students also mentioned that they have learned women's rights and gender-related policies at Civics and Ethical Education course.

5.4.3. Ability of Women

Lastly, the students mentioned the ability of women, mainly by female students. They said that they have got the idea of "women can do what men can" in ATVET Colleges. Some of female students repeatedly mentioned that they became stronger than before.

I feel like I have more power than before because now I know a little more about my rights and ability (Female student, Alage ATVET College; emphasis by author).

Now I know women are not behind. Women and men are the same (Female student, Agarfa ATVET College; emphasis by author).

Therefore, they supported the idea that "men and women must work as the same." The female students said that they have learned the idea through teachers' attitudes toward female students. The other students also talked about teachers as follows.

Teachers don't harm but encourage us. They taught me I have power (Female student, Alage ATVET College; emphasis by author).

In my home town, people treat us as if we are inferior to men. But here, teachers say men and women are equal. Female have abilities (Male student, Alage ATVET College; emphasis by author).

They said that by seeing teachers encouraging female students in classes or providing tutorial classes, they realized that female students should be given attention and treated well, and must not be neglected or left behind. They also mentioned the gender office and its activities. They are positive that the gender office has made great efforts to make a gender equal environment in ATVET College. Finally, they mentioned that they realized that female students can do what male students can if the environment around them is good. Most of the students share the idea that they are advanced and better than people who do not know the importance of gender equality and women's ability. Therefore, female students said that they would like to encourage rural women after they became DAs, as what teachers did for them.

5.5. Provided Knowledge and Skills through the Gender-sensitive DA Training Curriculum

This section summarizes what knowledge and skills are provided through the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. This chapter, each level of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum was observed in Gender and Development course, common courses, and specialized courses in ATVET Colleges.

In the formal curriculum, it was found that almost no contents written on the course modules and textbooks are related to agricultural extension service even though they are used for training DAs. The formal curriculum of Gender and Development course focuses on general gender issues, but some parts are very much biased. The textbook aims to teach students that poverty and tradition are the main reasons for gender inequality and violence against women. The formal curriculum of common courses and specialized courses focus on knowledge and skills which are not necessary for DAs but for people working in enterprises and factories.

The perceived curriculum totally differs according to which course they are in charge of and what images teachers have toward female students. The Gender and Development teachers believe they have to provide necessary information and support to female students in their course. They tend to consider that female students are vulnerable because they have seen many female students who have been suffering from sexual abuse by males inside and outside of ATVET Colleges. Many of the common course teachers also think providing gender and female related knowledge is necessary for two reasons; to change female students by empowering them and to change rural areas by teaching female farmers' rights. However, if the teachers concern more on female students' low academic achievement, he or she tends to think making each course easier for female students is more important for the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. The specialized course teachers tend to think their courses are not related to gender issues. Therefore, most of them focus on the way of teaching or treating female students because they think female students are less educated and less confident. Nevertheless, if the teachers have work experiences in rural areas with farmers, he or she tends to be interested in teaching "female farmers' work" to students, especially female students.

Even though there were various types of opinions as the perceived curriculum level, what the teachers implement as the operational curriculum is not diverse because some of them are difficult to put in practice. Briefly speaking, the Gender and Development teachers and common course teachers teach gender and female related knowledge which "they" think important. The Gender and Development teachers even eliminated some contents to add new contents according to their belief. The specialized course teachers prioritize female students by providing them special cares. There are some obstructive factors which affect teachers' implementation of the curriculum. The factors will be introduced in Chapter 6.

Lastly, as the experiential curriculum, students learned three issues through the

gender-sensitive DA training curriculum; 1) there is still gender inequality in rural areas and women are struggling with tradition and custom.; 2) achieving gender equality will lead to development and solve health problems of women in rural areas; 3) men and women have the ability to do the same thing, so that men and women must work as the same to achieve "gender equality." Table 5.4 shows the differences between the levels of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

Table 5.4: Differences between the Levels of Gender-sensitive DA Training Curriculum

Related pillars	1) Providing additional course 2) Providing gender-related activities	3) Encouraging teachers to be gender-sensitive	
Name of course	**Gender and Development course**	**Common courses**	**Specialized courses**
Formal curriculum **(written contents)**	● Few contents related to the agricultural extension ● Teaching poverty and traditions are the main reasons of gender inequality and violence against women.	● No content related to the agricultural extension ● Providing necessary knowledge/skills to work in enterprises and factories (mass production & high technologies)	● No content related to the agricultural extension ● Providing necessary knowledge/skills to work in enterprises and factories (mass production & high technologies)
Perceived curriculum **(how teachers understand)**	● Providing necessary information and support to female students	● Providing gender and female related knowledge to all students ● <u>Teaching in an easier way for female students</u>	● <u>Providing gender and female related knowledge to female students</u> ● <u>Teaching in an easier way for female students</u> ● Prioritizing female students
Operational curriculum **(what teachers implement)**	● Skipping contents related to the agricultural extension ● Adding contents related to violence against women, family planning, HIV/AIDS ● Conducting activities focusing on violence against women, family planning, HIV/AIDS ● Providing support for female students	● Providing gender and female related knowledge ➢ Gender equality is necessary for national development ➢ Men and women must work as the same ➢ Women in the rural areas are passive and oppressed by men	● Prioritizing female students ➢ Providing tutorial classes only for female students. ➢ Providing opportunities for female students to show their ability ➢ Encouraging female students to express their opinions
Experimental curriculum **(what students learn)**	● There is still gender inequality in rural areas and women are struggling with tradition and custom. ● Achieving gender equality will lead to national development and solve health problems of women in rural areas. ● Men and women have the ability to do the same thing, so that men and women must work as the same to achieve "gender equality."		

Note: The underlined contents were not implemented by the teachers

Source: Author's survey, 2013

Through this chapter, it was found that the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum does not provide the necessary knowledge and skills for DAs. There are two big reasons. The first one is that the provided gender-related knowledge through the Gender and Development course and common course teachers are biased. The second one is encouragement from specialized course teachers makes female students deny the role of female DAs.

The first one is biased gender-related knowledge which the Gender and Development teachers and common course teachers provide. They strongly believe that students must have gender-related knowledge to protect themselves from sexual abuse and they have to teach farmers to achieve gender equality in rural areas after they become DAs. However, since the teachers have no work experience in rural areas, they decided what to teach according to their own images of rural areas and work of DAs. Based on the interviews with teachers, they seem to have a common image of "oppressed rural women" when they think about the gender-sensitive curriculum. This means that what they teach students are based on this created image of rural women, but not based on the actual situation in rural areas. During the group discussion with students, it was found that students also have the same image of rural women and rural areas. Since the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum leaves much space for teachers, what they teach students is based on the imagination of teachers.

The second one is encouragement from specialized course teachers. Those teachers have tried to treat female students equal to male students academically or socially. Even though some teachers have work experience with female farmers, they rarely teach those experiences to students. The specialized course teachers also have the image of "oppressed rural women" on female students who tend to be passive and underachieving compared to male students. Thus, teachers emphasized the "sameness" between men and women to encourage female students. However, through the experience with teachers, students came to

deny the role of female DAs.

The gender-sensitive DA training curriculum currently does not provide the necessary knowledge and skills for DAs. This is because what teachers think as the “ideal” situation and what rural women want are different. The ideal situation which teachers convince students to do is to “change the rural people”, while female farmers want DAs to change their “way of providing the agricultural extension.”

CHAPTER 6: FACTORS AFFECTING GENDER-SENSITIVE DA TRAINING CURRICULUM

This chapter focuses on the factors affecting perceived curriculum and operational curriculum of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

6.1. Main Factor Affecting Perceived Curriculum

Through the analysis of the interviews, it was found that the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum is affected by the teachers' perceptions on female students and female farmers. The Gender and Development teachers believe that the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum should: 1) make the students realize that women, especially those who live in rural areas, face many challenges in the current Ethiopian society; and 2) support female students who have been vulnerable to sexual abuse by males inside and outside ATVET College. The common course teachers believe that the curriculum must provide gender-related knowledge to help the passive and oppressed women in rural areas. The specialized course teachers, meanwhile, believe that the curriculum must support the less educated and less confident female students who are from rural areas. Summarizing those opinions, it was found that there is a common image of rural women among the teachers.

6.1.1. Image of 'Rural Women'

The image of rural women relates to the teachers' understanding of the gender situation in rural areas. From the interviews with teachers, it was found that most of the teachers have the same image of rural women; i.e., oppressed, vulnerable, and less educated. Thus, in this portion, how such image of rural women was created will be analyzed. Based on the analysis of the interviews, that image is composed of three elements: social recognition,

experience in rural areas, and experience related to gender.

6.1.1.1. Social Recognition

The first element is social recognition. As emphasized in the previous studies, people's attitude toward an object is affected by the environment around them, and how the people around them talk about the object (Krech et al, 1962). According to the interviews with teachers, the key term, which was mentioned by 15 out of 16 teachers, is a "gender-based division of labor." They mentioned gender-based division of labor as primitive and abusive culture which has been torturing rural women. Therefore, they emphasized that it must be abolished as soon as possible. However, when the author asked the reason why they think the gender-based division of labor is a bad culture, nobody gave a clear answer. All of them said because they have heard it hurts women.

There are some teachers who mentioned another key term such as "achieving gender equality for national development." They even highlighted that there will be no national development without gender equality. These teachers have the idea that "gender equality = advanced culture" and "gender inequality = backward culture." Nevertheless, like the first key term, nobody clearly explained why it is important. How, then, have these been created if nobody has a clear reason? There were two authorities mentioned by the teachers where they get the idea: gender policies and mass media.

6.1.1.1.1. Government's Gender Policies

The first factor is gender policies stated by the government. There are two reasons why the policies are analyzed. The first reason is that more than half of the teachers mentioned the government's concern on gender equality. All the teachers whom the author interviewed knew the contents of gender policies in Ethiopia. The second reason is that all the

teachers have an experience of learning about the gender policies. It is based on the fact that that these policies are the foundation of various gender-related activities in Ethiopia, for instance, gender-related seminars and events at offices and schools. In addition, the teachers have been taught the contents of the policy documents during the gender training provided by MoA.

The following are the examples. Teacher A5 mentioned that he learned the gender unequal situation in agriculture from the policies. Teacher A3 also mentioned that there are various gender-related problems in rural areas and the government has tried to eliminate them.

The government policy says that women have difficulties and challenges in agriculture. People have been mistreated females. Our government is trying to remove this backward behavior (Teacher A5, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

The government says women have to be encouraged and gender equality has to be achieved. They say there are a lot of problems in rural areas (Teacher A3, Gender and Development course; emphasis by author).

There are three main gender policy documents in Ethiopia, National Policy on Ethiopian Women (NPEW) in 1993, National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAP-GE) in 2006, and Development and Change Package of Ethiopian Women in 2010. There are three points observed through the discourse analysis of those policies; which are: 1) the image of women and the former administration; 2) the image of rural women with a gender-based division of labor; and 3) the image of gender equality for national development.

The first point is the image of oppressed women and the former administration. The first policy, NPEW, was developed in 1993 by the transitional government right after the former administration, the *Derg* (the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police,

and Territorial Army), has collapsed. Therefore, some parts of the policy criticize the *Derg* and emphasize the difference between the former and the current governments. The policy portrays Ethiopian women as vulnerable people who had been struggling from the outdated male-chauvinist attitude during the *Derg* and promises that the current government will focus on and work for them.

Soon after the downfall of the justice-flouting and belligerent Derg, which was brought down by the heroic struggle of the Ethiopian peoples…. Transitional Government which accepted peace as its main principle of governance in its chapter. That accomplishment has indisputably ushered in a period of relief to all Ethiopians, especially to women… women can benefit from the fruits of their labor on an equal basis with men in an atmosphere free of outdated male-chauvinist attitudes... the Transitional Government has given priority to the speeding up of equality between men and women (p.3; emphasis by author) .

Development and Change Package of Ethiopian Women also invokes *Derg* regime as the period when women suffered from "backward" attitude. Those parts of the policies clearly show that gender issues in Ethiopia have been discussed with politics. The current government has tried to connect the miserable image of women with the former government to get a favorable evaluation on their current governance.

The backward production system maintained the ancient, just as backward attitude and culture. …Based on this basic concept our country's women have intensified their struggle[17] *in various fields after the downfall of Derg They have also been able to achieve new victories that ensure women's participation in all fields and their benefits* (p.6; emphasis by author).

[17] In the underlined part, the word "struggle" is used as a positive term which is similar to "participation." There is another part which also uses the term in a positive way; "to remove the dictatorial Derg regime was completed, they (women) moved into playing a key role in the struggle to build a new democratic and developmental order in our country (p.6)."

The second point is the image of rural women burdened with a gender-based division of labor. All the policies mentioned that rural women face more challenges than urban women. The images of rural women in all the three gender policies are illiterate, poor, burdened, oppressed, neglected and hurt by traditions. The traditional gender-based division of labor has been invoked as one of the reasons causing the rural women's situation. The NPEW puts special emphasis on the unvalued women's work, such as grinding grain, feting water, gathering firewood, preparing cow dung for use, preparing food, and raising children.

And they sweat out for about 13 to 17 hours a day. Although rural women's share of the division of labor is by far more tiresome and more time-consuming than that of men, it is derogatorily referred to as "women's work" and is not valued (pp.5-6; emphasis by author).

NAP-GE also explains about the gender-based division of labor as an unfair burden hurting women physically and psychologically.

In pastoralist areas Gender-specific division of labor is even sharper, forcing women to shoulder much heavier work responsibilities, customary rules and norms also place women at a disadvantageous position (p.6; emphasis by author).

Those kinds of views on rural women are also seen in Development and Change Package of Ethiopian Women in 2010. It emphasizes that rural women are exploited even though they have done much work. Therefore, this kind of explanations creates the image of rural women as suffering from heavy works which do not give any benefit to them.

In particular, women in rural areas spend 13-18 hours burdened with heavy workload. Grinding flour, fetching firewood and water over long distances, weeding, digging and other duties are some of the chores with which rural women are burdened on a daily basis. Moreover, they are not beneficiaries and owners of the fruits of their work (pp.9-10; emphasis by author)

The last point is the idea of achieving gender equality for national development. There are strong connections seen between the gender policies and the national development plans in Ethiopia. For instance, NAP-GE was made as the core of the gender strategy under PASDEP (A Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty 2005/06-2009/10) in 2006. PASDEP is one of the national development plans which set poverty reduction as the main target. It raises gender equality as one of the most important elements for poverty reduction, and stated that *"unleashing the potential of Ethiopia's 35 million women is central to the PASDEP strategy* (p.88)*."* NAP-GE explains itself as *"a tool for the promotion of gender equitable development* (p.1)*"* which will work toward the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Development and Change Package of Ethiopian Women in 2010 also explains gender equality as a necessary condition for national development. It mentions the importance of utilizing the power of females, constituting half of the population, for economic and political progress. This idea is quite similar to the idea of the efficiency approach, one of the gender-sensitive development approaches, which pertain to utilize assets efficiently for development.

It is a fact that any political, economic and social activity that doesn't involve and benefit women cannot be fruitful because such an activity is based on half the manpower, half the knowledge, half the effort, etc. of that which is available in the county… Through women's right to equal participation and benefit, with men, can't be seen separately from the overall economic and political progress in society… (p.1; emphasis by author)

As it was mentioned earlier, those policies are the foundation of various gender-related activities in Ethiopia and the teachers have been taught the contents of these policy documents during the gender training provided by MoA. Therefore, the teachers have learned these three points; 1) the image of oppressed women and the former administration, 2) the image of rural women burdened with a gender-based division of labor, and 3) the image of gender equality for national development, through those experiences.

6.1.1.1.2. Mass Media: The Story of *Awra Amba* Community

The second factor is mass media. As Bandura (1977) and Ikeda (1993) found, mass media have a strong power to create social recognitions. In Ethiopia, there is a small community in Ethiopia which has been focused by mass media many times. The community, named *Awra Amba* (አውራ አምባ), is currently very famous not only inside of Ethiopia but also in Western countries as "Utopia in Ethiopia." One of the reasons why the community is called utopia is because there is no gender-based division of labor in the community. Name of *Awra Amba* was mentioned by half of ATVET College teachers as an ideal situation of gender equality.

The Awra Amba people are the most active people. Both males and females are active. The males cook injera[18] and wat[19] (Teacher A8, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

Teacher A8 emphasized that people in *Awra Amba* are very "active" because there is no difference in work between men and women. He especially praises those men who are in charge of cooking since it is considered as a typical "women's work." Teacher B5 also emphasizes the situation of *Awra Amba* as an ideal situation where is no difference between

[18] *Injera* (እንጀራ) is a fermented staple food in Ethiopia which is made from teff.
[19] *Wat* (ወጥ) is spicy Ethiopian stew which is usually served with *Injera*.

men and women. According to her, “no difference” means “men and women do the same thing.” She also focuses on gender-based division of labor.

We create awareness in rural areas like Awra Amba. There is no difference between males and females. That’s the ideal situation (Teacher B5, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

Awra Amba is located in Amhara region, northwestern part of Ethiopia, approximately 630km from Addis Ababa. The community was founded in 1986 by Mr. Zumra Nuru, who is currently a co-chair of the community, with other 19 families. The community members were once separated in 1988 because of a conflict with local authorities, but reunited in 1994. Currently, there are more than 90 families, or 343 people living in the community. The main income source of the community is agriculture, weaving and milling grain. They also do spinning and weaving work for additional income. People in the community live with four beliefs; i.e., equality, honesty, join problem-solving, and sharing happiness and luxuries (MoARD, 2012, pp.3-4).

The most unique characteristic of the community which has attracted people is gender equality in work; which means that there is no gender-based division of labor like other neighboring communities. For example, males spin and female plough in *Awra Amba*. The reason why they have such custom is because it is a group of people who follow Mr. Zumra Nuru’s belief of eliminating the gender-based division of labor. He decided to create an ideal society by seeing his mother who had to work much more than his father; doing day-long farm work with her husband and doing housework after they come back home, yet his father was the boss of the house (Global post, 2013; Tervo, 2010). This gender equality belief has been very famous as an amazing situation. There are many visitors from inside and outside of Ethiopia; 5,753 people from Ethiopia and 1,206 people from other countries who

visited the community in 2011/2012 (Awra Amba community, 2013). Ethiopian universities and offices also have study-trips to the community.

The reason why the name of *Awra Amba* became widely known to the public is because mass media. ATVET College teachers also mentioned that they came to know *Awra Amba* through mass media.

I got the information about Awra Amba from media. We watched it when I was a high school student. Teacher showed us a video about Awra Amba (Teacher A8, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

I don't know about the details of Awra Amba but I heard the name many times on TV programs (Teacher B3, Communication course; emphasis by author).

Not only Ethiopian media, but also many foreign mass media have focused on the community. The foremost media which widely disseminates the name of community was a 30-minute documentary film titled "*Awra Amba – Utopia in Ethiopia*." It was an award-winning documentary producer based in the United Kingdom, in 2010. The film focuses on two women, a daughter who moved to *Awra Amba* with her children to escape from domestic violence by her husband, and her mother who has lived in the community for a long time. In the film, both of the women talked about their miserable lives outside of the community with their husbands; how much they were oppressed and hurt by their husbands. There are four problems which they had faced before: no right, no education, many works, and domestic violence from husbands (physical violence and sexual violence). For example, the daughter relayed her experience that she was beaten by her husband with a bamboo, but neither police nor elders listened to her when she asked for help. The film also focuses on the education and religion in the community compared to the neighboring communities. Since this is an Amharic film with English-subtitle, ATVET teachers mentioned that they have seen

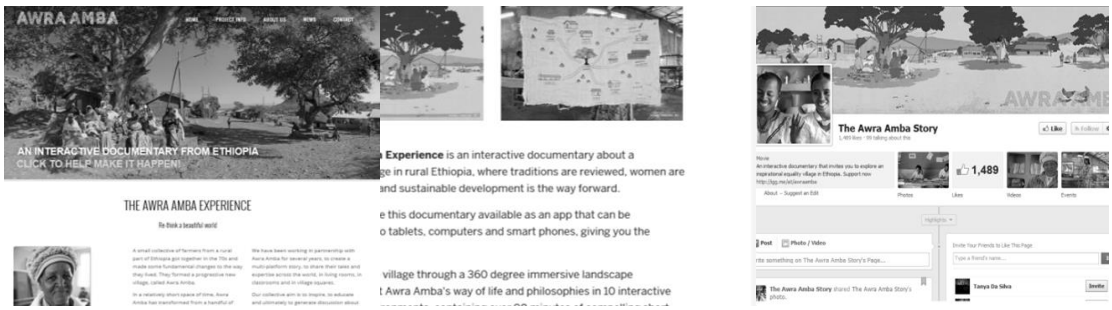
this film at school when they were primary or secondary school students.

Figure 6.1: Scenes from '*Awra Amba* – Utopia in Ethiopia'

Source: Tervo, 2010

The documentary film team, including two local members from *Awra Amba*, started the new project named, *"The Awra Amba Experience."* They try to create a documentary available as an application program which can be downloaded onto tablets, computers and smart phones. The documentary will contain 360 degree landscape photos, short films, infographics and interviews. The purpose of the project is to share the community's experience with people all over the world and utilize it in the field of education. The team has developed websites and created accounts on social networking services (Facebook, Twitter) to provide information and to raise fund for the project.

Figure 6.2: *Awra Amba* Experience' Project



Source: Write This Down production, 2015

There are also many foreign mass media featuring *Awra Amba* after the documentary film was released. Commencing with the BBC and the Guardian in the United Kingdom, mass media in France, Germany, Finland, and the United States also focuses on the community. All of them are praising the community as a group of people trying to get away from the stereotypes, poverty, and sexism. The story of *Awra Amba* has spread outside of Ethiopia and known by people in Western countries. *Awra Amba* is not only famous outside, but also inside of Ethiopia. There are many Ethiopian TV programs, radio, and newspapers featuring the community; especially Amharic mass media, since the community is located in the Amhara region.

Figure 6.3: Ethiopian Mass Media featuring *Awra Amba*

Source: Diretube, 2012

Some Ethiopian mass media confidently introduce the community as a well-known place in European countries or special place introduced by foreign mass media (BBC). Those ways of introduction have provided a certain image of *Awra Amba* to the audiences that their lifestyle is advanced and developed. One of the teachers who mentioned about the *Awra Amba* delightedly introduced how a small village in developing country has been acknowledged in developed countries. Since he is from a part of Amhara region, the neighbor *Woreda* of where *Awra Amba* located, he seems to have a special feeling for the community.

In addition, the Ethiopian government developed a booklet about the community in 2012. The title of the booklet is "Gender Equality in *Awra Amba* Community" which is distributed in rural areas to create awareness about the contribution of gender equality to sustainable development (MoARD, 2012, p. 2). Almost all the contents of the booklet are about the gender-based division of labor between a husband and a wife. There are four couples' lifestyles introduced in the booklet. There are two examples below.

Wz.[20] *Bertukan Kebret, was ploughing a farm plot with oxen. Simultaneously, her husband, Ato*[21] *Temame, was at home looking after the work inside the house, baking injera and cooking food for his wife and family* (MoARD, 2012, p.4; emphasis by author).

Wz. Mare Gebeyehu who is a team leader, goes to work early in the morning and her husband, Ato Shafi Mohamed takes care of the washing and feeding of the children (MoARD, 2012, p.6; emphasis by author).

All the cases are mentioning "switched" gender-based division of labor; wife working outside and husband doing housework. Although the booklet mentioned the importance of work sharing between two sexes or division of labor not based on sex but potential, what they mainly describe is husband doing wife's works (baking *injera*, cooking *wat*, caring children, washing, and fetching water). There are also three important parts of the booklet which express the image of the gender-based division of labor as follows.

Our community already believes that women and men possess equal capacity to accomplish a task (MoARD, 2012, p.5; emphasis by author).

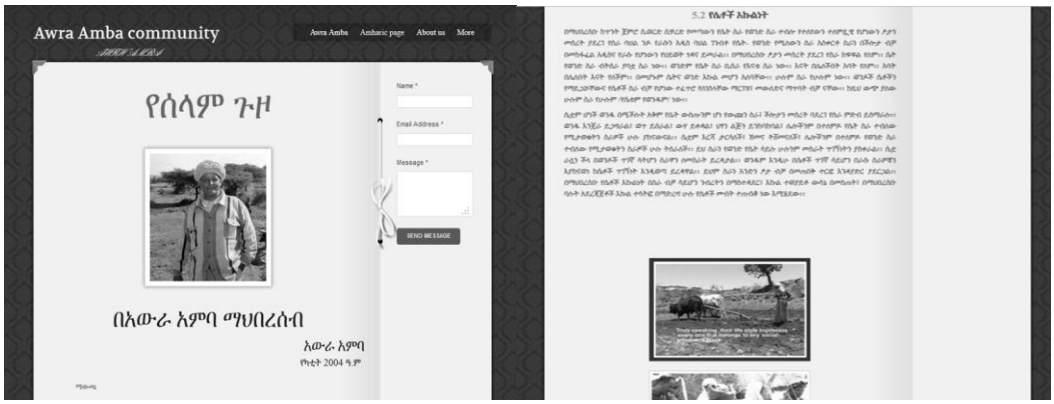
[20] Wz. is *Wayzaro* (ወይዘሮ) which means Mrs. in Amharic.
[21] *Ato* (አቶ) means Mr. in Amharic.

As opposed to the other communities, superiority of men over women, limiting women to kitchen work…does not exist in Awra Amba. The primitive thinking has been demolished… (MoARD, 2012, p.5; emphasis by author).

…division of labor in our community is based on the person's capacity to do the work, just like "overseas" (MoARD, 2012, p.6; emphasis by author).

The first and second ones express that the gender division of labor is primitive and *Awra Amba*, which does not have the custom, is advanced than the other communities. Last one associates *Awra Amba*'s life style with an image of overseas, Western countries. The community has their own website written in both Amharic and English. A section titled "gender equality" also expresses the gender-based division of labor (the right figure below).

Figure 6.4: Amharic Website Created by *Awra Amba* Community Members



Source: *Awra Amba* Community, 2013

The community has abolished all traditional harmful practices, for instance the division of work between male and female…Men bake injera, cook wat (local foods), fetch water, nurse children and do all activities traditionally reserved for women. Women do farming, weaving and other activities traditionally reserved for men (*Awra Amba* Community, 2013; emphasis by author).

Throughout the media featuring *Awra Amba*, it was found that the community has been described as an ideal situation of gender equality. At the same time, the community has been also used as a symbol of abolishment of gender-based division of labor. Since foreign media started focusing on the community, the Ethiopian government has used their attention as a supporter to emphasize that *Awra Amba*'s lifestyle is already achieved Western values, and other communities have to follow them. There are two teachers who have been influenced by the government's attitude through mass media.

…the government gives rewards to Awra Amba people for their gender equal culture. So, I appreciate their culture. If it is expanded, all the Ethiopians will succeed (TeacherA7, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

I was changed because of media showing Awra Amba. Now I'm better than the countryside men. I am advanced one compared to them (Teacher B2, Civics and ethical education course; emphasis by author).

Teacher A7 believes the *Awra Amba*'s culture is great because the government has a positive attitude toward them. Teacher B2 praised the community and his opinion goes further; not just acclaiming the community but also himself. He thinks that he is better than other Ethiopian males because he knows the good culture of *Awra Amba*. The point here is that he mentioned "countryside men." Since the government, in its policies, creates the image of gender-based division of labor together with burdened rural women, he automatically compares himself with those rural men who are considered as the ones oppressing women.

Both gender policies and mass media use the gender-based division of labor as a symbol of burdened, oppressed, and miserable rural women; and praise *Awra Amba* as an advanced and ideal society or utopia. Also, gender policies emphasize the comparison

between oppressed women during the former administration and gender equality led by the current government which forwards national development. Therefore, most of the teachers have an extremely negative idea toward gender inequality, especially the gender-based division of labor, and came to create the image of women oppressed by the backward, gender unequal, rural community.

6.1.1.2. Experience Related to Gender

The second element is experience related to gender. When teachers talk about the rural women, they tend to generalize their experience with females around them, such as female students. For example, many of them said that *"Rural women are passive because female students in my class are very quiet."* It is because they have few chances to meet other women from rural areas in their daily lives.

Another point is that female teachers tend to generalize their experience, recalling the time they faced difficulties because of their sex. All three female teachers have experienced gender discrimination. They introduced their experiences as if all the Ethiopian women have faced the same problem, and explained it as *"Ethiopian women have difficulty because I experienced."* The following are two examples.

When I was in another ATVET college, I was a head of daily farm. At a meeting, my boss said "It is difficult for you to manage farmers." All the people at the meeting were elder men and I was the only one young woman. They said "You are female. It's difficult to manage people." That's my experience. Every female leaders or female managers face the same problems. People STILL think about females as less[22] *than males; even when they perform well, they are discriminated.* (Teacher A6, specialized courses; emphasis by author)

[22] She uses the word "less" as the similar meaning as "inferior" or "having less ability." For example, she also says that "We have to know female is not less than male. We have power."

Teacher A6 describes that most of Ethiopian men have the opinion that women are inferior to men. She stresses the word ‘still’ and emphasizes that the anachronistic attitude must be eradicated as soon as possible. Teacher B6 also mentioned the attitude of men considering “women need support from men.” As Teacher A6, Teacher B6 also emphasizes the word “still” and the backwardness of the attitude.

There was a man said “You are a girl. You don’t have money. Do you want me to charge your mobile?” He talked to me as if I’m poorer than him. He thought I have no money because I’m woman. Ethiopian male still think just like this. They think female need something from male. (Teacher B6, specialized courses; emphasis by author)

Those female teachers emphasize that there is gender inequality in the place where they have lived in or worked at. According to them, the place where they live in or work at should be a more gender equal society compared to rural areas where traditional male-dominated culture seems to remain. Thus, they assume that rural women living in the male-dominated society must be struggling much more than them. This is because they think that even they, who are living in a more gender equal society, faced those difficulties.

6.1.1.3. Lack of Experience in Rural Areas

The last element is lack of experience in rural areas; i.e., the teachers have never worked in rural areas with famers and DAs. During the interviews, it was found that the teachers having no work experience in rural areas have no clear image of agricultural extension, DA’s work, or lives of female farmers. Some of them even confuse DAs with health extension workers. Those teachers having no work experience tend to regard male-dominated tradition and culture as the strongest obstructive factors hindering women’s access to the agricultural extension without any clear explanation.

The author found that the teachers with no work experience tend to call place where they have never been or places where people's lifestyle is different from theirs as "rural area." Teachers do not consider their hometowns as rural area even though the place is far from a big city. They tend to explain as "*My place is fine, but there is still gender inequality remaining in more rural areas*" as the following. The following is an example. Teacher A5 raised a name of specific zone which is not a familiar place for him as a rural area.

There was less awareness in my town before but the situation has changed now. But in some areas, more remote areas in Arsi[23]*, females are not allowed to participate in any meeting* (Teacher A5, specialized courses).

When the teachers started to talk about rural women during the interview, the author asked them which rural areas they refer to. One teacher mentioned the name of Arsi because it is a Muslim dominated area. He is a Protestant and he considers that Islam is a male-chauvinist religion. He raised the example of Muslim women's *jilbab*[24] and polygamy as the evidence of gender disparity. Another teacher also connects gender inequality with religion. The teacher mentioned Amhara region, Orthodox dominant area, is rural area where gender inequality is evident. He is a Protestant and from Oromia region. According to him, women are not allowed to teach the bible, to be a priest, or to sing specific songs in the Orthodox Church. Thus, he believes that women in Amhara region struggle with gender discrimination. Meanwhile, other teachers focus more on tradition rather than religion. One of them said rural area means mainly S.N.N.P.R. He believes there is no gender disparity inside of Oromia region and Amhara region, but in S.N.N.P.R. He said it is because there are many different ethnic minorities who keep their traditional life styles which are mostly

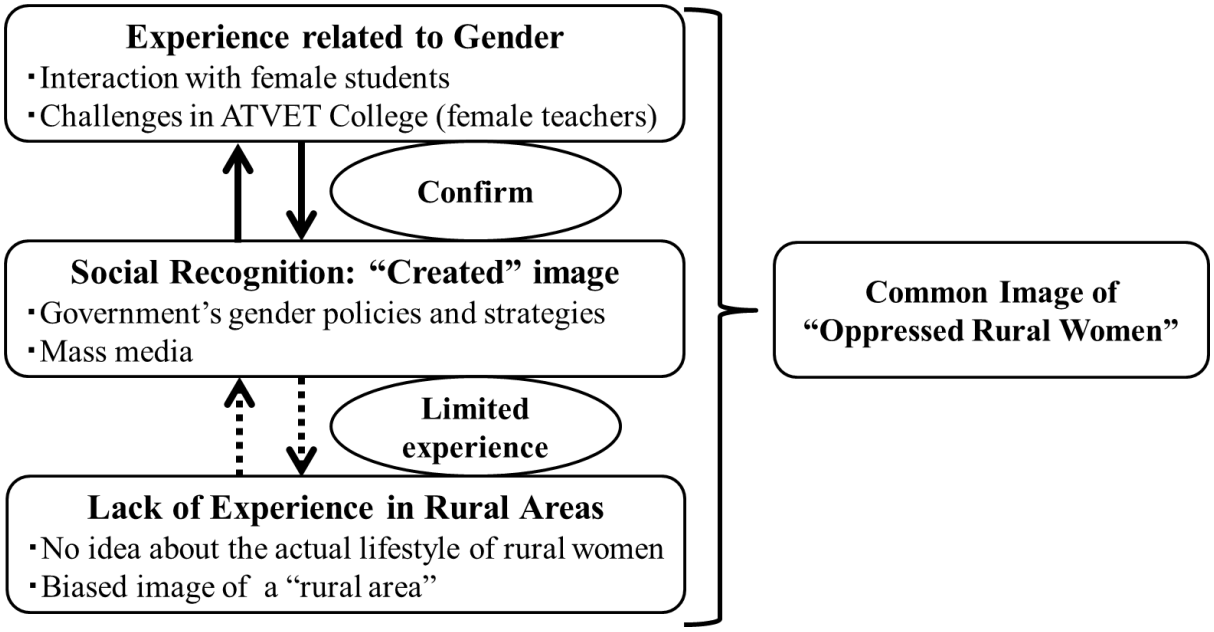
[23] Arsi is one of the zones in the middle-eastern part of Oromia region.
[24] *Hiljab* is a full-length outer garment, traditionally covering the head and hands, worn in public by some Muslim women.

male-dominated.

6.1.2. Creation of the Image of Rural Women

Finally, the creation process of the common image of "rural women" will be discussed. In the interviews with the teachers, it was found that the image of "oppressed rural women" in the backward male-dominant society is a social concept created through the government's gender policies and mass media. Nevertheless, since most of the teachers currently live in the compound of ATVET College, the closest rural women for them are female students. They instinctively confirm the created image of rural women with them. For example, since most of female students are passive and low-performing, teachers reinforce the oppressed image. The teachers thought female students are less educated than male students because female students were not regularly sent to schools by their parents. In addition, female teachers generalize their experiences, facing difficulties because of their sex. They assume that the rural women must be facing more difficulties than them since there are still gender inequalities even in the more developed place where they live in. Most of the time, "created" and confirmed image of rural women will not be checked whether it is suited to the actual situation or not. This is because many teachers have no work experience with female farmers in rural areas. When they talk about the situation of rural area, they tend to talk about a place where people have different lifestyles from theirs. Figure 6.5 shows the creation process of the common image which affects teachers' perceptions of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. The common image of "oppressed rural women" among the teachers is the image which was created by social recognition and confirmed through their own experience related to gender.

Figure 6.5: Creation of the Common Image of "Oppressed Rural Women"



Source: Author's survey, 2013

6.2. Factors Affecting Operational Curriculum

This section will focus on the obstructive factors in the case of teachers who stopped or gave up implementing the gender-sensitive curriculum. There were several teachers who once tried to do something for the students in the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. Nevertheless, some factors made them lose their motivation and made them stop later on. According to the literature review, not only actual behavioral control (skills, resources, and other prerequisites) but also norms affect people's decision to perform or not to perform a given behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). Thus, this section will focus on both the actual behavioral control and norms. By analysing the interviews, it was found that teachers have different obstructive factors; such as, limited time, lack of salary, the attitude of other teachers, and attitude of female students.

6.2.1. Limited Time

The first factor is limited time which was mentioned by the Communication courses teacher. He thought “including gender and female related issues” is the content of the gender-sensitive curriculum. However, lack of time did not let him take an action. As explained in Chapter 3, there are many courses taught at ATVET Colleges and each teacher has to be in charge of several courses per semester. Although there are a course module and a textbook for each course, the teachers have to prepare the examinations and additional teaching materials by themselves if they would like to add some contents. In addition, they have to evaluate the students and put the students’ scores on a database after they finish checking every examination. The teacher is in charge of two courses such as Workplace Communication course and Work in Team Environment course. He mentions his situation as follows.

It’s not difficult to include some contents related to gender issue in my course, but I don’t have time. I teach two courses, I also have to study for Master’s degree. I have so many things to do. If I have to do, it’s not difficult (Teacher A1, Communication courses; emphasis by author)

He repeatedly said it is not difficult to include gender and female related issues in his course, but the problem is the only time. Actually, the reason why he does not have enough time is not only because he teaches two courses, but also because he is enrolled in a master’s course. He is working as a teacher and studying as a Master’s student at the same time. He thinks getting a Master’s degree is necessary for his future career. He has a plan to change his job right after he gets the degree. Therefore, he says that making a balance between working and studying is the most difficult challenge for him. Moreover, he also mentioned the relationship between the common courses and specialized courses as follows.

Workplace Communication course has 30 hours per semester but I can't use all hours. The class hours are given to specialized courses. If I use all the hours for my course, other specialized course teachers can't cover whole courses within two years (Teacher A1, communication courses; emphasis by author).

He said that he sometimes has to skip some contents in his class to give the time to the specialized course teachers. He thinks the specialized courses are considered as more important in ATVET Colleges. Therefore, because of those reasons, he felt that he cannot have enough time to prepare for teaching gender-related knowledge as the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

6.2.2. Lack of Salary

The second factor is mentioned by one of the specialized course teachers. He tried to provide tutorial classes only for female students. This was because he thought tutorials would help female students to understand the contents of course and make them achieve the same level as a lot of male students. However, he gave up on providing tutorials for female students after several months. He said lack of salary was the biggest problem. He said that the small amount of salary discouraged him to provide the tutorial classes. Although providing tutorial classes is voluntary work for the ATVET Colleges teachers, it requires much time for them to prepare teaching materials. He repeatedly emphasized that it was a volunteer and extra work for teachers.

The budget for teachers is not enough at ATVET Colleges. It is very difficult to work. If we provide tutorial classes for female students, it is considered as a volunteer work. Everybody provides tutorial class as an extra work. There is no energizer for us. It is difficult to work voluntarily (Teacher B4, Business course; emphasis by author).

He felt that it is very hard to do additional work since he is in charge of seven courses per semester. For him, providing tutorial classes is an extra work without payment. What he thinks as unfair is that providing tutorial classes is totally a volunteer work, even though it eats up so much of his time. He compares the amount of work with his salary, and decides not to continue the hard work anymore.

6.2.3. Attitude of Other Teachers

In contrast to Teacher A1 and Teacher B4, other two specialized course teachers mentioned more about peoples' attitudes toward the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum as an obstructive factor.

One of the teachers tried to prioritize female students as the curriculum. However, she thought it was strange if she takes some actions for. It is because of the attitude of other teachers. She felt that all teachers at ATVET Colleges think that implementing the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum is a work for the Gender and Development course teachers and the common course teachers because the course modules for specialized courses do not mention anything about gender issues. She mentioned as follows.

When the government prepared the course module, they should have clearly mentioned what they want us to do for the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum in each course. Without their willingness, we cannot do anything (Teacher B6, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

Therefore, she has done nothing as the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum so far. She wants to do something for students, but she has no idea what to do. She thinks that it would be easy for her to take an action if the government writes clearly what specialized course teachers have to do for the curriculum.

6.2.4. Attitude of Female Students

The last factor is attitude of female students. As introduced in Chapter 5, one of specialized course teachers having work experience in rural area tried to include gender and female related issues in his classes as a part of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. He thought that Animal Science major is totally related to gender issues. While he had a work experience with farmers in rural area, he knew the situation of female farmers who were in charge of most of animal-related works.

He had tried to teach which works female farmers are in charge of and how their works can be improved in his classes. Based on his experience, he had also tried to put as much information about female farmers as possible since he started teaching two years ago. He believed it would be useful if he conveys his experiences to students because he had various ideas about what kind of issues are important for students who will work as DAs. However, he already stopped doing so. The biggest reason was the attitude of students, especially female students' attitude during his classes. Their attitudes totally discouraged him. He mentioned that he was providing his knowledge mainly for female students but they did not concentrate on his classes at all. He felt that he was betrayed by female students because they almost ignored what he taught, even though he worked hard for them. Thus, by observing female students, he thought that his efforts would never work as he expected.

Female students don't concentrate on my classes. They may concentrate more on their boyfriends than my classes. That is the problem. I always teach them hard, but they don't listen to me. It is a very critical problem in this campus (Teacher B8, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

Thus, he said that he does nothing for the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum currently. He thought that he might do something again if female students change their

attitude in his classes. Actually, other specialized course teachers also describe the attitude of female students in the same way. For example, Teacher A5 says that female students do not study hard compared to male students. He is confused by the attitude of female students and says that he will never understand what they think.

Female students don't attend my classes sometimes. They always tell me excuses as "I didn't attend your class last week because I was sick." or "I was in out of campus for an emergency reason." I don't know why but female students don't study hard (Teacher A5, specialized courses; emphasis by author).

Another teacher also mentioned that female students do not concentrate on classes and it makes her feel irritated. Those teachers emphasized that the local government must select more motivated and smart female students to ATVET Colleges if the government wants teachers to implement the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

This section focuses on the obstructive factors which discouraged teachers to implement the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. It was found that some of the factors are related to employment conditions of teachers, while others are created from the interactions among teachers or between teachers and students.

6.3. Summary of the Factors Affecting the Gender-sensitive DA Training Curriculum

Chapter 6 analyzed the factors affecting the perceived gender-sensitive DA training curriculum and the operational gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

The main factors affecting the perceived curriculum were charged courses and the image of "oppressed rural women." Those two factors influence teachers when they think how to be gender-sensitive. The first factor is charged courses. The Gender and Development

teachers and common course teachers tend to think their charged courses are related to gender issues. Therefore, most of them try to teach gender-related knowledge to students. However, one common course teacher who concerns on the female students' low academic achievement thought teaching in an easier way for female students is more important than providing gender-related knowledge to them. Specialized course teachers tend to think their charged courses are not related to gender issues. Thus, most specialized course teachers try to take care of and encourage female students in their classes or teach them in an easier way. Nevertheless, one of the specialized course teachers who have a work experience in rural area thought teaching knowledge and skills related to "female farmers' work" is more crucial. Summarizing the above, based on the characteristics of their charged courses, common course teachers focus on "what to teach" while specialized course teachers focus on "how to teach" as the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. However, if they pay attention more on the low academic achievement of female students or have work experience in rural areas, the perceived curriculum is sometimes less affected by the charged course.

The other factor is the image of "oppressed rural women." According to my interviews, all the teachers having no work experience in rural area, all the teachers with no work experience in rural areas have the same image of "oppressed," "vulnerable," and "less educated" rural women. The teachers consider all women living in rural areas as a homogeneous group suffering from gender inequality, especially from the gender-based division of labor. The image of rural women affects teachers' perceptions when they think "what to teach" or "how to teach" as the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. According to the interviews with teachers, the author found that the image of "oppressed rural women" was created by learning about the government's gender policies and receiving information through media. The teachers have to learn about the government policies at the gender training provided by MoA. Also, the government uses mass media to promote gender equality.

The gender policies criticize the gender inequality situation in the former government and emphasize on the necessity to achieve gender equality for national development. It also pointed that gender-based division of labor should be eliminated to reduce burden on women and include them into the production process as men. The media prizes a small village having no gender-based division of labor as an ideal, modernized, and developed society. In other words, rural areas practicing gender-based division of labor are portrayed as a backward society. Teachers confirm the image of rural women by observing female students at ATVET College. Female teachers also confirm the image with their own experience of facing difficulties because of their sex. Nevertheless, since the teachers lack experience in rural areas, they cannot confirm whether the image fits the actual situation or not. The lack of experience also affects the teachers' misunderstanding of DAs' work and the purpose of the agricultural extension services. This pushes the teachers to provide biased gender-related knowledge to students. In contrast, specialized course teachers having work experience in rural areas tend not be affected by the image of rural women. They know the demands and lifestyles of female farmers and the situation of the gender-based division of labor. Thus, having a work experience in rural area, especially the experience of working with farmers and DAs, is necessary for teachers to deliver useful knowledge and skills to students after they become DAs. Unfortunately, these specialized course teachers tend not to think that teaching from their experience is necessary since they consider specialized courses to not be related to gender issues. There is a kind of twisted situation observed in the perceived curriculum, such as common course teachers who do not know the actual gender situation in rural areas trying to teach gender-related knowledge, and specialized course teachers who have rich information about the gender situation in rural areas tending not to convey their experience to students.

In the operational curriculum, the most significant factor is teachers' perception. Most of the teachers implement the curriculum based on their perception of what the

curriculum should be. In addition to the perception, there are some other factors observed during the fieldwork, such as limited time, lack of salary, attitude of other teachers, and attitude of female students.

The first factor is limited time. The Gender and Development teachers and the common course teachers tend to have shorter time for their courses than the suggested class hours. It is because the specialized courses are considered to be prioritized for the national exam by CoC. Moreover, if the teachers are in charge of many courses or if they are studying in a Master's program, their time for preparing classes become much shorter. The lack of time forces teachers to skip some contents of the course module or give up teaching gender-related knowledge to students. Since the course modules and textbooks used in ATVET Colleges do not contain any gender issues, teachers have to prepare by themselves if they want teach about these issues. For example, Communication course teacher gave up including gender-related knowledge to students even though he thought his course is related to gender issues. It was because he though it is difficult for him to prepare additional teaching aid in time. Since the course modules and textbooks used at ATVET Colleges do not contain any gender issues, teachers have to prepare by themselves if they are willing to teach about it. The limited time often discourage teachers to implement their ideas in practice.

The second factor is the lack of salary. The specialized course teachers tend to think they have to prioritize female students in the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. Some of the teachers decided to provide tutorial classes only for female students as a voluntary work to improve their learning outcome, which is their way of prioritizing female students. However, not all the teachers actually give the tutorial classes for female students. The main reason was lack of salary. While the teachers are not satisfied with their salary, they are not happy with the additional work.

The third factor is the attitude of other teachers. This was mentioned by one of the

specialized course teachers. She was willing to prioritize female students by taking care of them and encouraging them. However, she hesitated to take an action since she feels other teachers thinking implementation of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum is a work for the Gender and Development teacher. She suggested that the government must clearly state what they want ATVET College teachers to do as the curriculum.

The last factor is the attitude of female students. There was a specialized course teacher who perceived the curriculum as “providing gender-related knowledge” to students and tried to implement it. He has a work experience in rural areas and was ready to share it with students. However, the attitude of female students, who seemed not to be interested in his class, discouraged him. Other specialized course teachers also reported and complained about the situation. Compared to common course teachers, specialized course teachers tend to be anxious about female students' reaction. While specialized course teachers have more useful information related to gender issues in rural areas, it is necessary to consider how they can utilize their experience in the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This research sought to determine whether the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum at ATVET Colleges meets the demands in rural areas. For this, three research questions were set: 1) What knowledge and skills are required for DAs to make the agricultural extension services more accessible to female farmers? 2) What kind of knowledge and skills are taught through the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum? and 3) What factors affect teachers' implementation of the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum?

Firstly, the author conducted fieldwork in rural areas to determine what kind of knowledge and skills are required for DAs. Like previous studies, this study also found that the gender-based division of agricultural labor still remains a strategy that can work effectively in rural areas. Additionally, there are differences in the types of work which involve female farmers according to their marital status. There are two main factors hindering female farmers from participating in agricultural extension services.

The first factor is inadequacy of training provided for female farmers. Currently, all DAs provide the same agricultural extension services to all farmers no matter what tasks the farmers are in charge of or what information they would like to have. This research also found that female DAs do not work for female farmers, as the government expected. In fact, female farmers have high expectations of female DAs because they think that female DAs might be friendlier and more understanding of their situation than male DAs. Moreover, female DAs are expected to have more knowledge of and skills for "female farmers' work." Nevertheless, female DAs do not pay attention to female famers' demands or opinions. Based on the findings above, it is necessary for DAs to have knowledge of female farmers' lifestyles, specific work, and needs.

The second factor hindering female farmers from accessing to agricultural extension services is the approach of extension services, which do not take account the lives of female farmers. DAs should be more flexible in providing agricultural extension services in more convenient ways to different types of female farmers by, for example, providing training separately at suitable times to female farmers or letting female DAs providing training and advice about "female farmers' work" to female farmers. This means that DAs must make agricultural extension services more convenient for female farmers. However, none of the DAs considered changing their ways of providing agricultural extension services for female farmers. This is because DAs emphasized the idea of "gender equality." They strongly insisted that they must not do any activities differently for female farmers because this will be against the notion of gender equality. DAs understand the meaning of gender equality as treating men and women in the same manner. However, what female farmers expect from DAs is to receive training relevant to their specific needs, which ensures "gender equity" rather than "gender equality."

By observing the actual situation of agricultural extension services, the author argues that the most important thing for ATVET College students is having knowledge of the actual situation of rural areas before start working as DAs. ATVET Colleges must provide knowledge of the differences among women in terms of their agricultural tasks and needs. In particular, the knowledge of the difference between female household heads and farmers' wives in their challenges with regard to accessing agricultural extension services should be highlighted. Additionally, students must have knowledge of the government's policies and strategies for agricultural extension services, and especially who the targets of agricultural extension services are. All the students must have the consensus that female farmers are the targets. In addition to this knowledge, the necessary skills should be provided at ATVET Colleges. One of these skills is the skill to flexibly change the approaches of the agricultural

extension services according to female farmers' situations. Students must be able to develop original training according to female farmers' interests and needs. Moreover, providing separate training for female students is also recommended. Male farmers and female farmers are implementing gender-based division of labor as their work strategy, and different knowledge and skills are required for male farmers and female farmers. It is necessary to help female students to understand their roles, since they have a high potential to improve female farmers' access to agricultural extension services. ATVET Colleges need to take up certain topics to teach female students, for example, how important they are for female farmers and how the Ethiopian government expects them to work. Further, female students should possess knowledge of and skills for "female farmers' work" to take care of female farmers.

The author also conducted fieldwork at ATVET Colleges to determine the knowledge and skills taught through the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. The gender-sensitive DA training curriculum has been implemented in ATVET Colleges since 2010 to equip DAs with knowledge accompanied by attitudinal change to achieve gender equality in agriculture (Alage ATVET College, 2010). The curriculum has three pillars: 1) providing an additional course titled Gender and Development, 2) providing gender-related activities through a gender office in each college, and 3) encouraging teachers to be gender sensitive when they teach their courses (personal interview, 2012). This means that the teacher teaching the Gender and Development course is in charge of pillar 1) and pillar 2), while other teachers teaching common courses and specialized courses are expected to take charge of pillar 3). This research divided the curriculum into four levels to analyze what teachers teach and what students learn through the curriculum. The four levels are formal curriculum, perceived curriculum, operational curriculum, and experiential curriculum.

This research found that the formal curriculum of the Gender and Development course contains topics about gender, but they do not relate to the agricultural extension

services. The course module tries to cover general knowledge related to gender, such as the Ethiopian government's policies and the world trends of gender-sensitive development approaches but does not focus on DA's works or the current situation of agricultural extension services for female farmers. Additionally, a course textbook prepared by Alage ATVET College teachers seems to contain biased knowledge; for example, it emphasizes poverty and tradition as the main causes of violence against women, and it selects a few traditional practices as the bases for the criticism on them to be harmful. In the section explaining the agricultural extension services, practices of male-dominated communities are pointed out as the main factor hindering the female farmers from accessing to the services. In ATVET Colleges, courses other than common courses and specialized courses are not meant to be directly linked with the context in which DAs are going to work. Since ATVET Colleges borrow EOSs designed for training people working in the agroindustry, none of the courses relate to agricultural extension services or gender. This means that there is no specific gender-related content contained in the formal curriculum of common courses and specialized courses at ATVET Colleges.

Thus, teachers have different opinions about what constitutes the gender-sensitive curriculum, which results in the fragmentation of the perceived curriculum. Teachers who teach the Gender and Development course think that they should teach health-related issues to female students in this course and gender office's activities to protect them from male students/teachers at ATVET Colleges. They also expect female students to convey the knowledge to female farmers after they become DAs. The Gender and Development course teachers think rural women are vulnerable to men and are frightened of sexual violence. At the same time, teachers of common and specialized courses have their own ideas of how to be gender sensitive and what the main objective of the curriculum is. Most common course teachers consider themselves to be gender sensitive because they teach gender-related

knowledge in their courses. They do so because they believe that DAs need such knowledge when they teach conduct training to farmers. Specialized course teachers tend to believe that gender-sensitive teachers are the one who provide special treatment to female students in their classes because they are less educated and less confident. One specialized courses teacher has the same idea of such common course teachers because he thinks the knowledge and skills of animal science are useful for female farmers. Some of the teachers in both common and specialized courses think that for improved gender sensitivity, teachers should make the contents of class easier for female girls because their academic achievement is lower than that of male students.

However, at the operational level, what teachers actually teach is totally dependent on their course. The teachers of the Gender and Development course select a small number of topics to teach because of time constraints. In doing so, they emphasize sexual violence and contraception because they think those are the most important areas of knowledge for female students and female farmers. Common course teachers teach gender-related knowledge, but what they teach is not based on the actual situation in rural areas, but on their image of rural women suffering from gender disparity: having less access to education and resources, being a victim of sexual violence from males, having more tasks than males, etc. Specialized course teachers do not teach any knowledge related to gender or agricultural extension services in their classes, but they try to empower female students. They emphasize gender equality and the motto that “females can do everything that males can” by giving special treatment to female students during classes. Some specialized course teachers have experience in rural areas and know female farmers’ situation well. They even have contextual and realistic ideas about female farmers’ roles or needs. However, their experiences have not been utilized in ATVET College education. As emphasized by previous studies, teachers intentionally and unintentionally choose the “right” gender image to teach students even if the image does not

fit the actual situation (Apple, 1982). Currently, gender education in AVET Colleges focuses on empowering female students and creating human resources which can change the gender unequal situation in rural areas. Nevertheless, there is no chance for students to learn about the actual situation in rural areas. Through education at ATVET Colleges, students gain biased and stereotyped knowledge of rural areas and adopt the attitude of criticizing the lifestyle of farmers.

According to the interview, charged courses and the image of "oppressed rural women" are the main factors affecting the perceived curriculum. The Gender and Development course teachers and common course teachers tend to think their charged courses are related to gender issues. Therefore, most of them try to teach gender-related knowledge to students. At the same time, specialized course teachers tend to think their charged courses are not related to gender issues. Thus, most specialized course teachers try to take care of and encourage female students in their classes or teach them in an easier way. Based on the characteristics of their charged courses, common course teachers focus on "what to teach" while specialized course teachers focus on "how to teach" as the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum. However, if they pay attention more on the low academic achievement of female students or have work experience in rural areas, the perceived curriculum is sometimes less affected by the charged course.

The second factor is the image of "oppressed rural women." According to my interviews, all the teachers with no work experience in rural areas have the same image of "oppressed", "vulnerable", and "less educated" rural women. The teachers consider all women living in rural areas as a homogeneous group suffering from gender inequality, especially from the gender-based division of labor. According to the interviews with teachers, the author found that the image of "oppressed rural women" was created by learning about the government's gender policies and receiving information through media. Teachers confirm the

image of rural women by observing female students at ATVET College. Female teachers also confirm the image with their own experience of facing difficulties because of their sex. Nevertheless, since the teachers lack experience in rural areas, they cannot confirm whether the image fits the actual situation or not. The lack of experience also affects the teachers' misunderstanding of DAs' work and the purpose of the agricultural extension services. This pushes the teachers to provide biased gender-related knowledge to students. In contrast, specialized course teachers having work experience in rural areas tend not be affected by the image of rural women. They know the demands and lifestyles of female farmers and the situation of the gender-based division of labor. Thus, having a work experience in rural area, especially the experience of working with farmers and DAs, is necessary for teachers to deliver useful knowledge and skills to students after they become DAs. Unfortunately, these specialized course teachers tend not to think that teaching from their experience is necessary since they consider specialized courses to not be related to gender issues. There is a kind of twisted situation observed in the perceived curriculum, such as common course teachers who do not know the actual gender situation in rural areas trying to teach gender-related knowledge, and specialized course teachers who have rich information about the gender situation in rural areas tending not to convey their experience to students.

In the operational curriculum, the most significant factor is teachers' perception. Most of the teachers implement the curriculum based on their perception of what the curriculum should be. In addition to the perception, there are some other factors observed during fieldwork, such as limited time, lack of salary, attitude of other teachers, and attitude of female students. The Gender and Development course teachers and common course teachers tend to have less time for their courses than the suggested class hours. This is because specialized courses are considered to be prioritized for the national exam by CoC. Moreover, if the teachers are in charge of many courses or if they are studying in a Master's program,

their time for preparing classes become much shorter. The lack of time forces teachers to skip some contents of the course module or give up teaching gender-related knowledge to students. Since the course modules and textbooks used in ATVET Colleges do not contain any gender issues, teachers have to prepare by themselves if they want teach about these issues. However, the limited time discourages teachers from implementing their ideas in practice. The second factor is the lack of salary. Dissatisfaction regarding their salary causes teachers to give up on implementing the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum, especially if the implementation requires them to do additional work without remuneration. The third factor is the attitude of other teachers. Specialized course teachers hesitate to implement the gender-sensitive curriculum because they think that this is the job of the Gender and Development course teachers. Since the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum has not clearly stated what to implement as the curriculum, this sometimes confuses teachers. The last factor is the attitude of female students. Although some teachers who have work experience in rural areas are willing to share their experience with female students, it is difficult for them to take action if female students seem to be not interested in their classes. While specialized course teachers have more useful information related to gender issues in rural areas, it is necessary to consider how they can utilize their experience in the gender-sensitive DA training curriculum.

Throughout the research, the author found that many teachers at ATVET College, especially those who did not have work experience in rural areas, have the same idea of oppressed rural women. It was also found that the image of oppressed rural women was created by the government. The government tries to promote the idea of "gender equality" and, through such efforts, condemns the former regime and their policies for being gender oppressive. They insist that female manpower is necessary for the economic development of Ethiopia and that women should not just stay at home doing housework, but that they have to be involved in productive work. In fact, the mandate of TVET in Ethiopia, among other things,

is to create a middle-level human resource that can contribute to economic development. Since ATVET Colleges are managed under the common framework of the TVET system, the objectives of its education are the same as those of other TVET institutions. Most teachers in ATVET Colleges emphasize the sameness of males and females when they explain gender equality. The gender-sensitive DA training curriculum should train human resources who are can support both male and female farmers in improving their agricultural productivity and quality of production. However, what the current curriculum produces are human resources that aim to change the current situation, to let both male and female farmers contribute to national economic development. The curriculum attempts to train human resources that can change society for the better, but being "better" is conceived differently from the government's point of view and the farmers' point of view.

Moreover, in the previous literature on agricultural extension workers' training, the importance of teaching "female farmers' work" and "female farmers' specific needs" has been pointed out, since the gender-based division of labor and the traditional gender bias are still a problem in many societies (Nadi et al, 2012). Further, the most fashionable approach to agricultural extension is a participatory one which aims to make the extension system suitable for each farmer's lifestyle. This means that using the "gender equity" approach of agricultural extension and providing different agricultural extension services to male farmers and female farmers according to their respective needs is the most effective approach to reach all farmers. At the same time, the word "gender equality" has been praised in international society. Many gender-sensitive development approaches aiming to achieve gender equality have been implemented in many developing countries, and these approaches affect national development policies. Advocates of the gender equality approach emphasize equal access by males and females to all services and resources. However, this emphasis could cause people to neglect the difference between male farmers and female farmers, as this study found out. This kind of

conflict between agricultural extension and gender approaches is also one of the causes of inconsistency in the training at ATVET Colleges. The difference among female farmers in their tasks should also be highlighted in the training at ATVET Colleges. Various studies have pointed out the importance of focusing on the differences among female farmers since they are not a homogeneous group, especially in Sub-Saharan African countries (Adekunle, 2013; Ponniah et al, 2008). Nevertheless, these diverse characteristics of female farmers have been hidden behind the common image of "oppressed rural women" in the training at ATVET Colleges.

Since the division of labor in Ethiopia has been/will be used as one of the strategies to produce agricultural products effectively, training for DAs must look at "gender equity" positively when designing the curriculum and training human resources who can work for all farmers, both male and female, effectively.

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