Bachelor of Science Programme in Development Studies

What is a good man?
A qualitative field study of how hegemonic masculinity is
changing and being maintained in relation to livelihood
diversification, education and gendered division of labour in
Southern Ethiopia

Thea Astrid Hambleton

Department of Human Geography   Spring 2016

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Abstract

Gender equality has become a top priority worldwide. However, gender tends to be synonymous with women and the agency of men is too often marginalised in both development interventions and research. Previous studies have found that as men are not included in the Gender and Development paradigm a "crisis of masculinity" is occurring which implies that sustainable gender equality will be more difficult to achieve. This thesis examines how hegemonic masculinity is changing and being maintained in relation to livelihood diversification, gendered division of labour and education. The findings are based on 35 semi-structured interviews with individuals living in two peri-urban villages in Southern Ethiopia. The study finds that hegemonic masculinity in this location is changing. The practice of hegemonic masculinity has shifted from being a *good farmer* to attaining *education,* as livelihoods diversify. The introduction of education is also changing hegemonic masculinity to become more compatible with gender equality. Finally, the study concludes that core hegemonic masculinity ideals, including the male breadwinner norm and the gendered division of labour (implying that men do not engage in female coded reproductive labour without being emasculated), are being maintained. This implies that as livelihoods are diversified, men's ability to practise hegemonic masculinity increasingly depends on access to resources.

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1. Introduction

Currently, one of the top agendas worldwide is to increase gender equality. Discussions, policies, law changes and social movements are happening all over the world with the goal of increasing equality between men and women. Through the millennium development goals (MDGs) as well the current Sustainable Development Goals, gender equality through empowerment of women is being implemented from the international level, through national to local levels. However, within this movement, there has tended to be an overwhelming focus on women, both as creators as well as beneficiaries of gender equality. Despite the UN Women declaration of equality stating that "Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women" (UN DAW 2008:3), this is seldom mirrored in development practise or research. The very word "gender", which refers to the social construction of gendered identities of both men and women, has tended to become synonymous with women (Hearn 2010, Chant 2016). Men are not to the same degree recognised as gendered beings, or as Connell phrases it, *"Men are thus treated as genderless, and 'gender' meant 'women,' or women's difference from men. Gender still does mean women, in most political discussions of gender equality"* (2011:5). Various studies have argued that this neglect of seeing men as gendered beings in relation to rapid social, political and economic change is creating what is referred to as "a crisis of masculinity" (Barker 2008, Barker et al. 2010, Chant 2016). Thus, as gender equality is becoming both an evident process as well as a goal, the need to examine men and masculinities is becoming instrumental, both in discovering potential conflicts of interest in advancing gender equality, as well as understanding the varying realities and challenges connected with practising hegemonic masculinity.

The changes toward increasing gender equality is intensifying, especially in the Global South, where gender equality is being fast tracked also in highly gender unequal societies. Ethiopia, which is the chosen location for this research, is one of the countries where gender equality reforms are being implemented, although starting from a level of very high gender inequality. Parallel to this, processes of livelihood diversification,

implying that rural households are diversifying their livelihoods from being subsistence based farmers to expanding the household portfolio to alternative livelihoods (Scoones 2009), are changing societal structures of Ethiopia. Education is also through government intervention becoming increasingly easier to access all over the country. These processes are not per se interlinked, although they may be part of creating spaces in which hegemonic masculinity is likely to be maintained or changes, as will be the focus of this thesis.

1.1 Aims

Departing from the theoretical understanding that gender, and thus also masculinity, is always constructed in a social setting and is reconstructed when the social setting changes, this thesis aims to analyse some of the ways in which hegemonic masculinity is being both changed and maintained in relation to livelihood diversification, changing gendered division of labour and access to education. The specific case will be two peri-urban villages in southern Ethiopia that are currently going through livelihood diversification. This will be explored by analysing hegemonic masculinity in relation to four theoretical concepts, namely, education and masculinity, gendered division of labour, livelihood diversification and intra-household relations in relation to internalised masculinity (habitus). The overarching aim of the research is to explore how hegemonic masculinity in the two peri-urban villages Titira and Woto in Southern Ethiopia is changing or being maintained. This will be explored through the three research questions below. Research question three will not be answered as comprehensively as research question one and two.

1.2 Research Questions

1) How is hegemonic masculinity changing or being maintained in relation to the use labour, including livelihood diversification and gendered division of labour?

2) What role does education have in changing or maintaining hegemonic masculinity?

3) How are structural changes affecting internalised norms of masculinity and intra-household gender relations?

1.3 Scope and Limitations of the Study

In each social setting various kinds of masculinities co-exist, however, this study will be specifically concerned with hegemonic masculinity, implying that other sub-masculinities and the hierarchy between them will be beyond the scope of the study. Furthermore, the study and thus also the findings are spatially limited to the peri-urban villages which were examined. This thesis will not necessarily reflect the larger processes of changing and maintaining hegemonic masculinity on a national scale. However, the processes of maintaining and changing hegemonic masculinity in relation to the interface of rurality and urbanity and social change may be generalised to similar settings in the studied area. Finally, although gender equality and masculinity is a theme that is indirectly brought up in the background and the latter analysis, this will not be dealt with in depth as there is not enough data to coherently analyse the relationship between these.

2. Background

There is growing attention towards masculinities within the broader gender debate. This section outlines some of the current debates on masculinities in gender and development, to provide a background and context to how this research is related to existing debates.

2.1 Historical Background of Gender and Development

From the early '90s until present, the dominant paradigm of gender equality within development has been Gender and Development (GAD). This paradigm arose from the previous paradigm Women in Development (WID), which started in the early '70s as a reaction to development interventions being conducted according to the needs of men (Vijayamohanan et al 2009). The basic idea of WID was that women should be

integrated into development, as women were perceived to be an untapped economic resource as they were not included. To achieve modernisation, the main development goal during this time, women needed to be integrated into normative development. This paradigm was later developed into Women and Development (WAD) which had a slightly different focus, although it also tended to portray women as economic resources and ignored the role of men in enhancing the role of women in development.

As the paradigm transitioned to GAD, this enabled men to be included in the discourses of gender equality, as the concept of gender included the notion of the gendered power relationship between men and women (Connell 2011). However, this new idea that also men ought to be included in the gender and development discourse was highly criticised as many claimed that men already were setting the whole development agenda. Critics argued that including men in the only part of development where women actually were properly considered would be counterproductive and would be "male-hijacking" the international gender agenda (Wanner and Wadham 2015:17, White 2000). However, Connell's reasoning that "men and boys are thus in significant ways gatekeepers for gender equality... [because] men control most of the resources [such as economic assets, political power and culture] required to implement women's claims for justice" (2005:1802), has been influential in creating what has been named a "man-streaming of Gender and development" (Wanner and Wadham 2015, Chant and Gutman 2000). The concepts of man-streaming is parallel to mainstreaming gender into development which was the chosen strategy, especially for the MDGs (Wanner and Wadham 2015).

This new focus on men in gender equality within development discourses is evident in international policies, ranging from the Beijing platform to UN Women. Despite progressive rhetoric in both Gender and Development and men's role in promoting gender equality in development policy, it has been noted that that there is a considerable disparity between what is said and what is actually implemented, both in regards to gender mainstreaming and especially concerning mainstreaming men into gender and development (OECD/DAC, 2007, NORAD, 2006:7).

The international neglect regarding involving men in GAD can be mirrored in the results of the MDGs. Goals such as women's participation in education and political representation have been deemed successful while areas where the engagement of men could be seen as necessary have been lagging behind. For example, indicators referring to the reduction of violence against women, increasing female's income in relation to males and a more equal share of unpaid reproductive labour between men and women has not made as much progress - in some areas the situation even seems to be worsening (Barker et al. 2011). Thus, from this perspective it could be argued that it is vital to gain more knowledge of how hegemonic masculinity is constructed and reconstructed in order to achieve sustainable gender equality.

2.1.1 Previous Studies on Masculinity and gender

The marginalisation of men and masculinities in gender and development has not only proven to be inefficient, it may also have contributed to further challenges and risks for women in the processes toward gender equality. Studies have shown that the lack of attention toward men and the power relations between men and women may have resulted in the fact that efforts made to empower women, have even led to the opposite outcome. This has been shown in studies in several developing countries, including Ethiopia. For example in three studies conducted in Ethiopia, the trend has been that when women gain access to independent income, their status in the family usually improves. However, as a result of a woman starting to earn as much or more than her male partner, the woman is also more vulnerable to increased physical abuse from her partner (Kwagala et al 2013, Dalal 2011, Deribe et al 2012).

In addition to this, a study conducted in six rural districts in the north of Kenya - not far from the location where this thesis study took place - it was concluded that the increased focus on women in development was to some degree leading to an indirect disempowering of men (Mary Amuynzu-Nyamongo & Francis 2006). Men did not have the same access to microloans, and were due to cultural ideologies of masculinity, not as adaptable to livelihood diversification. At the same time women were gaining a more powerful position due to access to education and micro loans. As men no longer could

practise their previous gender role as breadwinners, they withdrew from their traditional responsibilities, leaving women with a double work burden. One of the results of this perceived disempowerment of men was higher rates of domestic violence as men sought to "discipline" their female partners. Furthermore, alcoholism and depression grew as previous expressions of hegemonic masculinity were no longer compatible with the new social order.

Similar findings to those above have been observed in various other developing countries, including India, South Africa and Colombia (Barker et al 2008). The trend indicated that as women become less dependent on their male partner, men experience a loss of power and their previous gender role of being the family breadwinner is questioned meaning that they also lose control (Kabeer 2005). The loss of power and control is then compensated for, or translated into, men using more physical violence against their female partner (Vyas & Watts 2009:577-602, Chant 2000, Chant 2016). Additionally, there have also been recent studies showing that when women enter the paid labour force, men do not to the same degree integrate into reproductive labour. This results in women being burdened with double work, as they still have responsibility for unpaid reproductive labour in combination with employment (Chant, 2000). This can in turn lead to excessive work and may even result in higher degrees of undernourishment (O'Brien & Williams, 2013:183). In both of these cases, it is clear that hegemonic masculinity norms are not being addressed adequately which may result in more difficulties for women. The tendency to focus only on women in order to achieve gender equality may even be counterproductive, as this is done without analysing how these changes relate to men and the gender power balance. Therefore, this thesis will aim to counter this by focusing exclusively on the implication of social change on hegemonic masculinity.

2.2 Background to Ethiopia

This section provides some general background to the country and briefly introduces the reader to the Ethiopian context in regard to gender policies. As mentioned in the introduction, Ethiopia is one of the countries where gender equality is being "fast-

tracked" by the government, starting from a highly unequal level. Therefore, some of the most recent policies in regard to gender equality are introduced and examined in relation to how men and masculinities are included in these.

Ethiopia is considered as part of the "Low Human Development" category in the human development index (Ethiopia Country Review 2015:127). Ethiopia is also highly dependent on Official Development Assistance (ODA), both in humanitarian aid as well as through conditional loans (OECD, 2014). In 2013 Ethiopia received a total of 3.9 billion US dollars which amounted to approximately 14% of the total gross national income (OECD, 2014). Ethiopia's considerable dependence on international aid has resulted in the country being highly sensitive to the dominant paradigms within international development including the MDGs and the international push for increasing gender equality (Gebru & Demeke 2015). Thus, these international agendas have to a high degree been operationalised on a national level.

Ethiopia is also one of the most gender unequal countries in the world, ranking 174 out of 188 of countries (UNDP 2014). In relation to the operationalization of MDG 3, "Promote gender equality and empower women", it was stated in a midterm MDG assessment paper from 2010 that *"While much progress has been made, addressing gender equality and empowering women remain the most challenging. This is because of the deep rooted nature of the challenge, which depends not only on the actions of government, but also on changing attitudes and cultural values of the society"* (MoFED 2010:17). The issue of gender equality being very difficult to achieve in the Ethiopian context is related to the national structure of patriarchy, where the local culture is highly gender unequal, meaning that the attempts to create equality and empowerment of women has been challenging.

Furthermore, Ethiopia is also one of the world's most rural countries; 2011 estimates show that 84% of the population resides in rural areas with agriculture as the main livelihood (Ethiopia Country review 2015:115). Parallel to this, Ethiopia has a rapidly growing economy and urbanisation rates are high, indicating that a process of livelihood transition is likely to be taking place.

2.2.1 Ethiopian Gender Equality Policies

Ethiopia has ratified a number of conventions regarding gender equality, including the Beijing platform of action. This has been operationalised by including gender equality and the importance of using affirmative action for women, for this to be achieved within the National Constitution. Furthermore, the introduction of the Labour Law in 2003 states that "women are not to be discriminated against as regards to employment and payment of the grounds of sex" (Gebru & Demeke 2015:59). In the public sector women are even given preferential treatment to fill vacancies (Ibid).

Gender equality has also been introduced in the school curriculum through the "Civics and Ethical Education" course which is taught in all the government schools. In this course the importance of gender equality and the negative outcomes of gender inequality is one of the core subjects (Ethiopian Ministry of Education 2015, Semela et al 2013). Furthermore, education and training policy were created already in 1994, with the goal to further enable girls' to participate in education as well as to change societal attitudes relating to girls' education. In 2011, a policy aiming to increase the number of female teachers has led to a system where women have a lower entry level in terms of qualifications when applying for teaching jobs, both in universities and at lower level education (Gebru & Demeke 2015).

Ethiopia also has a "Core Strategic Plan" (Gebru & Demeke 2015), which among other things aims to deal with gender inequality, which was carried out in various phases between 2001 to 2015. In the documents of this plan, 12 strategies are devised in order to increase gender equality and women's empowerment. In 11 of these, women are the only gender mentioned. To "Carry out massive and systematic training and awareness campaign on gender equality" (ibid:61) is the only strategy that could in any way imply men's agency in promoting gender equality. The role of men in the strive to achieve gender equality is otherwise not present in the policy formulation. One of the ways to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment is, for example, by "improving the lives of women and reducing their workload (for example, by improving access to water supply, transportation and sanitation and labour saving technologies)" (ibid:62). This

strategy shows that the role that men could have in lowering women's workload through a more equal division of labour is ignored. Men's agency toward lowering the women's work burden is instead replaced with technical solutions.

This brief overview of current policies related to the issues that will be analysed in the findings and analysis chapter shows that there are several national policies that are being implemented to improve women's situation in Ethiopia. Women are now both gaining more access to education as well as being supported to be active in the labour market as a result of these policies (MoFED 2010:17). However, the policies do not bring up issues related to how these changes are likely to be in conflict with current hegemonic masculinity. Due to the fact that the policies are not addressing how men can be part of these processes, this may open up the risk of men being opposed or hindering the policies from being truly implemented. There are still numerous structural barriers hindering women from participating on the labour market on equal terms as men. Some of the structural barriers hindering women from participating in education and the labour market may be direct consequences of current hegemonic masculinity norms (MoFED 2010). Hence, from this background, both regarding the Ethiopian context and the more global perspective of masculinity and gender, the question of how hegemonic masculinity, is changing or being maintained in relation to structural changes, could contribute to a better understanding of how these processes can be taken into consideration in gender and development policy and research.

3. Conceptual Framework

To situate and analyse the findings of this study, this chapter will present the conceptual framework that has been built up by using ideas and theoretical concepts from a number of different origins. The conceptual framework has been developed before, during and after the data collection period to allow communication between data and concepts. This section will specifically introduce the theoretical concepts of Hegemonic Masculinity,

Masculinity and Education, Gendered Division of Labour, Livelihood Diversification and Habitus.

3.1 Masculinities

Firstly, as the aim of this study is to explore how hegemonic masculinity is changing and being maintained, this section will outline what the concept of masculinity entails. The concept of masculinities is based on the fundamental recognition that gender, and thus also masculinities, are socially constructed (Connell 1995:10). The framework has its roots within critical feminism and has been developed to understand the ways in which also men are gendered beings that are subordinated through societal norms. Studies of masculinities have tended to be marginalised within the larger theoretical framework of critical feminism (Jackson 1999, Bakker 2007). However, this has been increasingly challenged since Connells ground breaking book *Masculinities* (1995) and currently the concept of masculinities is being employed in a variety of different research disciplines.

What it means to be masculine and how masculinity is practised is always dependent on the specific societal context and is in relation to social, political and economic change constantly reconstructed (Van Hoven & Hopkins 2009). The concept of masculinity therefore rejects that masculinity is based on static biology and universal to all men, rather masculinities are evolving and historically contingent (Connell 1995:35). This theoretical understanding of masculinity as non-homogeneous, implies that within one context multiple masculinities co-exist within the same social setting. However, between the multiple masculinities there tends to be a hierarchy, where one kind of masculinity is more legitimated. This kind of masculinity is referred to as hegemonic masculinity which is defined by Bain to be "The version of masculinity that is most highly valued, legitimated, and respected in society" (Bain 2009:486). Hegemonic masculinity is also connected to ideology, which is defined by Van Hoven and Hopkins to be "A set of values or beliefs which (re)produce behaviors, attitudes, and ideas about how people should (or should not) live their lives." (2009:497).

Hegemonic masculinity is, just as all kinds of masculinity, constantly being reconstructed and negotiated. Connell emphasizes that when crisis tendencies in the gendered order begin to occur, *"hegemonic masculinity is likely to be thematized"* (Connell 1995:213). In this thesis, focus will be on analysing some of the ways in which hegemonic masculinity may be changed or maintained in relation to social change.

A variety of different academic disciplines, from sociology to developmental psychology, use the concept of masculinities. This study will situate masculinity into the discipline of human geography, highlighting the importance of the spatial dimension in which masculinities are produced and reproduced (Van Hoven & Hopkins 2009:493). This study is limited to two specific spaces, namely the two peri-urban villages Titira and Woto, to explore which processes are part of reconstructing hegemonic masculinity in these contexts.

3.1.1 Masculinity and Education

Masculinity is, as mentioned, always constructed in relation to a social context and within these social contexts institutions create spaces in which masculinity is produced (Connell 1995). Education and schools are one of these institutions, that both consciously and unconsciously produce and socialise masculinities. An example of how education has consciously produced ideals of masculinity are former british all boys schools that had an explicit agenda to "Raise boys into real men" (Connell, 2000; Heward, 1988). However, when discussing education and schools as institutions it is vital to highlight that they are not homogenous institutions. As mentioned in Swain's (2005) article on masculinities and education, the institution of schools and education are dependent on specific sociocultural, political economic and historical conditions and how or if the institutions is part of challenging or changing masculinities, is always in relation to the social context in which it is located.

Depending on the context in which education is situated, it can be an institution that not only reproduces already existing hegemonic masculinity, but may also be an institution where new alternative masculinities are produced and socialized (Swain 2005, Gebru &

Demeke 2015). This production of alternative gendered identities and masculinity is especially relevant in the location which the study took place, as universal education in this context is a very novel phenomenon. The institution of education is also closely related to a transitioning out of agricultural livelihoods, as education prepares young children to enter non-agrarian labour (Swain 2005).

3.2 Livelihood Diversification

Globally and especially in what can be considered developing countries, processes of structural transformation are currently taking place. Structural transformation in this thesis refers to the basic process of when a population transitions out of the agricultural sector into other sectors, including the industrial sector. On the macro level, this process implies a gradual shift from households being producers of food, as self sustained farmers, to gaining access to cash enabling consumption of food via the market (Timmer 2009). This involves individuals gaining monetary employment either through migration or increased access to labour markets, as complementary or alternative to producing a self sufficient supply of food through farm livelihoods (Alobo Loison 2015). This process is referred to as livelihood diversification. The word livelihood refers to the different strategies that members of a household employ to access and create resources to sustain a living (Scoones 2009). Diversifying will in this essay be concerned especially with households diversifying or transitioning livelihoods from self sustained agriculture to alternative employment, meaning that food is accessed through the market rather than from the own land (Timmer 2008).

Diversifying livelihoods is a parallel process to urbanisation as livelihood diversification is dependent on access to alternatives to farm livelihoods, which are more common in urban areas where markets are geographically easier to access. Urbanisation processes include both migration, as well as the expansion of urban areas into rural surroundings, the latter of which will be the focus of this thesis (Simiyu & Foeken 2014, Ruel et al. 1998, Maxwell 1999). Furthermore, livelihoods may also be a key factor defining what is urban and rural, as in rural spaces, self sustained farming

livelihoods are the most dominant while in urban or peri urban areas diversified livelihoods are more common (Djurfeldt et al. 2012).

In the process of livelihood diversification, education is an important institution. Depending on the context in which formal education is introduced, one of the core normative goals of schooling is to prepare students to participate in the non agricultural labour markets, creating opportunities to access non-farm livelihoods (Swain 2005).

Livelihood diversification has been incorporated in the overall conceptual framework of this thesis since hegemonic masculinity is constantly being reconstructed in relation to economic and social change. Therefore, diversification of livelihoods could both be considered an economic and social change that may be creating new challenges and changes to hegemonic masculinity (Hill 2011). In addition, livelihood transition defines what types of labour is required from the household members. The nature of the use of labour in households with non-diversified livelihoods focused on producing food and diversified households are widely different. One of the ways in which they can differ is how labour is divided within the household, which brings us to the third key concept, namely the gendered division of labour.

3.3 Gendered Division of Labour

"*Gender not only shapes people's access to and experiences of livelihood change but is itself (re)configured in the process*" (Hill 2011:226)

Gender ideologies, including ideologies of masculinity, are currently being recognised as part of structuring livelihoods and social norms. Gender shapes livelihoods which in turn shapes gender relations (Simiyu & Foeken 2014). As mentioned, livelihood defines what types of resources one is dependent on to make a living and the use of labour is the way in which people access or utilize resources to make a living. Labour tends to be inherently gendered, in that it "shapes people access and experience of livelihood" (Hill 2011) while labour is also divided according to gender, creating a gendered division of labour. Furthermore, the use of household labour not only reinforces gender division,

but also in itself creates gendered identities, as practising male or female coded labour becomes a way to practise femininity or masculinity (Connell 1995).

However, gendered division of labour is never a static division but is constantly being negotiated in relation to social change. It is also a highly contextual phenomena as the division is different depending on context. As livelihoods transition, this changes the structure of labour including gendered division of labour, which may in turn create new spaces in which hegemonic masculinity can change or be maintained (Hill 2011).

Despite its embeddedness in context, there are certain global trends of how labour is divided (Chant 2011). Generally, reproductive labour such as care of children or elders, cooking and cleaning are coded as female, while productive labour connected to "breadwinner" is coded as male. There is a tendency to devalue female labour, both in monetary terms but also in status. Child caring or cooking is often conceptualised to be a "natural instinct" of women rather than an actual labour (Bakker 2007). This division is currently being challenged globally as women are increasingly participating in the monetary labour market and hence involved in labour that previously was coded as male. This change of gendered division of labour is partly being facilitated by commercialisation of reproductive labour where either the state or the market supplies care of for example children or elders, through daycare and old people's homes (ibid). Thus, the gendered division of labour is becoming less strict, although in practical terms there appears to be a trend of women engaging in male coded productive labour, but men are not integrating into female coded reproductive labour to the same degree (Holter 1997:56-76).

In this thesis, the concept of gendered division of labour is used as to understand how hegemonic masculinity is maintained and changed in relation to how the use of labour changes in the studied context. Within previous masculinities studies, the relationship between constructing masculinity and the use of labour has been widely explored, including Connell's (1990) study of Australian farmers. He concludes that labour is a key constructor of masculinity, as "what you do is what you are," explaining the sentiment that if you do a man's job then you become a man. However, what is

considered male labour is, as mentioned, highly dependent on context and as new kinds of labour are created or become accessible, there may be space for negotiating whether it is male or female. This may be what happens through livelihood diversification (Hill 2011).

Furthermore, as women's position in society change, which in the Ethiopian case can be derived both to government policy and lobbying, enabling women access to education and employment, as well as the development community's focus on empowering women, traditional gendered divisions of labour may also be re-negotiated. This process of re-negotiation may involve both challenges and potential changes to hegemonic masculinity.

3.4 Habitus and Masculinity

In order to answer the third research question *How are structural changes affecting internalised norms of masculinity and intra-household gender relations?,* it is necessary to have a theory that clarifies the relationship between individuals and structures. The above theories have been concerned with understanding structural patterns and to complement this the theoretical concept of Habitus will be used to analyse how these structures are realised through the individual.

Habitus is a concept developed by Bourdieu and is a sub-concept in the larger theoretical framework of the "Theory of Practise" (1977). The two parallel concepts to *Habitus* in this framework are *field* and *capital,* however, these will not be further elaborated as they will not be incorporated in the later analysis. Habitus is "*an internalised structure or set of structures (derived from previous pre-existing structures) that determines how an individual reacts to the world*" (Throop & Murphy 2002:186). The concept can be perceived as rather complex, although, the basic premises is that individuals internalise social structures and that this internalisation means that individuals' thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions are always in relation to the individual's position in the social world and the structures which define the social world (Motties 2001). This internalisation of structures is then referred to the individual's

Habitus. Put very simply, structures decide the "rules of the game" of how a man can practise hegemonic masculinity in a certain context and the internalisation of these rules create the individual's own habitus. As structures change, so do the "rules of the game" resulting in the habitus limiting the individual's actions change. The concept of habitus also includes a rejection of naturalisation of social phenomena (Throop and Murphy 2002:187). If applied to the naturalisation of masculinity as being a biologically static, this is explained to be a result of historical preconditions that have been internalised to such a degree that they become considered natural.

Livelihoods are one of the structures that influences and are influenced by habitus. How one makes a living is a very fundamental way in which society is structured. Thus by incorporating Bourdieu's theory of practise in relation to livelihoods, it is also important to note that livelihood decisions are not outcomes of universal rationales. Instead individuals make livelihood decisions based on their specific habitus, which is, as mentioned, informed by pre-existing social structures (Sakdapolrak 2014). Livelihoods are both shaped by and shape social realities and the norms related to these (ibid). There is a constant relationship between the pre-existing social structures and the internal habitus, both reinforce each other and simultaneously change each other.

All these concepts together build the conceptual framework which will be the basis for the later analysis. As shown in the Figure 3.1, masculinity and education, livelihood diversification and gendered division of labour together are part of creating a context in which hegemonic masculinity is created. These concepts can also be part of changing or maintaining the contextual hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity in turn informs the internalisation of hegemonic masculinity of the individuals which in turn impacts the intra-household relations.

Figure 3.1 Conceptual Framework
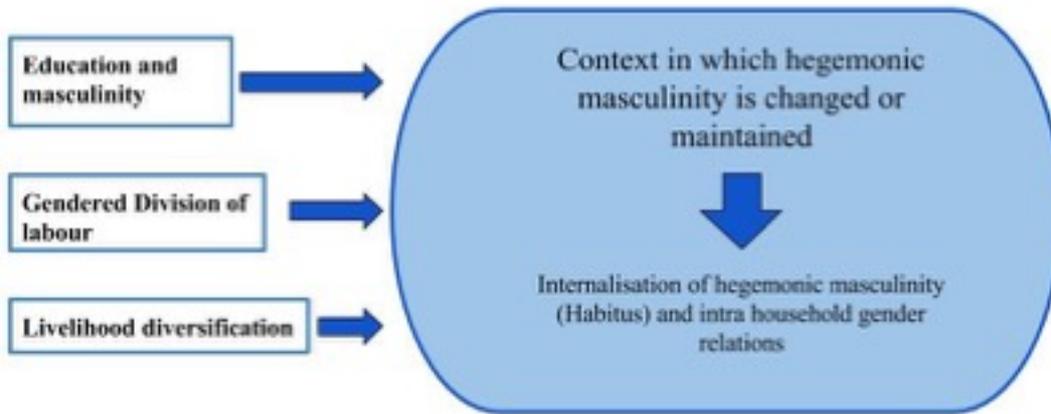
4. Methodology

This section guides the reader through the data collection process, including the epistemological stance, research design, site selection, sampling process and ethical issues.

4.1 Research Design

4.1.1 Ontology and Epistemology

The research is based on the ontology of relativism. Having a relativist standpoint is important when studying the norms and ideologies of masculinity, as it recognises that masculinity is not an objective independent entity, but is something that is constructed by individuals who in turn are influenced by social context. Basically, this stance claims that the world and all social phenomena are built up upon multiple individual realities

that are shaped by context (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Furthermore, ontology is connected to the epistemology of constructivism, which means that this research departs from a fundamental recognition that the findings are not objective extractions from an already existing objective reality, but are constructed in the meeting between the participants and the researcher. Thus, the researcher's own positionality, which will be analysed further in-depth below, as well as the participants positionality are an inherent parts of the findings (Scheyvens 2003:120). The researcher recognises that there is no objective reality or truth, as social reality is created by multiple individuals' own constructions of reality. This ontological and epistemological stance has influenced the research design of the thesis to be of a qualitative nature, as a method to capture the nuances and multiple realities constructed by the research participants. Furthermore, this epistemological stance has also led to the research being inductive, in that the researcher gathered data through interviews from very broad thematic questions, which guided the researcher to find suitable theories which could explain the data . Furthermore, due to the chosen ontology and epistemology, the empirical data and analysis will be presented together (Bryman 2008:12).

4.1.2 Qualitative Case Study

The research design followed a qualitative case study structure, consisting of a field study conducted in two peri-urban villages Titira and Woto in Southern Ethiopia, the site selection process will be elaborated below. This study is, however, not a comparative case study as the villages were considered too similar to make a valuable comparison. Instead they both build up one consistent case. The method of qualitative case study was chosen as the research questions aimed to explore in-depth the complex processes that are leading to changing and maintaining of local hegemonic masculinity (Bryman 2008:68). The data was generated by semi-structured interviews with individuals living in these locations to gain an understanding of what some of these processes may be.

4.1.3 Site Selection

As mentioned previously in the background section, Ethiopia is a country where gender inequality continues to persist although this is being challenged on the government level as well as through local initiatives. As the research questions aim to analyse how hegemonic masculinity is being changed or maintained in relation to increasing access to education and livelihood diversification, it was relevant to choose a location where both of these issues are present. Furthermore, as the background section outlines, Ethiopia presents an interesting case as it is highly unequal although policies to promote gender equality are being implemented. As this process may be challenging local masculinity, it was also valuable to chose a location where gender inequality is still high.

The research was carried out in the region of Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR) in southern Ethiopia. This region can be considered especially gender unequal with several indicators for gender equality being below the national average. For example, even though the general literacy and school attendance rate is low, there is a significant disparity between men and women. Twice as many men as woman have attended some kind of education (men 64.8%, women 30,9%) and women are therefore two times more likely på be illiterate compared to men (women 55%, men 30%) (CSA 2014). Furthermore, women in this region are more likely to be lacking reproductive health - both in having material access to contraception and also having the agency to negotiate reproductive issues with their male partner (Hailemariam, 2011). Women in this area lack access to land ownership and thus have little control over agricultural surpluses even though they contribute to over 50% of the labour (Tegegne, 2012). Furthermore, this region is also going through an urbanisation process where urban areas are expanding into rural areas, as well as a growing rural economy. In 2007 90% of the population resided in rural areas, though during the same year, SNNPR had higher urbanisation rates that the country average (Central Statistical Agency 2007). From this background, in light of the increasing of women's rights as well as livelihood diversification that is currently happening nationally, the researcher concluded that this could be a relevant region to conduct the study in.

The location for the research was the town of Aleta Wendo, which has a population of approximately 40 thousand inhabitants. Aleta Wondo is both the name of the larger administrative area and the name of the administrative urban town. It is 337 km from south of Addis Ababa, approximately 9 nine hours by minibus. The location is shown in Map 4.1, where the red square represents the location of Aleta Wondo. The exact location of the research were the villages Titira and Woto, which both are located at the fringes of the Aleta Wondo urban center. The villages are according to the inhabitants themselves rural although with a strong connection to the urban centers. The majority of the population rely on agriculture as a the main livelihood, although some segments of the population are diversifying their livelihoods to non-farm activities. Thus, this location was deemed relevant to conduct the proposed research in.

Map 4:1 Ethiopia, Red Square Representing the Location of the Research

Source: National Geographic.

The researcher apologises for there not being a scale bar.

Apart from the site being an interesting location to conduct such a study in relation to national statistics, another reason for selecting the research site of Titira and Woto was due to the researcher having previously visited the area in 2014, through personal connection to the organisation Common River that is located there. While there, the researcher conducted 3 interviews with women participating in the NGO´s women's literacy classes. Through these interviews, the researcher came in contact with what seemed to be a gendered conflict, where woman in the area were accessing new rights and freedoms, such as universal education and through that employment opportunities. However, the interview participants explained that these changes were not being appreciated by the majority of the men in the community. Departing from this observation of potential conflict, the researcher saw that this area could be a suitable site for a further study of how hegemonic masculinity is changing or being maintained in relation to the transitions that the area is going through.

4.1.4 Cooperation with the NGO Common River

To conduct the research and gain access to the field, the research was facilitated by the local NGO Common River. To give a background to the actual research practicalities, this section will introduce the NGO and explain how they helped facilitate the research. Common River is an organisation that was started at the outskirts of Aleta Wondo in 2008. It is founded by the American positive deviance expert Donna Sillan (who also is a close friend of the researchers mother) and of the Ethiopian diaspora, Tsegaye Bekele. The aim of the organisation is to work for community development while employing a positive deviance approach to all of their work with emphasis on local ownership. The organisation was an instrumental part of the research, both as it acted as a gatekeeper to the field, as well as they provided the researcher with board, translators and most importantly a social context.

4.2 Sampling

After initial interviews, the researcher decided that older individuals rather that youths, which was the original plan, would be the most appropriate group to focus the study on. This was as this age group was more able to reflect on changes of gender norms during their lifetime. Their experience of raising children also gave an interesting angle on how masculinity is constructed and adults were more likely to be immersed with actual labour, either in the agricultural sector or paid employment. Hence they could better analyse how changes in livelihoods affect gendered division of labour and indirectly hegemonic masculinity.

After having established the two villages, the researcher employed purposive sampling to chose who from this village ought to be represented in the final sample. Guiding the purposive sampling, was the importance to have both men and women properly represented and to insure that household with different kinds of livelihoods also were part of the sample.

4.2.1 Sampling Woman in a Study of Masculinities

An important dimension of this study of masculinities, was the choice to not only limit the sample to only male participants. As the overall subject of study was hegemonic masculinity, the researcher initially assumed that masculinity is something that is constructed, practised and understood by men. This assumption is also present in previous masculinity research where there has been a tendency to exclusively focus on men when detangling the complex construction and practises of masculinities (Connell 2008). However, both men and women reproduce masculinity norms. Everything from how mothers raise their sons to the expectations that a wife has toward her husband, show how women are instrumental in constructing hegemonic masculinity (Jackson 1999). Furthermore, beyond being part of constructing masculinity, women are also everyday observers of masculinities (Scheyvens 2003:170). Including women in the sample was also an instrumental way of recognising the invaluable perspectives and knowledge that women can contribute with in all research processes that often get lost when women are ignored or not included (Bryman, 2008: 396). Finally, as the research

design is a case study it is instrumental to get data from many different perspectives, as masculinity is knowledge that is constructed by individuals it was also important to seek different sources of how hegemonic masculinity is changed or maintained.

4.1.2 Sample Stratification by Housing

As mentioned, gender was taken into consideration in the sampling process, thus, interviews with 20 women and 15 men are represented in the final sample. As the study aimed to analyse processes of livelihood diversification, it was important that the sample represented individuals from households with varying levels of livelihood diversification. Studies have shown that there is a linkage between livelihood diversification and increased socio-economic standard (Djurfeldt et al 2012). However, as the researcher did not access data on household monetary income, education or employment, the most relevant factor that could represent socioeconomic background was housing. Three categories of different kinds of housing were devised. The researcher recognises that other factors such as access to electricity and water and geographical location of housing could have been beneficial to include. However, information of this type was difficult to access, while housing categories could be decided simply through observation. Generally, individuals living in type 1 housing (see photo 4.1) had not diversified livelihoods but were dependent on own production of food as a main source of livelihood. Individuals living in type 2 housing (see photo 4.2) were more likely to have diversified livelihoods, to be also partly consumers of food from a market where farming for personal use was a compliment to other kinds of livelihoods. Finally, individuals living in type 3 housing had nearly entirely diversified livelihoods to such a degree that they were predominantly dependent on the market to access food (see photo 4.3).

Table 4.2 Sample of People Interviewed According to Housing Type

	Men	Women	Total men and women
Traditional hut (Type 1)	4	3	7
Semi traditional hut (Type 2)	5	6	11
Modern house (Type 3)	3	7	10
Unknown*	3	4	7
<u>**Total**</u>	15	20	35

*Those that are listed as unknown are so due to the researcher not conducting the interview in the participant's home.

Source: Appendix B

Photo 4.1 Example of Housing Type 1

Source: Researcher's own photo

Photo 4.1. Example of Housing Type 2

Source: Researcher's own Photo

Photo 4.1. Example of Housing Type 2

Source: Researcher's own Photo

4.1.4 Bias in Sampling

In order to avoid only interviewing people who were geographically easy to access and thus falling into tarmac bias (Chambers 2008), the researcher made efforts to choose small paths and walk far from the main road in order to lower this bias. Nevertheless, various other biases such as only interviewing participants with apparent surplus of time and who seemed comfortable with being interviewed may have impacted the research results (Scheyvens 2003:67). There was also a bias in that the researcher tended to interview individuals that had connections to the NGO. Both employees and individuals associated with the NGO through female literacy classes or parent of children who attended the school. This was since the researcher, especially in the initial phase, found it difficult to access other individuals. However, approximately 30% of the sample consisted of people that had no connection to neither the translator nor the NGO.

4.3 Interview Techniques

All interviews were semi-structured (Bryman 2008). The researcher had approximately 40 different questions related to the themes of livelihood diversification, gendered division of labour and masculinity (and femininity) norms, (see appendix B). Depending on the persons interviewed and the answers they gave, a varying amount of these 40 questions were asked. The semi-structured format allowed for follow up question which was widely applied as to keep an explorative approach.

One interview technique that was applied was to make interview questions that were focused on general rather than personal answers. As the aim of the research was to explore how hegemonic masculinity may be changing or maintained, the researcher was interested to hear general rather than personal reflections. Thus, the researcher would ask "what is considered women's work in this community" rather than "what do you as a woman do in your household". This technique is suggested by Bicchieri et al (2014), as individuals' answers are then more reflective of the context as a whole rather than only individual. The accounts are on their own by no means representative for the larger community, but several accounts, such as those that have been collected in this study,

when cross compared, give indications of what larger societal norms may be persisting (Bryman 2008).

4.4 Data Analysis Method

The data analysed in the findings and analysis section, consist of the 35 interviews that have been transcribed. In order to analyse the data, thematic coding was applied to the transcriptions. This included creating categories, subcategories and cross comparison in order to uncover themes related to a particular phenomenon - in this case changing hegemonic masculinity in relation to gendered division of labour, livelihood diversification and education (Bown 2009, Bryman 2008:249)

4.5 Ethics

Due to very high levels of illiteracy, the researcher decided that it was more fitting to use oral rather than written consent for the interviews (Scheyvens 2003:143). Thus, before conducting an interview the researcher would give an introduction to the subject, what the data would be used for, explain that the participants had the right to not answer or stop the interview, be anonymous and if they were okay with the interview being recorded. This was done based on the guidelines in Scheyvens (2003) and Bryman (2008). In some cases when it appeared that the participants were nervous and perhaps did not feel comfortable saying no to participating in an interview, the researcher together with the interpreter to red the situation to the best of their ability and if the participant seemed reluctant or uncomfortable, we would smoothly finish the interview and delete the recording. This was a technique to at least try to mitigate some of the uneven power dynamics creating situation where people feel that they have to give consent (Hammet et al 2015:55). Also, when asking questions the researcher tried to be aware of other people in the vicinity. As the interviews mostly were conducted in someone's home, it was common that other family members or neighbours were present during the interviews. In these situations the researcher avoided questions that could be deemed sensitive or too personal. After each interview session the researcher made sure to welcome the participant to ask any questions that they may have to encourage mutuality (Scheyvens 2003:58).

4.6 Positionality

This section will be written in I form, as I recognise the importance of the reader appreciating and understanding that I, Thea Astrid Hambleton, was constantly present in the data collecting and I am also the one conducting the analysis below. When doing the research my ascribed positionality as a young, white girl visiting from a western country and cooperating with a local NGO affected the research (Hammett 2015:51).

Both through communication with the interpreters and reading academic literature I tried to be reflexive of my own positionality. During the research I, for example, noticed that my gendered appeared to be less important compared to my skin color. During the research process there was an evident uneven power dynamic between the interview participants and my self. Although, this was to some degree lowered by my age and gender which are connected to less power in the context (Scheyvens 2003). Thus, it is possible that my presence was less intimidating for the participants than if I would have for example been a white 40+ male.

Furthermore, as I was working with two interpreters during my interviews, this impacted both my positionality and produced bias in the translations. My translators were both young, educated and lived in the area. One was male and the other was female. Throughout the research process, language difficulties arouse due in that I could not always fully understand the translators. This impacted the interviews as I was not always able to understand the translator at the time of the interview. However, this was dealt by me listening through the interview afterward and then asking the translator about parts I could not understand.

4.7 Time Limitation

One major challenge during the research was the lack of time of conduct the research. The initially planned 7 weeks in the field were unfortunately minimised to only 3 weeks due to a close family member being diagnosed with a serious illness. Thus, the data collection was carried out during only 3 weeks resulting in that the initial plan to carry

out focus group discussions and collecting documents on population and livelihood data was abandoned. This has limited the study in that the interviews are the only source of data to build the analysis on.

5. Empirical Findings and Analysis

This section presents the empirical results and analysis generated by the study. The findings will be presented together with the analysis, because of the chosen epistemology as explained in section 4. The structure follows a thematic pattern, introducing one theme, the findings in relation to the theme and an analysis of how the theme can be understood in relation to the concepts presented in section 3.

This section includes several quotes, referenced in the following way. First the gender is stated after this the housing type followed by the age is stated. To situate the quote taking note of housing type and gender is beneficial.

5.1 Livelihood Diversification and Definitions of Town and Village

In the field it became evident that the concepts of farm based livelihoods and diversified livelihoods were closely related to the participants own definitions of town and village. During interviews, participants often used terms such as *"in traditional times"*, *"in previous times"* or *"in the village"*, to describe places or times in which farming is or was the main source of livelihood. From the data it also appeared that livelihood diversification is important in how urbanity and rurality is defined.

Urban and rural divisions appeared to be less connected to actual space and more about the livelihoods of the people residing in the space. When asking participants to specify what a "village" was, nearly all described that a village was somewhere where people are dependent on the soil for food, while the town was a space where people were dependent on the market for food. When asking whether the participants themselves lived in the village or in the town, this often led to a discussion of livelihoods, examples of answers are *"I am a farmer therefore I live in the village"* (Woman, housing type 2,

age 35, 7.02.2016) or "*I sell herbs in the market so I live in the middle of the town and the village*" (Woman, housing type 3, age 47, 2.02.2016). Thus, living in the village appeared to be synonymous with being dependent on agriculture, while living in the town implied being dependent on the market to buy food. Therefore, people who lived in what the researcher, as an outsider, would identify as a village, considered themselves living in the town simply as they were dependent on access to food through the market. This indicated that livelihoods rather than actual location was what decided whether they were part of the village or the town. Thus, during the interviews, to situate masculinity in relation to farm or diversified non-farm livelihoods, the village and the town were used as context in which these livelihoods were dominant. All interview participants who were part of the study described how either they themselves have diversified their livelihoods or that they had high hopes for their children to do so in the future.

5.2 Hegemonic Masculinity in Relation to Livelihood Transformation

> "*In previous times I would want my daughter to marry a good farmer, but now the most important thing is that he is educated*"(woman, housing type 2, age 67, 27.01.2016)

This section presents some of the trends evident in the data regarding the relationship between livelihoods and changing ideals of hegemonic masculinity. As the overall research question aims to understand how hegemonic masculinity is being maintained or changed, this section will outline what the data indicated regarding some of the most evident shifts of how hegemonic masculinity is being reconstructed in relation to social change.

To understand hegemonic masculinity, one of the key questions in the interviews were "*What is a good man - in the village, town, when you were young and now*?" These questions were a way to understand which attributes were important for a man to practise a masculinity that was legitimate, respected and idealised, in other words to practice hegemonic masculinity in specific contexts. The answers to these questions generally showed that what defined a good man was very dependent on context and the

individuals themselves were perfectly able to reflect how the ideals of what a good man is changes both over time and space.

One notable shift in how a good man was defined in different contexts was the shift from "good farmer" to "educated" - as can be seen in the quote below the section title. This shift appeared to be closely connected to transitioning of livelihoods. Within a village/non-diversified livelihoods context, the most important prerequisite for a man to be considered "good" was according to a majority of the interview participants, that he was a good farmer and could through this provide food for his family. Another type of prerequisite for a man to be considered "good" or respected was being an elder.

However, when inquiring on what the participants considered a good man to be in context of diversified livelihoods/the town, the most important prerequisite was to be educated. This definition of a good man was becoming increasingly widespread. An example of how widespread the transformation from "good farmer" to educated can be shown when answering the question "what kind of man do you want your daughter to marry?", 27 of 35 interview participants would answer that the most important thing was that the man was educated. Other themes that evolved about hegemonic masculinity in a diversified livelihoods context, was the importance of a man abstaining from drinking alcohol and chewing khat, respecting the wife, buying things for the family - especially the wife, solving disputes, not disturbing the neighbours, being non-violent, sharing the wife's burdens and never being without work. The themes of respecting your wife and sharing her burdens are in several interviews especially highlighted. Some interview participants of both genders even described these two things as the most important and that the other themes were secondary.

When describing hegemonic masculinity, it became rather clear that men and women had somewhat different ideals. For example, women were more prone to highlight the importance of a good man respecting his wife and providing for the family, while men would highlight that a good man worked hard and was involved in solving community disputes.

If this is analysed in relation to livelihood diversification as a structural change, one trend that arose was that a core ideal of hegemonic masculinity was providing for one's family. In a non-diversified livelihoods context, the main way to provide for one's family and thus practise hegemonic masculinity is through being a good farmer. When livelihoods are diversified, the ideal of providing for the family is still central, although the main strategy for doing this is by gaining employment. To gain employment in the context of this study, the most important resource was that the person is educated. Thus through the data, we can follow how the ideal of provider or breadwinner for the family being a way to practise hegemonic masculinity, is unchanged, although when livelihoods change, the prerequisites needed to practise this ideal do change.

> *"When you come to the town the man has a very big burden to be good as he does not have anything and everything he needs to buy in the markets, he has a lot of potential to be a good man but it is difficult. It is easy to be a good man in the village as everything you have is at home. So when he grows up he plants something in the farm and he will be rich easily in the village. Easier to be a good man in the village while in the city you have a heavier burden as you need to buy everything."* (Man, housing type 3, age 45 10.02.2016)

In relation to livelihood diversification and hegemonic masculinity, many participants expressed that it was more difficult to be a man when livelihoods are diversified. As the provider ideal still continues once livelihoods are diversified, men become dependent on more and different resources to be able to practise hegemonic masculinity. To be a good farmer and thus provide for one's family, one only needs access to land and livestock as resources. However, to be a good man in a diversified livelihoods context, the man is dependent on having access to education and a social network from which he can gain contacts to get employment. The participants described that the most challenging issue when livelihoods are transformed was that food was no longer produced in the home, but could only be accessed through the market which has highly volatile food prices. In this way the role of sole provider of food becomes more challenging, as participants were dependent on more resources to be able to access cash

to buy food. The difficulties in practising hegemonic masculinity in a town setting is illustrated by the quotes below:

> *"In the town a non educated man cannot get a job, but in the village if I work hard the town people can eat what I make in my job. Therefore I am better than the town man "*(man, Housing type 2 housing, age 65, 29.01.2016).

> *"It is fine. The life in the village, everything you find in the village, you do not buy things. In the cities life is very difficult to live. The life is easier in the village"* (man, housing type 2, age 32, 24.01.2016)

Generally, men were more likely to bring up the hardships of being a man in the town/ when livelihoods are diversified as illustrated by the quotes above. Women on the other hand tended to bring up how life was much better in the town when livelihoods are diversified.

5.3 Gendered Division of Labour, Diversification of Livelihoods and Masculinity

> *"If the women become a farmer, the other women would not laugh, they would say it is good"* (woman, housing type 2, 24.01.2016)

Gendered division of labour appeared to be changing rapidly, both due to women gaining access to education and through this paid labour, as well as livelihood transition implying that the kinds of labour was different, breaking up previous divisions. These changes can be seen as both social and economic and thus are likely to be creating space for processes of either maintaining or changing hegemonic masculinity. The processes of maintaining and changing do not exclude each other but function in different contexts.

The transcribed interviews indicated, that in times or contexts in which livelihoods are not diversified, labour is strictly divided according to gender. The most obvious division is the one of "outside/inside" where women have the responsibility over labour

practised inside the hut and men are responsible for the labour practised outside the hut. This is also the division that Torkelsson (2008) found when doing research in other parts of Ethiopia. Some older women describe how in their youth, women were even forbidden from going outside the hut or the hut compound, making the division highly spatial. However, to make the inside outside divide more nuanced, interview participants described that women also worked outside the hut, for example with caring for cattle and fetching water. In contrast, men were responsible for outside labour such as planting and harvesting of crops, practising what interview participants considered farming.

The concept that gender can be practised through labour (Hill 2011), is to some degree mirrored in the data. When attempting to map out the limits of hegemonic masculinity, one key question was *"What can a man do or how can he behave in a way (in a certain context - village/town) that other men will not consider him a real man?"*. The most common answer to this question, from both men and women was that a man is no longer a man if he does what is considered a woman's job. This included fetching water, making coffee, cooking food, caring for children or cleaning. It was, furthermore, highlighted that doing a woman's job was also connected with very much shame and a sign of poverty or a male losing his power. For example, one participant explained that a neighbour in the village had helped his wife carry water and after this many men in the village had taunted him saying he was a weakling and that he was his wife's maid (Man, housing type 1, age 51, 24.01.2016).

When asked if women were seen as less feminine if they did a man's job, it appeared that not only was it highly acceptable for a women to do a man's job. Some even claimed that women who did jobs that were coded as masculine, gained more respect and were considered extraordinarily strong. This was however challenged when speaking to the NGO manager, who claimed that often when he walked in the villages early in the morning, he would see women doing male labour hidden in the dark as they would be shamed if someone saw this happening (personal communication, Common River Director, 30.01.2016). Although after having discussed this phenomena with

participants, some described that the women who do male labour in secret, do this because they are not married or have been left by their male partner and that the shame of doing a man's labour then is more connected to being without a man than the actual labour itself.

Both men and women from all housing categories agreed that women work more than men. *"The woman works from the morning till night. She has two jobs, the household and the children at the same time"* (man, housing type 2, age unknown, 03.02.2016*)*. Only four interview participants (two females and two males) stated that the man worked more, although this can be understood in relation to that in these participants households, the man had employment elsewhere while also being responsible for farm activities. When asking why women did more work, it was explained to be a result of the local culture. Many women voiced that they thought it was unfair that although women work the most the men still always have the last say. *"It is in the culture, even if the women are working it is always the men who decide and have the last say"* (woman, housing type 1, age 45, 22.06.2014).

One major contradiction within the data was that nearly all interview participants agreed that gendered division of labour is much less strict, and that men and women have a more equal work burden in urban areas or when livelihoods are diversified. It was described that the culture of women working more was undermined when livelihoods became more diversified. However, when asking if this then meant that also men cook and clean, this question was laughed at and thought of as ridiculous. All participants who were asked about gendered division of labour when livelihoods are diversified agreed that once this happened it was obvious that a maid would be employed to take over reproductive labour such cooking and cleaning within the household. In this sense, the connection between livelihood diversification leading to a less strict gendered division of labour was highly dependent on commodification of female coded reproductive labour. This trend has been noted by numerous critical feminists studying gendered division of labour through class or intersectional perspectives (Sweetman 2012, Bakker 2007).

"In the town they hire a servant so the woman does less work." (man, housing unknown, age 41, 27.01.2016)

This piece of data shows us a rather interesting insight of to which extent hegemonic masculinity is not changing in the sense that to practise hegemonic masculinity a man still cannot do female coded labour. Instead, the change of gendered division of labour may be more related to an increased access to resources. As livelihood diversification happens on a household level, women are more likely to get a chance to perform male coded productive labour. However, as noted above, women in household or in contexts where livelihoods are not diversified, are seemingly not breaking gendered societal norms, women are even in these context being appreciated for performing male coded labour. Thus, as the context changes with livelihood diversification, this does not imply that gendered norms and hegemonic masculinity is actually changing at the core, as much as just being renegotiated through access to further resources. In households with access to monetary resources, commodification of reproductive labour to some degree lifts previous reproductive responsibilities from the women in the household, who thus to a larger extent free to engage in male coded productive labour. Within the household this implies that gendered labour division is less strict, although on a societal level, women are still bound to reproductive work only that is it commodified and thus creates a class dependent gendered division of labour.

"The man does not work [with] the woman [female coded] *work. The man has changed his behaviour but he does not work.* [With] *the work there is no change, the behaviour there is big change."* (woman, type 2, 26.01.2016).

This trend was furthermore observed in that several women stated that some men were opposed to women having employment or independent income. This explained to be because men wanted their wives to stay at home and take care of cooking and cleaning and outside productive labour would stop them from doing this properly. However,

several men also lifted the positive benefit that having a wife with employment would result in more income for the household.

> *"The husband can become very jealous. The husband would not always be happy that she has her own salary. The husband wants her to stay at home and care for the children and cook the food(…). Even if the community tried to convince the husbands it is still very very hard. The husbands are traditional and need the women to stay at home. It is very very hard to change this"* (Woman, housing type 3, age 34 24.06.2014).

Hence, there is an evident conflict between women's increased access to education, and through this employment, and the norm that for men to practise hegemonic masculinity they cannot do reproductive labour although they are highly dependent on someone else doing it. One part of the apparent new evolving hegemonic masculinity is to be equal with one's wife and *"share her labour burden"*, however the burdens of reproductive care are still taboo for a man to practise without being emasculated. Thus, the need for reproductive care is constant while more women start to access productive labour and therefore hiring a maid is a way to negotiate this conflict. The possibility of negotiating this conflict is through monetary resources, indicating that there is a class perspective related to if a man can practise hegemonic masculinity and avoid this conflict. Or like one of the interview participants phrased it *"the rich man and the rich women are equal, but the poor woman and the poor man they are not equal"* (woman, housing type 3, age 35, 02.02.2016). Gendered division of labour is furthermore being changed by access to education which will be the topic of the section below.

5.4 Education and Masculinity

> *"If women are equal to men that means they get education they will get a job so they no longer work at home so they* [the men] *don't like this. They do not like this idea some of them"* (woman, housing   type 3, age 27, 23.01.2016).

One of the most recurring themes in all interviews was education. Education was continuously conceptualised as *"the way out"* from farming, bad behavior, poverty and oppression of women. When asking interview participants what their dreams are for their children the most common answer was that they wanted them to become educated as shown in the quote below.

> *"An educated person will always be educated, money comes and goes but education stays. Also education creates good behaviour so this is better for my daughter"* (man, housing type 1, age 57, 03.02.2016)

It was, furthermore, rather clear that many of the interview participants shared the idea that men who had education were less likely to practise behaviours that were considered bad for equality between men and women. This was stated in interviews, especially in relation to the question "*Why are some men more positive toward equality between men and women and some men less positive?*". Men who practised oppressive behaviours such as abusing one's wife, stopping the wife or daughter from attending education, being negative to women having an independent income and ignoring or leaving one's wife, was explained that this was due to "*lack of education*".

As the data collection process continued the researcher was eager to understand what part of education it was that was creating behaviours in men that was more compatible with gender equality and perhaps was even changing parts of hegemonic masculinity. After having asked numerous interview participants how they could explain this phenomena, two young female teachers were especially helpful in creating insight to this issues. What they described and what also other participants mention, was that education changes masculinity in two ways.

Firstly, the two women together with seven other interview participants mention the importance of the new school subject Civics that was introduced in all Ethiopian schools in 2003. The subject is taught as a government strategy to preserve peace and stability as the country has a long history of civil war and instability (Semela 2013). The

aim of the curriculum is to promote democracy and respectable morals for all Ethiopian students. It is taught from grade four up until university level as an obligatory course. In the text books (which the researcher examined) there could be section on for example "the importance of saving and paying back loans" (Researcher's own observation). One major part of this subject is to teach students the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment. Thus, the reason for why many mention that men who are educated are more likely to be more positive toward gender equality is that this is actually propagated within the institution of Ethiopian schools (Ethiopian ministry of Education 2014). Also, a few participants mentioned that through learning new things in schools, the importance of culture and cultural assumptions were questioned.

Secondly, the other way in which education may be part of changing previous hegemonic masculinity, was not actually connected to the material that is taught, but lay in the space which schools create. As described in the quote below, schools are a space in which both boys and girls work together and this phenomena may be creating new experiences that change hegemonic masculinity.

> *"When you go to school you will sit with a girl, you will study with them [the girls] you go with them, you eat with them so you communicate with them. You do everything together so the girl can do what the boy can do. Education makes it good for this"* (Eden, woman, housing type 3, age 27, 05.02.2016).

Previous theories articulating how masculinity is produced in education institutions highlight that schools are a key space in which hegemonic masculinity connected to subordination and hierarchy are constructed and socialised (Swain, 2005). However, these ideas are not entirely compatible with the researcher's findings. Especially when it came to subordination of women, education was to some degree seen as a less patriarchal space than for example rural households. In school, both boys and girls are expected to do the same tasks. Evidently, there were major difficulties for young girls to participate in education on equal term as boys, mainly due to a higher amount of

domestic responsibilities stopping them from doing homework and early marriage forcing girls to interrupt their education (Eden, woman, housing type 3, age 27 05.02.2016). Despite this, in the context which was studied, labour was strictly divided by gender, men and women seldom, if ever, work side by side. Therefore, by going to school and doing the same tasks as girls, boys gain the experience of that a girl is capable of the same things as him equally well or even better. This experience may be part of changing hegemonic masculinity.

Furthermore, the data indicated that education was also important in changing hegemonic masculinity in that it contributes to changing the position of women within the social setting. For women education was conceptualized to be a key strategy to become more equal to men, as education opens up the possibility to gain monetary employment and by having a monetary income women have the opportunity to be more independent. Education was also described to be good for gender equality as "*girls get to know the boys*" (woman, housing type 2, age 61, 26.01.2016) and are thus not afraid of them. One notion that was continuously voiced was that "*the educated girl she know her right and therefore can also claim it from her husband*" (woman, housing type 2, age 67, 22.01.2016). Access to education further enabled women to have independent income and through this, women actually may have the chance to chose her male partner and leave the partner. This increased power implies that new criteria for how men ought to behave are being created. This means that women have an increased possibility to negotiate and become part of defining what kind of masculinity is most respected, legitimate and values and thus hegemonic.

When asking questions about education and women, there was generally a tendency of the participants to bring up the government and mention how the government had been increasingly successful in making schools accessible also for girls. Here the operationalisation of the MDGs from a global to national level all the way to these very small villages was evident.

In the two villages Titira and Woto as well as in the wider Ethiopian context, school attendance has only recently grown and illiteracy is still widely spread. As schools and

education, have for so long not been open for all, this new increase of schools and education is likely to change previous societal structures. In Titira and Woto education appeared to be not only providing new kinds of knowledge and ideas but also creating a space in which gender can be renegotiated. In a societal context where the very notion of space is very gendered - the inside of huts being female and outside being male - and labour is generally very strictly divided by gender, creating a space in which both boys and girls meet and are expected to work side by side is likely to be part of producing alternative masculinities.

5.5 Intra-household Gender Relations

In the conceptual framework Bourdieu's concept of habitus is outlined. This concept is in this section used to understand how the structural changes of livelihood transformation and increase of education which are as described in the previous analysis part of redefining hegemonic masculinity is being internalised and changing individuals' masculinity habitus. Due to this being a very tentative question, the research question will not be answered in depth but rather attempt to outline the indications that the data provides us about how structural changes are leading to changes in intra-household gender relations and how the changing hegemonic masculinity may be presented within household relations.

> *"In previous times my father did not treat my mother well. She prepared the food and she gives water to her man. He ignores her.* [After] *One hour she gives him the water and he ignores her again as this is the culture.* [If] *He accepts the water faster, then they [the community] will be against my father. Now it is changed, my wife give the water and* [if] *I ignore her then she would slap me. Me and my wife communicate well. Now when I talk to my wife we are equal"* (Man, housing type 2, 65 years old 29.01.2016).

The quote above illustrates how the legitimate actions of hegemonic masculinity have been limited compared to how it was previously, as it is no longer accepted for a man to demonstrate this kind of power without being questioned. The man shows that he is aware of what would have been acceptable behaviour for his father is no longer

acceptable for him. Various other interview participants, described how in previous times men were expected to subordinate and control the females in their household. This was done both through violence and controlling women's movements making sure they did not leave the hut. However, many agree that this kind of behaviour is no longer accepted. One participant explained that in previous times no one in the community would care if a man abused his wife as female spouses was considered a man's personal property and not the business of others. The participant then went on to explain that this no longer was the case, if a man would abuse his wife now and the community heard about it then he would first be shunned and then required to make redemption. When inquiring why this had changed, the participant explained that the government policies for gender equality and education was changing both the mindset of the general community and individual men (Man, housing type 1,age 45, 9.02.2016)

Education appeared to be a key institution when it came to actually changing intra-household gender relations. As mentioned above, many of the participants explain that educated men treat their wives much better. This was described to be a result of that once an individual accesses education, he or she become more prone to question cultural assumptions. "*The man gets more education then he will treat the wife better*" (man, housing type 2, age 65, 29.01.2016)

As both men and women are increasingly receiving education, subordination of women is being questioned to such as degree that it may even be redefining hegemonic masculinity. On an individual level this implies that the structural changes, are impacting individuals *habitus*, changing the freedoms of action, thought and choice (Motties 2001).

6. Returning to the Research Questions and Conclusion

This final section presents the potential answers to the research questions in relation to the analysis above. Furthermore, the final conclusion and suggestions for further research are presented.

6.1 Research Question One

The first research question is concerned with understanding how hegemonic masculinity is changing or being maintained in relation to use of labour, including livelihood diversification and gendered division of labour. Hegemonic masculinity is, as defined in the conceptual framework, the kind of masculinity that is the most respected and legitimate in a certain context. The main point brought up in the analysis of the data are as follows. Hegemonic masculinity ideals are transforming from "good farmer" to being educated. This transformation can be derived from livelihood diversification. In a diversified livelihood context being educated is more important than being a good farmer when attempting to provide for the family. Thus, the hegemonic masculinity ideal of the male provider is maintained. As livelihoods diversify, the way to practise this ideal is mainly through access to education rather than farming ability. Providing for one's family could be becoming more difficult to practise when livelihoods are diversified. In a non-diversified context the only resources needed to provide for one's family are land and working ability. In contrast, when livelihoods are diversified men need access to education, a social network to gain employment and are highly dependent on volatile food prices to practise the provider ideal of hegemonic masculinity. The changing structures, that livelihood diversification implies in combination with maintaining the male provider ideal, may be problematic for men with limited access to resources. This implies that there is a social class dimension limiting men's ability to practise hegemonic masculinity in a diversified livelihood context.

Regarding gendered division of labour in relation to masculinity, the study showed that livelihood diversification and education are changing gendered division of labour. As households diversify their livelihoods, gendered division of labour becomes less strict. However, in practise this means that women to a larger extent involve in male coded productive labour, although men still do not engage in female coded reproductive labour. Instead there was a presumption between the interview participants that livelihood diversification would lead to increased access to cash which would enable households to employ a housekeeper who could take over the household reproductive

labour. In this way, the core hegemonic masculinity norm that men ought not engage in female coded labour is maintained through outsourcing reproductive labour to the market.

6.2 Research Question Two

The second question aimed to understand what role education played in changing or maintaining hegemonic masculinity. In relation to the analysis, education appeared to be an institution that is fundamentally changing previous hegemonic masculinity in three ways. Firstly, by providing learning material on the importance of gender equality and empowerment of women through the school subject Civics. Secondly, by creating a space in which girls and boys work side by side breaking the previous structure of complete gender division of labour. And thirdly, women's increased access to education, implies that women have a greater chance of gaining more independence and thus become part of defining a more gender equal hegemonic masculinity.

6.3 Research Question Three

Finally, the third question sought to understand how the structural changes of livelihood diversification and education impacted masculinity norms in intra-household gender relations. In relation to this, the data indicates that these structural changes, were leading to men having less room to subordinate women without being questioned. The structural changes have led to men acting differently toward their wives and other women. For instance, some male and female interview participants highlighted that men are nowadays less likely to engage in, what the participants considered, discriminating behaviour.

6.4 Conclusion

To conclude, hegemonic masculinity, in the two villages studied, is both changing in and being maintained, although maintained in a changing context. The changes to hegemonic masculinity appeared to be closely connected to access to education. However, hegemonic masculinity is being maintained in relation to gendered division of labour and the male breadwinner norm. Livelihood diversification could be making it

more difficult to practise these core hegemonic masculinity norms, due to increased dependency on more and different resources. When livelihoods are based on subsistence farming, a man only needs access to land and cattle to perform the hegemonic masculinity norm of being "a good farmer" and providing food for the family. As livelihoods are diversified men depend on access to education, a social network as to gain employment and a food market with highly volatile food prices in order to practise the evolving hegemonic masculinity norm of being educated and also in this setting providing for the family. Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity appeared to be evolving as women are to a larger extent becoming part of defining what kind of masculinity is hegemonic. One of the new prerequisite for practising hegemonic masculinity is respecting the wife and sharing her burdens. However, this is to some degree in conflict with the previous core hegemonic masculinity norm of men not engaging in female coded labour. This conflict can be solved by outsourcing reproductive labour, which again shows the increasing dependency on more resources to be able to practise hegemonic masculinity. The option of outsourcing reproductive labour may not be a viable option for households unable to access enough resources even when livelihoods are diversified. Thus, there is a risk of women being overburdened both with the continued responsibility of reproductive labour in the household, as well as productive labour through productive employment as livelihoods are transformed.

The findings of this thesis are specific to the two villages in the study, however, it is plausible to claim that similar structural transformations are taking place in many other peri-urban villages both in Ethiopia and in nearby countries. The processes of changing and maintaining hegemonic masculinity are not homogeneous, although, as this study has shown the results of these processes may create challenges for men to practise hegemonic masculinity.

The conclusions of this study offers hope that hegemonic masculinity may evolve to become more compatible with the global goal of gender equality. However, conflicts related to this evolving hegemonic masculinity are closely related to access to resources. Depending on whether these resources are available or not, these conflicts may be

exaggerated and/or translated into increased violence against women and other negative outcomes such as male depression and male alcoholism, as other studies have found.

Further studies on how the norms of men not engaging in reproductive labour can be changed, are recommended, both to insure that men do not experience disempowerment, but also to avoid women being burdened with excessive labour. Also, studies examining the relationship between practises of hegemonic masculinity and dependency on resources are recommended. This could provide a deeper understanding of how men with limited access to resources can be encouraged to develop alternative hegemonic masculinity norms that are compatible with the global goals of gender equality.

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Appendix A: Interview guide

What is your name?

How old are you?

What does your family live of?

How long have you lived in this area?

How has the area changed?

How has the behavior of people changed?

What are the criteria for what is a town and what is a village?

Do you live in the town or the village?

How is the village different to the town?

What is a good man where you live?

What is a good man when you no longer work with farming?

What do you think people taught was a good man in previous times?

Why has it changed?

What is a bad man?

How does a good man treat his wife?

How does a bad man treat his wife?

How does the community treat a man who is not considered good?

What is considered a man's job where you live?

What is a woman's job?

Is this division same if you do not work with farming?

Do you think the division has changed in recent times compared to before?

Who works more - men or women or is it equal?

How does education change a person?

How is an educated man different to a non educated man?

What can a man do that will make other men think he is no real man?

Why are some men more progress toward gender equality and some are not?

Do you recognise that gender equality is increasing in your life?

How do you think men in your community act is a   woman in the household gets her own income?

Why do you think others have answered that education makes a man good?

How do you think life changes when you no longer work with the farm?

How is your life different to your mothers/fathers life?

How is your daughter's/son's life going to be different to your life?

What do you think men in Ethiopia think about that women have it better now than before?

What are your dreams for you children?

What kind of man do you want your daughter to marry?

What do you think of these questions?

What questions do you have for me?

Appendix B: Table over Entire Sample

Gender	Housing type	Age	Location	Date
Woman	1	40	Woto	21.01.2016
Woman	2	67	Woto	27.01.2016
Woman	3	25	Aleta Wondo town	23.01.2016
Woman	2	35	Titira	25.01.2016
Woman	2	65	Woto	26.01.2016
Woman	3	26	Aleta Wondo	29.01.2016
Woman	2	70	Titira	30.01.2016
Woman	3	28	Woto	1.02.2016
Woman	2	35	Titira	4.02.2016
Woman	3	45	Titira	4.02.2016
Woman	3	35	Woto	5.02.2016
Woman	2	25	Woto	7.02.2016
Woman	3	45	Titira	6.02.2016
Woman	1	22	Woto	8.02.2016
Women	1	22	Woto	9.02.2016
Woman	2	25	Woto	10.02.2016
Woman	3	30	Woto	13.02.2016
Woman	-	-	Woto	22.06.2014
Woman	-	-	Titira	24.06.2014
Woman	-	-	Woto	25.06.2014
Man	2	85	Titira	26.01.2016
Man	2	28	Woto	28.01.2016
Man	2	65	Titira	29.01.2016
Man	-	30	Titira	27.01.2016
Man	1	45	Woto	3.02.2016
Man	3	55	Woto	3.02.2016
Man	2	60	Woto	3.02.2016
Man	-	45	Woto	8.02.2016
Man	1	45	Woto	9.02.2016
Man	2	60	Woto	10.02.2016
Man	1	40	Titira	11.02.2016
Man	1	22	Titira	12.02.2016
Man	3	35	Titira	12.02.2016
Man	-	60	Woto	15.02.2016
Man	3	-	Woto	13.02.2016

Appendix C: Table of Sample According to Age

Age*/ Gender	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60+	Unknown	Total
Men	3	1	4	1	5	1	15
Women	8	4	2	0	3	3	20
Total	11	5	6	1	8	4	35

*Age data is to be seen as approximate due to interview participants not being fully aware of their own age.

Source: Appendix B