

Identification of best practices (positive deviant cases) in gender relations and their role in overcoming gender-based constraints (GBCs) among livestock keepers in Ethiopia

December 2019

by

Wole Kinati



Focus Group discussion with farmers and experts



Panel discussion with experts

CGIAR is a global partnership that unites organizations engaged in research for a food-secure future. The CGIAR Research Program on Livestock provides research-based solutions to help smallholder farmers, pastoralists and agro-pastoralists transition to sustainable, resilient livelihoods and to productive enterprises that will help feed future generations. It aims to increase the productivity of livestock agri-food systems in sustainable ways, making meat, milk and eggs more available and affordable across the developing world. The Program brings together five core partners: the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) with a mandate on livestock; the International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), which works on forages; the International Centre for Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA), which works on small ruminants and dryland systems; the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU) with expertise particularly in animal health and genetics and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) which connects research into development and innovation and scaling processes.

The Program thanks all donors and organizations who globally supported its work through their contributions to the **CGIAR system**

© 2019



This publication is licensed for use under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Licence. To view this licence, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>.

Unless otherwise noted, you are free to share (copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format), adapt (remix, transform, and build upon the material) for any purpose, even commercially, under the following conditions:


 **ATTRIBUTION.** The work must be attributed, but not in any way that suggests endorsement by the publisher or the author(s).

Table of contents

Summary of Findings	2
Introduction	3
<i>Gender Relations in Livestock Based Systems</i>	3
Research Questions	4
Methodology	4
<i>Theoretical Framework, Analytical Techniques and Variables</i>	6
Findings	7
<i>Best Practice, Positive Deviant Cases, in Gender Relations</i>	8
<i>Decision Factors for Adopting a Changed Gender Relations</i>	12
<i>Negative Influencing Factors in the Course of Adopting a Changed Gender Relations</i>	14
<i>Conclusions</i>	15
Acknowledgments	16
References	17
Annex 1: List of participants	19

Tables

Table 1. Number of study participants by gender and site	5
Table 2. Number of farmers identified practicing a changed gender relations by gender and site	6
Table 3. Characteristic of respondents practicing best practices in gender relations ...	7
Table 4. Motivating factors for the practice of best practices in gender relations among livestock keepers in selected Livestock CRP sites	11
Table 5. Decision factors in positive deviant practices in gender relations	13

Summary of Findings

Positive deviant practices in gender relations and other livelihood aspects being practiced by women and men against the normative gender relations include women assuming the “role of men” in farm operations such as ploughing, harvesting and threshing; women speaking in public; couples sharing every decision and participating together in social associations; women’s active participation in community affairs; women demonstrating a pro-active information seeking behaviour; men’s participation in domestic activities; women playing the role of community elders; and women involved in house construction as main source of income. Generally speaking, the identified best practices are practiced and owned by few individuals and households.

This study reveals several important motivating factors for adopting changed gender relations in agriculture and other livelihood aspects: loss of husband to death and divorce, exposure to urban living and “foreign” practices, family influence during early age, higher literacy level, the desire for higher income, and extreme poverty. Individuals or households need to make decisions in three areas, self-conviction, normalized relations (within household & community), and structures (formal & informal institutions) in order to engage in changed gender relations.

The study also highlighted the constraining factors to individuals engaged in such practices. Practicing changed gender relations is mostly challenged by external factors which include peer pressure, risk of being isolated from neighbourhoods, and social networks ranging from informal to formal associations. These are in the forms of discouraging words received from peers, neighbours and members of social associations which is mostly experienced during initial stages of exercising positive deviant cases in gender relations.

Although, the findings presented are worth to inform the design and implementation of gender transformative approaches to transform constraining gender relations in livestock production and other livelihood aspects, it is apparent that further research is required to cover wider aspects of rural livelihoods for better understanding of positive deviant cases in gender relations in agriculture.

Introduction

Ethiopian rural societies have definite gender roles that are part of their norms. The gender norms, which form the base for gender relations, are shaped by individual behaviour as well as social institutions (Laven, 2010). Gender norms and division of labour are the two factors largely responsible for the gender gap in access to resources and use of opportunities between men and women in agriculture (KIT et al, 2012). They expose women and men to different levels of risks (Kristjanson, 2010).

Previous studies on gender issues in livestock in Ethiopia reveal that women are often have less access to agricultural inputs, technologies, market information, extension services, labour, rural associations and economic opportunities (Aregu et al. 2010; Zahra et al. 2014; Kinati and Mulema, 2016). Gender norms related to systems of ownership discouraged women from owning livestock assets through which they acquire more agency and empowerment (Kinati, 2017), although, women are primarily responsible for livestock management activities (Kinati and Mulema, 2016).

Lack of gender capacities among research and development practitioners was apparent in studies conducted under CRP Livestock and Fish (Annet et al., 2015; Kinati and Mulema, 2016) that exacerbate the gender inequalities in agriculture in rural Ethiopia. Past CRP research in Ethiopia has focussed on gender capacity development at institutional level and has characterised and quantified division of labour at household level.

However, gender transformative approaches and development of strategies at community and household level with the aim to change constraining gender norms have not yet realized. Part of the reason could be attributed to the lack of research findings regarding which approaches/strategies work under which gender contexts. This includes not only identifying critical gender-based constraints in livestock but also researching on best practices, positive deviant cases, in gender relations that could be used as an entry for designing an effective gender transformative approach to transform constraining gender relations. This has implications for adoption of integrated livestock technologies that improve rural livelihoods and empower women. Therefore, case study research to identify best practices in gender relations that could be used as an ingredient for designing a gender transformative approach to transform constraining gender relations at community and household level is essential and timely.

Gender Relations in Livestock Based Systems

Although, gender has been a matter of an ongoing debate in social and feminist theory, in its simplest definition, it is being understood as a relational category (Harders, 2011). But, a more nuanced recent perspective defines gender as “a social institution constructed on three structural principles: the division of people in two social groups, ‘men’ and ‘women’; the social construction of perceptible differences between them; and their differential treatment, legitimated by socially produced differences” (Lorber, 2008, 538).

Gender relations are often varied and constantly in fluidity, but there are almost always hegemonic notions of femininity (Connell, 1987) within a given cultural contexts which shape women's roles and relative positions (McDowell, 1999). Inequality in gendered power emanating from attributed roles and embedded power relations are sustained through day-to-day practice (Staeheli et al, 2004). At its most extreme cases, this is sustained through gender related violence. But, according to Connell (2005), these power relations and hegemonic notions of femininity and women's place are always challenged and transformed by counter-hegemonic gender relations and behaviours (Burgess, 2013).

Existing studies on gender relations in livestock in Ethiopia are scanty and localized in terms of geographic coverage and issues covered. Moreover, very limited information is available on the positive changes in gender relations that affect livestock development. Hebo (2014) has reported that custom-based gender relations and the associated gender roles in livestock are slowly beginning to change. Suggested factors include such as changing practices in rural markets, political interventions coupled with right awareness, and changes in socio-cultural settings.

The current study aimed at filling the gap in this regards by identifying best practices (positive deviant cases) in gender relations among livestock keepers in Livestock CRP sites. This has a huge implications for the design and interventions of gender transformative approach using this as an entry point to overcome gender based constraints in the livestock based systems.

Research Questions

- 1) What are the positive deviant gender relations being practiced against the established norms living in a patriarchal social structure, with male family headship, in Ethiopia?
- 2) Why do households living in a patriarchal community decide to practice against normalized but harmful gender norms that affect their livelihoods? What factors influence their decisions?
- 3) How do individuals/households describe their experiences with divergent practices in gender relations from the wider community? what are the negative influencing factors in the courses of making decisions?

Methodology

In recent years, to address wider range of research questions, case study designs have been used across numerous disciplines ranging from social sciences, health and education (Harrison et al., 2017). Though, it has been around since early nineteenth century (Stewart, 2014), it has got a renewed interest in qualitative methodology with the arrival of grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which led to a revitalisation in the use of case study in multiple disciplines in the recent years (Harrison et al., 2017). The continued use of case study design across various disciplines to understand the complexities of institutions,

practices, processes, and relations, has demonstrated the ability of case study for investigating complex issues, and testing causal mechanisms. Consequently, case study has been re-established as a credible and valid research design that facilitates the exploration of complex issues in recent years, (Harrison et al., 2017) and viewed as a valid form of inquiry to explore a broad scope of complex issues, predominantly when human behaviour and social interactions are central to the understanding of the topics of interest (Yin, 2014).

In case study research, subjectivity is a common critic and openly acknowledged. Reflexive stance within case study, adopting methods such as memoing and journaling that support this position, is embraced in order to manage the problem of subjectivity (Miles et al., 2014; Yin, 2014). Case study design can address a wide range of questions that ask why, what, and how of an issue and assist researchers to explore, explain, describe, evaluate, and theorize about complex issues in a given context. Harrison et al. (2017) suggest that results from case study can lead to an in-depth exploration and understanding of behaviours, processes, practices, and relationships in certain context (Harrison et al., 2017).

The current study employed a qualitative case study design, multiple case study approach. Addressing the "how" and "why" questions within real-world contexts is an important strength of case study research design (Trickett, 1994). It allows researchers to gather information from multiple sources.

For the current study, multiple sources of information were consulted to generate information. The training workshop forum organized in May to September 2019 by the Livestock CRP in response to a perceived need to strengthen the capacity of key actors (coop leadership and service providers at woreda levels) for the breeding cooperatives across selected Livestock CRP sites was used as a forum for consulting community leaders and livestock extension service providers. These service providers include *kebele* administrative officers, CBBP facilitators, staffs of regional research centres, staffs of district cooperative promotion offices, staffs of district livestock agency, and staffs of district office of agriculture.

Table 1. Number of study participants by gender and site

Study Site	Community leaders & farmers		Service providers		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Bonga	14	4	13	0	31
Horro	9	3	11	2	25
Abergele	8	2	13	2	25
Total	31	9	37	4	81

The community leaders and service providers were asked to identify community individuals and cases for the case study research.

Table 2. Number of farmers identified practicing a changed gender relations by gender and site

Study Site	# of farmers practicing a changed gender relations		Total
	Female	Male	
Bonga	6	0	6
Horro	6	2	8
Abergele	4	0	4
Total	14	2	18

They were asked to describe the individuals and the cases to be studied in their own words, and these narratives were used to develop typologies of best practices in gender relations in the study areas and to describe each type of cases in rich detail (see Annex 1). Based on the information from community leaders and service providers, detailed case studies have been conducted with individuals and households identified in the first stage of the research process, with community leaders and service providers. This practice helped to guide the construction of an explanatory model articulating why these best practices are being practiced by the individual farmers and households in the study areas including the decision making factors and challenges in the course practicing such practices later from the case holders.

Theoretical Framework, Analytical Techniques and Variables

Drawing on the concept of theory of planned behaviour, the study adopted a framework for decision making as an analytical approach to the current study. According to Ajzen (1991), the most commonly used research framework in studying human action is the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB). The framework suggests that human action is guided by three considerations namely attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control. Attitude refers to the degree to which execution of the behaviour is evaluated positively or negatively. Subjective norm which is also known as referents is the perceived social pressure from significant others to engage or not to engage in the behaviour. Whereas, perceived behavioural control refers to the perceived own capability to successfully perform the behaviour. Together, these lead to a positive or negative intention to perform the behaviour.

The framework for decision-making to adopt a changed gender relations was followed to analyse how decision is made using a three-tier design which includes decision areas, decision factors, and decision attributes (Yoo and Kim, 2018). Factors from prior research in different disciplines were considered to guide the identification of factors and attributes for the current research as finding factors from similar studies in livestock based systems was

hardly possible. Accordingly, drawing on similar studies but in different discipline, grouping of the variables to determine the decision factors and attributes was made. Each factor and attribute were examined to conclude their appropriateness for the adoption of a changed gender relations. Table 3 summarizes decision areas, factors and attributes along with its definitions which were determined through this research approach.

Findings

Majority of the individual livestock keepers identified practicing some forms of changed gender roles in agriculture and other aspects of livelihoods are married women and widowed. Most of them are literate with average age of 41.8 years old. Their family size, on average, is 5. Majority of them are head of the household. It means that even most of the married women are assuming the role of leadership in their family. According to the community's wealth status rating, all the respondents are classified as rich or medium and are membership of at least one or more social institutions such as cooperatives, *iddir*, saving associations, and the like. Almost all of the respondents, individuals with best practices, are experiencing an increase in access to services/information, asset ownership, participation in decision making, and reputation in the community as a result of adopting a changed gender relations as opposed to the normative gender norms. It seems that this is what maintained their motivation to continue practicing such activities inspite of any external factors that discourage them. External influencing factors are discussed in the last section.

Table 3. Characteristic of respondents practicing best practices in gender relations

Section	Characteristics	Frequency	Ratio (%)
Sex	Male	2	11.1
	Female	16	88.9
Age	28–59 years (average=41.8)		
Education level	Illiterate	7	38.9
	Literate	11	61.1
Marital status	Married	6	33.3
	Widowed	6	33.3
	Single	1	5.6
	Divorced	5	27.8
Family size	3-8 heads(average=4.9)		
Wealth status	Rich	9	50.0
	Medium	9	50.0
	Poor	0	0.0
Role in the HH (family)	House wife	3	16.7

<i>Section</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Ratio (%)</i>
	HH head	15	83.3
Are you Membership to any group/s?	Yes	18	100.0
	No	0	0.0
When did you start this/these practice/s?	1-12 years a go		
Economic/social performance (as compared to other fellow farmers)			
Is your access to services/information is increasing?	Yes	18	100.0
	No	0	0.0
Is your asset ownership is increasing?	Yes	18	100.0
	No	0	0.0
Is your participation in decision making is increasing?	Yes	17	94.4
	No	1	5.6
Is your reputation in the community is increasing?	Yes	17	94.4
	No	1	5.6

Best Practice, Positive Deviant Cases, in Gender Relations

The context

Generally speaking, rural Ethiopia is highly patriarchal. Men dominate public spaces while women are assumed to be subordinate. In most cases, they are expected to stay at home and responsible for domestic activities. Patriarchal structure continues to shape women's opportunities because of the persistent values that influence male and female decisions (Ramos and and Martín-Palomino, 2015). However, women may develop different strategies for personal fulfilment and gaining autonomy (Fraser, 1992). Thus, despite gender constraints, women are able to accommodate the power of social forces and the capacity to act decidedly against them (Ramos and and Martín-Palomino, 2015).

The study identified a number of useful best practices in gender relations. Generally speaking, the identified best practices are owned and being practiced by few individual men and women, and households in the study areas. The best practices being practiced by women and men against the normative gender relations are listed below along with highlighted descriptions of the contexts in which they are being practiced and its potential role in overcoming constraining gender relations.

Women taking over the “role of men” in farm operations such as ploughing, harvesting and threshing: women engaged in productive activities including the act of ploughing, harvesting & threshing of crops, both cereals and cash crops. Doing such activities helped those women to avoid extra expenses on hired men labour which is often expensive. Engagement in what is called as “men’s only work” open a window of opportunities such as

participation in technical agricultural trainings, access to productive inputs and market information.

In these area, according to respondents, such activities are culturally considered as masculine and not appropriate for a woman to involve in such operations. Having the skill of ploughing a land encourages one to go further and seek access to other farm inputs and extension services. However, culturally women are discouraged of such activities. In Horro woreda, one woman stated that “if a woman plough land using an oxen, the land will not be productive”, Insene Qanno, 26/08/2019. Such sentiment is used to discourage women not to engage in such activities.

Women speaking in public: an act of active participation and often making opinions, speeches and arguments in public gatherings, rural associations, community events representing groups and self. Such participation helped women to be represented and their needs and interests reflected. In pulic events where such women are present and made activive participations, men participants acknowledged that women can make a winning arguments pertinent to women and men if they are given opportunities.

In this community, usually only men are expected to speak out and make points assumed useful for the rest of community members. In most cases, it is widely believed that what women are represented by their men spouses. If a womenspeak out in a public where both men and women are present, she is regarded as an arrogant and eventually lose her reputation among community members. However, in the recent years, this is being changing as a result of right awariness creations by government and non-governmental organizations working in the study areas.

Couples sharing every decision and participating together in social associations: Husband and wife consult and jointly make decisions affecting the household. He has seen the added value in involving his wife in every bit of decisions he makes. He decides nothing without consulting and having her consent. Such practices over the years enabled him to take the first initiatives for consulting his wife to be member of the breeding cooperative when it was established in his community. Both are members of the sheep breeding cooperative in their community. It is normally uncommon and unusual for couples to be a member of the same social associations. Especially, most women think that she should not be a member of a given association where her husband is a member. Because, she believes that she is already represented by her husband.

Women’s active participation in community affairs: this is participation of a women in community leadership and school administrations. Often selected and appointed as member and leader of community and school councils by community members. As a result, she ahs developed leadership skills. Such engagement often rewarded with fame and decision making power in the community. This work is normally assumed to be the work of men and thus men are the visible players in such activities. But, if a women is observed making an involvement in such community activities, she usually thought by fellow women

as if she has no job back at home. Regardless of this, however, women observed in some communities taking this role equally with men.

Women demonstrating a pro-active information seeking behaviour: in some communities there are women who are actively seeking information. This involves an act of seeking for information sources regardless of mobility constraints socially imposed on women and often making a contact with extension personnel irrespective of their gender. In most communities, it is culturally not appropriate for a women to go away from home and make a contact with male extension workers especially for married women. Moreover, this act includes also taking the risk of technology failure and actively participating in new trials and adoption of technologies and innovations which is even not common to observe among male farmers.

Men's participation in domestic activities: Engagement of men in domestic activities such as making *injera* and wot, fetching water using pots and donkey carts from a distant water points. This activities are traditionally assumed to be women's work and if men are observed involving in such activities, they often meet with forms of disgrace by his fellow men or women in the community. however, in respect of this there are men spouses in some communities engaging in such activities.

Women playing the role of community elder: this involves an active participation of women in conflict mediation and resolutions. Community members seek for such women whenever disputes occurred between individuals or group of peoples over certain issues demanding resolution before it emerges to a serious conflict causing damage to the people and community. This individuals not only have special mediating ability but also managed to have respect from community member, both men and women members including community leaders. Such types of roles are usually expected from elderly men and whereas women rather assumed as sources of conflicts in most communities.

Women involved in house constructions as main source of income: women engaged in construction of houses using concrete. It is a work that demands labour and involves ascending and descending, which is supposed to be inappropriate for a women in communities. If she does so, she will be regarded as misbehaving and likely lose her social ties.

If the experiences of these individuals and households, women and men, who are already engaging in the above identified best practics breaking the existing norms are taken up and used to challenge other community members living in their own community, transforming constraining gender relations more likely succssful. Because, these progressive community members have demonstrated improved livelihoods as a result of their engagement in such activities that can be demonstrated lively to others in order to convince them. Such women and men can be used as a model farmer to teach others. Hence, public extension approach need to consider these in its extension system.

Table 4. Motivating factors for the practice of best practices in gender relations among livestock keepers in selected Livestock CRP sites

Practices	Site	Who?	Motivating Factors
<i>Farm operations such as ploughing, harvesting & threshing</i>	Adiyo Woreda, Bonga	Widowed and divorced women	Loss of husband to death and divorce as a result of disagreement between husband and wife; Exposure to urban living for sometimes. These led women to start engaging in such practices in order to support her family and make a living. Often the burden of raising children after divorce is left to women in most communities.
Speaking in public arenas	Adiyo Woreda, Bonga	Widowed Women	Positive family influence during early age. Grown up in a family where female children are encouraged to make active participations in family matters. A relative longer stay in schooling as compared to the rest of the community members provided the courage and ability to speak out and make active participation in community affairs affecting own life.
Shared decision making and participation in social associations	Adiyo & Horro Woredas	Couples	Better literacy level on the side of husband. He attained some level of schooling. Husband and wife consult and jointly make decisions affecting the HH. Seeing the added value as a result of spouse's involvement in every bit of decisions affecting the family. Both are member of the same cooperative.
Participation in community management practices	Horro Woreda	Widowed Women	Aspiration for better wage as a result of some level of schooling combined with loss of husband and endeavour to overcome life challenge. This led to active participation in community & school administrations hoping that engagement in community services will pave the way to getting a civil servant positions.
Demonstrate Pro-active information seeking	Adiyo, Abergele & Horro	Widowed and divorced women	The desire for higher income through use of technologies. Better social capital as a results of some kinds of literacy levels enabled to open eyes to technologies and innovations.
Participate in domestic activities	Horro Woredas	Married men	Ousted out of comfort zone to be a soldier combined with better literacy exposed to the practices of domestic activities such as cooking.
Act as community elder	Horro Woredas	Widowed women	Expectation for formal job in the community. Attended formal schooling and thus always seek formal work in the community. As a result, continually engage willingly in community management activities expecting that one day this will pave the way to formal jobs.
Involve in income generating activities	Abergele Woreda	Divorced women	Extreme poverty led to family breakup which imposed burden of raising children alone due to divorce. In order to survive and raise children, she need to

regardless of its nature. e.g. House construction practices	involve in any income generating activities. In order to do that, there must be change of setting, location, to escape cultural restrictions and negative reactions from relatives, peers and community members among whom she grownup if wanted to engage in activities culturally inappropriate for her.
-------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Decision Factors for Adopting a Changed Gender Relations

A three-tier design framework for decision-making was adopted to analyse how decision is made to adopt a changed gender relations in agriculture and other livelihood aspects. This approach enabled to reveal various decision factors and attributes. Each factor and attribute were examined to conclude their appropriateness for adopting a changed gender relations. The decision areas identified includes the desire for economic freedom, the related gain, compatibility, family and community readiness and support, and formal and informal change support. Whereas, the decision attributes are economic advantage, strive for survival, prestige, agency, self-determination, visionary, permissibility, manageability, readiness for change, progressiveness, relationship with others, self-control, commitment, collective agency, law and policy, customary laws, and community incentives. Summary of the decision making factors to adopt best practices in gender relations along with definitions is provided in Table 3 below.

The decision areas and attributes clearly show that, if a progress is to be made in overcoming a constraining gender norms in agriculture in the study areas, a gender transformative approach need to directed towards exploiting them. The manifestation of such factors and attributes at individual, household or community levels could be taken as a clear and tangeable signals for the arrival of conducive time to design and implement a gender transformative approach in communities where these is exhibited. They are talken signals for the existing of favourable environment for transforming a constraining norms in a given context.

Table 5. Decision factors in positive deviant practices in gender relations

Decision Areas	Decision Factors	Decision Attributes	Definition
Divergent Practices through Self-Conviction	Economic freedom	Economic advantage	Struggle for economic equality through engagement in productive activities.
		Strive for Survival	Engagement in new sphere of practices considered masculine in order to sustain life in situations where one lost her partner.
	Related gain	Prestige	Feel of being respected because of appearance in public with fellow men.
		Agency	Act of revealing one's capability of doing beneficial jobs although culturally inappropriate.
		Self determination	Desire to attain the power of control over economically important assets.
		Visionary	Passion for change and strong belief on self through own effort.
	Compatibility	Permissibility	The extent to which the reactions, as result of deviation from existing norms, from family members, peer pressure and social networks are tolerable.
		Manageability	Simplicity of the practice to implement, for practices that requires specific skills.
Normative Relations (within HH & community)	Family & community readiness	Readiness for change	Family and community openness and progressiveness for accepting and encouraging change against established norms.
		Progressiveness	Communities' progressiveness due to gendered awareness interventions and other factors.
		Relationship with others	Level of social capital and engagement in community services that a person has in his/her community.
	Family & community support	Self-control	Ability to restrain oneself from norm dictations and discouraging others e.g. by nicknaming.
		Commitment	Family and community's commitment towards supporting changes.
		Collective agency	Progressiveness of general public/community members as a result of better education.
Normative Structures (Formal & Informal Institutions)	Formal change support	Law and policy	Changes in policy contexts. The move towards gender responsive policies and actor's/ community's adaptation to the changes.
	Informal change support	Customary laws	Expansion of protestant religion and its teachings that support a more gender equality.
		Community incentives	Words of encouragement from educated group and the more liberal young generations.

Negative Influencing Factors in the Course of Adopting a Changed Gender Relations

The case study also identified negative influencing factors in the course of adopting a changed gender relations in agriculture and other rural livelihood aspects. Individuals and households who choose to follow a different course of livelihood activities against the normative social and cultural practices experienced some kinds of discouraging influences. Respondents witnessed that these happened to them especially during the early stages of their experience with their engagement in new practices. These discouraging influences are external factors. These includes peer pressure, risk of being isolated from neighbourhood, and social networks ranging from informal to formal associations.

Most of the farmers who are practicing the changed gender relations reported that they have experienced some kinds of words of discouragement from peers, neighbours and loss of membership to social associations. This happened mostly during initial stages of their new course of practices. They are ridiculed and nicknamed for practicing such activities against the existing norms. However, all suggested that this kinds of behavioural reactions does change gradually when people observe the positive results of such practices on the lives of practicing individuals and their family members. Nevertheless, they argue that drawing people after oneself is always not an easy task as they tend to stick and respect the existing tradition than the added value due to such practices. One women from Adiyo worda has shared the following sentiments regarding what she encountered due to her participation in activities considered men's work in her community.

“My husband is a hard worker. I help him in all aspects of agricultural activities including farm operations such as digging soil, harvesting and threshing which are labour intensive and used to be assumed as ‘only men’s job’ in our community. I always aspire to work like men to earn good income and thus engage in all kinds of activities. I seek and make participation in community activities that I think will bring me some kinds of advantage. However, ten years ago in 2008, some women in my circle murmured against me saying that she does ‘men’s work’ and does not respect our tradition. They accused me not because I am a hard worker and making good life but in fear of their husbands that they will be also asked by their spouses to work like me. When heard, I brought the case to community elders and accused them. As a result, they were punished with 100 birr each”, Aselefech Yeshe, Adiyo worda, 21/08/2019.

Another woman shared a similar experience. She is one of the female farmers who actively participate in public meetings, extension events and community management activities. She said “whenever I go away from home to participate in community events, most women think that I do not have work at home and they attach that to my marriage status. Because, I am a wife of a teacher”, Fantu Gitamo, Adiyo Woreda, 21/08/2019.

In Abergele, a woman also reflected. She does the work of house construction which is normally assumed to be men's job. However, both men and women used to discourage me

by saying “*chikashin aboki*” which means do your muddy work. When climbing to the roof of the house for assembling, they, both men and women, say “*imsishin indaywegash*” meaning be careful not to damage your vagina while climbing up and down the ladder. These are words of discouragement to a woman, Asefu Aleneh, Abergele, 07/09/2019.

Conclusions

The study identified a number of useful gender related cases. The positive deviant cases being practiced by women and men against the normative gender relations includes women taking over the “role of men” in farm operations such as ploughing, harvesting and threshing; women speaking in public; couples sharing every bit of decisions and participating together in social associations; women’s active participation in community affairs; women demonstrating a pro-active information seeking behaviour; men’s participation in domestic activities; women playing the role of community elder; and women involved in house constructions as main source of income.

Resultantly, this study suggests several important motivating factors for adopting a changed gender relations in agriculture and other livelihood aspects: loss of husband to death and divorce, exposure to urban living and “foreign” practices, family influence during early age, better literacy level, the desire for higher income, and extreme poverty. Individuals or households need to make decisions in three areas, self-conviction, normalized relations (within household and community), and structures (formal and informal institutions) in order to engage oneself in the practice of a changed gender relations.

The practice of a changed gender relations are mostly challenged by external factors which includes peer pressure, risk of being isolated from neighbourhood, and lose of social networks ranging from informal to formal associations. These are often exhibited in the forms of discouraging words received from peers, neighbourhoods and members of social associations which is mostly experienced during initial stages of the new practices. The relative fluidity of local gender norms across the study areas set the context for women and men so that they can exercise their capacity to take important decisions and engage with deviant practices and other opportunities for bettering their lives.

Although, this study revealed many useful implications that can be used as an input for the design and interventions of gender transformative approaches, it is apparent that further research is required to make a holistic study covering wider aspects of rural livelihoods for better understanding. Nevertheless, the best practices in gender relations identified could have a potential to challenge the existing gender based constraints in livestock and other livelihood aspects if carefully used in the design and interventions of gender transformative approaches. These individuals can serve as role models for other members of their community and efforts to support such champions in best practices can play an important role in unlocking new approaches to GTA. When a critical mass of such individuals is

achieved, sustainable transformation in gender norms and relations including livelihoods can be realized.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank Barbara Ann Rischkowsky, Program Director, Resilient Agricultural Livelihood Systems at ICARDA, for her continued support during the conception and implementation of this study. This study was funded by the Livestock Livelihoods and Agri-food Systems Flagship of the CGIAR Research Program on Livestock.

References

- Ajzen, I. (1991) The Theory of Planned Behaviour. *Organizational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*, 50, pp. 179_211.
- Brown, Louise (2008). A review of the literature on case study research. *Canadian Journal for New Scholars in Education*, 1(1), 1-13.
- Burgess, Gemma (2013). A Hidden History: Women's Activism in Ethiopia. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 14(3), 96-107. Available at: <http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol14/iss3/7>.
- Fraser, N. (1992). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text*, 25(26), 56–80.
- Glaser, Barney G. & Strauss, Anselm L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine Pub. Co.
- Harrison, Helena; Birks, Melanie; Franklin, Richard & Mills, Jane (2017). Case Study Research: Foundations and Methodological Orientations. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 18(1), Art. 19, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs1701195>.
- Harders Cilja. 2011. Gender Relations, Violence and Conflict Transformation In B. Austin, M. Fischer, H.J. Giessmann (eds.) 2011. *Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Bergh of Handbook II*. Opladen/Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers. Online at: www.berghof-handbook.net.
- KIT, Agri-Proocus and IIRR. 2012. *Challenging Chains to Change: Gender equity in agricultural value chain development*. KIT publishers, Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.
- Kinati, W. and Mulema, A.A. 2016. Community gender profiles across livestock production systems in Ethiopia: Implications for intervention design. *Livestock and Fish Brief* 11. Nairobi, Kenya: ILRI.
- Kinati, W. 2017. Assessment of gendered participation in breeding cooperatives in CBBP target sites: Gender relations, constraints and opportunities. CRP Livestock Genetics Flagship ICARDA Report. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: ICARDA.
- Laven, A. 2010. *The risks of inclusion: Shifts in governance processes and upgrading opportunities for cocoa farmers in Ghana*. KIT Publishers, Amsterdam.
- Lorber, Judith 2008. *Constructing Gender. The Dancer and the Dance*, in: James A. Holstein and Jaber F. Gubrium (eds.). *Handbook of Constructionist Research*. New York: Guilford Press, 531-544.

Mulema, A.A., Tafesse, S. and Kinati, W. 2015. Gender capacity assessment and development methodology and tools: The case of Ethiopia. Livestock and Fish Brief 9. Nairobi, Kenya: ILRI.

Raewyn W. Connell, Gender and Power (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987)

González Ramos A.M. and, Martín-Palomino E.T. (2015). Addressing women's agency on international mobility, *Women's Studies International Forum* 49 (2015) 1–11.

Stewart, Alison (2014). Case study. In Jane Mills & Melanie Birks (Eds.), *Qualitative methodology: A practical guide* (pp.145-159). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Yin, Robert K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Yoo S.K., and Kim B.Y. 2018. A Decision-Making Model for Adopting a Cloud Computing System, *Sustainability* 2018, 10(8), 2952: doi:10.3390/su10082952

Annex 1: List of participants

ATable 1. List of community members practicing best practices in agriculture and changed gender relations

S. No	Name	Sex	Headship status	Best practices	Site
1	Ashebe Keto	F	WMHH	Innovator, open to technologies and practice changed gender roles. She always seeks for new ways of doing things.	Boka shuta
2	Worke bongo	F	WMHH	Actively involved in productive activities by competing with men and accumulated assets which provided her fame.	Boka shuta
3	Fantu gitimo	F	WMHH	Practice a changed gender roles in agriculture. E.g. plowing, harvesting, threshing, and house construction.	Boka shuta
4	Abebech G/Silase	F	Single	Innovator, practices changed gender roles. Engage in all kinds of works as men.	Boka shuta
5	Aselefech Yesho	F	WHH	Actively involved in productive activities and accumulated assets more than most men farmers.	Boka shuta
6	Alemitu Shegito	F	WMHH	Married but lead the HH. She took part in public affairs, trainings and other community events representing the HH although she has husband.	Boka shuta
7	Dadhitu Dhaba	F	WHH	Innovator, open to technologies and practice changed gender roles. She always seeks for new ways of doing things.	Gitilo Dale
8	Elfinesh Dabala	F	WHH	Actively involved in productive activities and accumulated assets.	Gitilo Dale
9	Jifare Bechere	F	WHH	Actively involved in productive activities and accumulated assets and also practice changed gender roles.	Gitilo Dale
10	Insene Qanno	F	WMHH	Innovator, open to technologies and practice changed gender roles. She	Leku Igu

				always seeks for new ways of doing things.	
11	Tolashe Jabana	F	WHH	Innovator, open to technologies and practice changed gender roles. She always seeks for new ways of doing things.	Leku Igu
12	Teshoma Qubi	M	MHH	Innovator, open to technologies and practice changed gender roles. She always seeks for new ways of doing things.	Leku Igu
13	Xayitu Dheressa	F	WHH	Innovator, open to technologies and practice changed gender roles. She always seeks for new ways of doing things.	Leku Igu
14	Desalegn Regassa	M	MHH	Actively involved in productive activities and accumulated assets. He also engage in domestic activities regardless of restrictive norms.	Leku Igu
15	Kirosu Asefa	F	WHH	Practice a changed gender roles in agriculture. E.g. plowing, build houses using concretes.	03 Kebele
16	Asefa Alelih	F	WMHH	Actively involved in productive activities just like hardworking men and accumulated assets.	03 Kebele
17	Kirosu Wenah	F	WHH	Actively involved in productive activities. Act like a man, started from nothing and be able to accumulated assets and got recognition.	03 Kebele
18	Tandit Agotayi	F	WMHH	Actively involved in productive activities and accumulated assets. Recognition among communities made her to serve as elder in the community.	03 kebele

ATable 2. List of community members participated in FGDs to identify community members practicing best practices in gender relations

No.	Name of participants	Sex	Site	Community members/ Role in the community
1	Alemayehu Haile	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
2	Keneto Geramo	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
3	G/Hiwot Geramo	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
4	Admasu Abera	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
5	Bezabih Bekele	M	Shuta Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
6	Kochito Haile	M	Shuta Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
7	Ayelech Keto	F	Shuta Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
8	Abayinesh Woldesenbet	F	Shuta Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
9	Geramo G/Michael	M	Shuta Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
10	Adisu Adeko	M	Shuta Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
11	Asrat /Michael	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
12	Abebe Ambo	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
13	Mengesha Bedato	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
14	Habtamu Asfaw	M	Shuta Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
15	Berihanu Gebre	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
16	H/Mariam Gebre	M	Boka Kebele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
17	Alemitu Shigato	F	Boka Kebele	farmer
18	Abebech G/Silase	F	Boka Kebele	farmer

19	Abebe Abdena	M	Gitilo Dele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
20	Takele dheressa	M	Gitilo Dele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
21	Rabira Rumicha	M	Gitilo Dele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
22	Tesfaye Koche	M	Gitilo Dele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
23	Belay Abebe	M	Lekku Igu	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
24	Eticha Kubi	M	Lekku Igu	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
25	Fikadu Barsisa	M	Lekku Igu	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
26	Fikadu Feyisa	M	Lekku Igu	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
27	Desalegn Regese	M	Lekku Igu	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
28	Dedhitu Dhaba	F	Gitilo Dele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
29	Alemitu Kebede	F	Lekku Igu	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
30	Tolashe Jebena	F	Gitilo Dele	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
31	Tamtew Chekol	M	Ziqal Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
32	Misanu Abera	M	Ziqal Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
33	Maru Tekile	F	Ziqal Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
34	Tafete Bire	M	Ziqal Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
35	Haile Wolde	M	Ziqal Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
36	Mesfine Amare	M	Abergele Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
37	Elfu Weldat	F	Ziqal Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee

38	Adere W/Gebriel	M	Ziqual Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
39	Tadessie Bezabih	M	Ziqual Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee
40	Alefu G/Mariam	M	Ziqual Woreda	Member of Cooperative Leadership Committee

ATable 3. List of participants (service providers) in panel discussions to identify community members practicing best practices in gender relations

No .	Name of participants	Sex	Partners/Services providers
1	Seifu G/Medin	M	Cooperative Promotion office, Adiyo-kaka Woreda
2	Degefu Mamo	M	Cooperative Promotion office, Adiyo-kaka Woreda,
3	Getachew Gebeyo	M	Cooperative Promotion office, Adiyo-kaka Woreda
4	Fikadu Amamo	M	Livestock Agency, Adiyo-kaka Woreda
5	Deneke Danagnchew	M	Agri. Development Office, Boka Shuta
6	Solomon Shaligo	M	Kebele Manager, Boka Shuta
7	Temesgen Mekuria	M	Agri. Development Office, Adiyo-kaka Woreda
8	Getachew W/Mariam	M	Agri. Development Office, Adiyo-kaka Woreda
9	Hasabu Abebe	M	Breeding Cooperative Facilitator, Boka Shuta
10	Tamiru Bekele	M	Breeding Cooperative Facilitator, Boka Shuta
11	Befikadu Demissie	M	Youth & Food Security Office, Boka Shuta
12	Maregn Alemu	M	Bonga Agri. Research Center, Bonga Town
13	Kassa Tarekegn	M	Bonga Agri. Research Center, Bonga Town
14	Nemomsa Firdisa	M	Horro Livestock Agency, Head
15	Tesfaye Name	M	Leku Igu, Development Agent
16	Abdi Fufa	M	Gitilo Dele, Vet
17	Ayena Fikadu	M	Gitilo Dele, Coop Facilitator
18	Million Dheressa	M	Gitilo Dele, Kebele Manager

19	Bekashe Geleta	F	Leku Igu, Kebele Manager
20	Yashi Bedada	F	Horro, Gender officer
21	Buzalem Asefa	M	Horro Cooperative Promotion office, Gender officer
22	Getu Tekalign	M	Horro, Livestock Agency, SR Expert
23	Geleta Mosisa	M	Horro, Cooperative Promotion Office, Head
24	Debisa Shibiru	M	Gitilo Dele, Development Agent
25	Jiregna Medala	M	Lekku Igu, Kebele Cooperative Promotion Agent
26	Tolera Fikadu	M	Lekku Iggu, Development Agent
27	Adane Wubet	M	Sekota Dryland Agricultural Research Center, Scio-economic researcher
28	Ademe Mihiretu	M	Sekota Dryland Agricultural Research Center, Extension researcher
29	Tadese Adane	M	Zikuala Woreda, Cooperative Promotion Officer
30	Beletu G/Kidan	F	Aberegele Woreda, Cooperative Promotion Officer
31	Tibebu Gebire	M	Zikuala Woreda, Women, Children & Youth Affairs office, Gender officer
32	Kasahun Bire	M	Zikuala Woreda, Cooperative Promotion Officer
33	Abebaw Aregaw	M	Ziqua Woreda, BoA Extension Expert
34	Alemayehu Aba	M	Abergele Woreda, BoA Extension Expert
35	W/Senbet Gebiru	M	Ziqua Woreda, Women, Children & Youth Affairs office, Gender officer
36	Akilil Abay	M	Ziqua Woreda, Livestock & fishery development office, Expert
37	Nigusie Getahun	M	Ziqua Woreda, kebele administrative officer
38	Amanuel Alemu	M	Ziqua Woreda, Development Agent
39	Mihiret Ashagire	M	Abergele Woreda, Development Agent
40	Sina Demeke	F	Abergele Woreda, Development Agent
41	Tsegaye Tadele	M	Ziqua Woreda, Livestock & fishery development office, Expert

42	Tsegaye Atenaw	M	Abergele Woreda, kebele administrative officer
43	Zinabu Kebede	M	Aberegele Woreda, Cooperative Promotion Officer