

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**THE IMPACT OF TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLE SOCIALIZATION  
ON GENDER INEQUALITY IN PRIMARY EDUCATION: A CASE  
STUDY IN BATI *WOREDA*/OROMIA SPECIAL ZONE,  
AMHARA REGION**

**BY  
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**March, 2008  
ADDIS ABABA**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA  
UNIVERSITY  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIRMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN  
GENDER STUDIES**

**March, 2008**

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## **Acknowledgment**

First of all, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Hirut Terefe, for her guidance, useful criticism and suggestions. Without her constructive and timely feedback, the research might not be in this status. Great thanks also go to my examiners: Dr. Guday Emirie and Dr. Vijayasubramaniam, who offer me constructive evaluation, critics and comments and advices.

My gratitude also goes to many friends for their advice, practical help and time given to the well accomplishment of this research project. Consequently my gratitude goes to Mulugeta Desta for the gift of old friendship, concern, and encouragement. To classmate Yilma Boru, helping me in editing the whole document and for your constant encouragement. Gebrehiwot Adane for your timely support in sending me Lap Top Computer. Tigilu Alemu helping me interpreting Oromiffa in Selewa. Derje Hailu helping me in taking me to Selewa and Mamed primary school by motorcycle. Birihanemeskel Kebede helping in re-interpreting the parent and student participants recoded by Orommiffa in Selewa. Moknonon Nigatu and Solomon Mengesha for your many thanks particularly assisting me in printing many drafts and final research report and computer maintenance. My great thanks trans-goes to my family living in the Promised and Holy land for your all-round supports. Yohannes Assefa for your daily moral support. Mekbib Alemu and Ayalew Atinafu for your constant encouragement. Many thanks to Rokia Aidahis for your great concern, encouragement and confidence on me; and for your informal authority in me in insisting, forcing me to finish timely. I would like to thank to many friends for their different assistant Getnet Semaw, Belayinesh Mihirete, Abozin Baye, Getachew Sileshi, Ehitinesh Dagnaw, Fasil W/Michael, Solome Zewidalem, Wondesen Niguse, Terefe Fantaye, Cherinet...Getinet Msresha.

I want to thank for all the help that was given by the school administrators, teachers, students, and parents belonging to Bati, Mamed & Selewa schools localities. My Bureau, Women's Affairs Bureau, thank you very much for helping me through giving me the opportunity to study at Master's level, and covering my living expense. Thanks to the Amhara Region BoFED and BOE for their relevant data for this research. To Bati *Woreda* Women's Affairs Office, thank you for your informative and practical support. I have great respect for my girlfriend, Yemisirach Moknonon, offering understanding and tolerance when I was giving more time for my Studies. To old friend the late Engida Abebe, and my father the late Baye Shibeshi, this is to inform you that I have started the promised accordingly.

Finally, many thanks goes to my Computer, Serving me daily without interruption, and by protecting so many computer virus attempts. Really without you I know how much things would be complicated: financially and time matters. Hence, I can assure you that no human-being have been with me and helping daily, as my computer, in the process of this research project.

## **Acronyms**

ANRS	Amhara National Regional State
BOE	Bureau of Education
BOFED	Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (Amhara)
CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CHF	Canadian Hunger Foundation
DESO	Department for Democracy and Social Development
EFA	Education for All
FAWE	Forum for Africa Women Educationalists
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
HTPs	Harmful Traditional Practices
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GPI	Gender Parity Index
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency virus/ Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
KG	Kindergarten
KII	Key Informant Interview
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MOE	Ministry of Education
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
ORDA	Organization for Rehabilitation and Development in Amhara
PSR	Public Section Ratio
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UNESCO	United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPE	Universal Primary Education
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing

## Abstract

The general objective is to create understanding on how the existing traditional gender role socialization is the cause for the existing gender inequality in primary education in research *Woreda*. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods employed, basically the qualitative one.

Children, in their primary school age, have learnt/nurtured their personal gender behaviour and practices in their locality by different gender socialization institutions (family, community, religion, schools) or actors that act simultaneously, function in different forms and mutually reinforcing through different means. Consequently, the primary education system that has been established with the responsibility of cultivating the new generation with modern way of thinking is actually working its part in reinforcing and perpetuating the existing traditional gender socialization through the education policy and the primary school environment means. Hence, children learnt their gender identities by observing their role model experiences, studying behaviours and practices in the form of stories, jokes, playing together, music, drama, art, pictures. Subsequently, children learning and practising their socially assigned gender specific gender roles makes a gender difference in boys' and girls' education performances. For instance, commonly girls migrate to Jeddah to be domestic servant; and boys to Afar Region and Djibouti for generating additional income for their family; that was one of the major causes for students school drop out in the research *Woreda*.

The common educational indicators trends in research *Woreda* showed an increase in enrolment rate, decrease in drop out and in repetition rates. Whereas, the qualitative finding asserted that those nominal educational statistical progresses do not mean an increase in qualitative of education. Besides, when these trends analysed and interpreted from gender perspective, the five years trends in school enrolment and repetition for girls' and boys' showed almost a proportional result. While, the schools' drop out trend showed boys were the most affected than girls'. This signifies that in the existing traditional gender role socialization, though girls are the most affected, boys are also affected in their primary education. Furthermore, equality in quantity (in enrolment) is not enough for achieving gender equality in education, unless the quality of education is maintained

In general, gender equality is an important aspect of 'quality of education'. But, gender equality in primary education cannot be assumed without engendering the gender socializing agents primarily. Hence, to mainstream gender in the primary education system, all socializing agents need to be first gender friendly; and holistic, strategic approaches are imperatives in a given locality.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Background**

The environments in which children grow and learn are filled with information that contributes in children nurturing processes that used to 're-born' socialized human being. Thus, the most significant agents of gender learning that supplying children with information and lessons about gender are family, peer group, mass-media, the school environment, religion, societal institutions.

In the process of socialization, behavioural codes and societal values are transmitted to children. Children internalize behavioural codes and societal values because they were taught that it was "normal" to behave in those ways and they were rewarded or punished every time their behaviour fit and outfit the pattern established for their gender. Being a 'woman' or being a 'man' gave a social position of superiority or inferiority, not because people decided that way but because learned it as children. The inequality resulting from this social value keeps both genders from having the same opportunities for personal and collective development (Alfaro, 2000:13). Thus, social institutions are constantly transmitting gender formation as nurturing agent and the process takes place from generation to generation through the above multiple actors that act simultaneously and mutually reinforcing. Education systems in general and primary schools in particular are one of these institutions which transmit the existing gender role socialization to the next generation (ibid).

The gender role socialization processes that begin in the family would be reinforced and perpetuated by the school environments. The nurturing processes continue starting at pre-schools (if it is there), and primary schools, playing their indispensable gender socialization role through their organization's rules and practices. As children progress into adolescence and then adulthood development, the gender socialization processes and practices, those already started in the home and further developed and reinforced in pre-schools and primary school are then continued in the secondary and tertiary education levels (Leo-Rhynie1999:7).

Education is universally recognized as playing a key role in sustainable social and economic development. It is a human right and one of the basic needs and an essential tool for achieving the goal of equality, development and peace. Education also has considerable potential in its many dimensions and processes for bringing about change which can redress imbalances between women and men as well as other social groups. Therefore, educating girls offers the best hope of breaking the cycle of female deprivation. Hence, non-discriminatory educations benefits for girls and boys and ultimately contributes to make equal relationship between men and women. Besides, education

is central to pursuit of gender equity; however, considerable gender inequality exists in the education sector (ibid).

Primary schools that are established in cultivating the new generation, with new progressive thinking are passing the existing traditional gender stereotyping, which perpetuate the existing traditional gender role socialization. Consequently, in this research, attempt has been made to make understanding on the impact of traditional gender role socialization on gender inequalities in primary education in Bati *Woreda*.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

Although the efforts made by different stakeholders in order to 'eliminate gender disparities in primary education by 2005', one of the target of MDG, has increased enrolment in primary education, there has been still gender gaps in enrolment, persistence and performance in the Amhara Region especially in the peripheral/remote *Woredas*, where the existing traditional gender role socialization is still persisting.

For instance, in 2004/05 the regional Gross Enrolment Ratio/GER/ for girls and boys has been 83.9 and 78.02 respectively; and the Gender Parity Index/GPI/ had been 0.93. Whereas the GER for Bati *Woreda* for boys and girls had been 70.6 and 54.8 respectively; and also the GPI for this *Woreda* had been 0.78 for the same academic year. When we analyze the above figures, about 45 % of girls in the same school age group were out of the school system. The GPI figure shows girls were in disadvantaged positions. This research in Bati *Woreda* primary education is primarily stimulated by the researcher's earlier 'Gender and Education Project' study in 20 *Woredas* in 2004/05 in Amhara Region. The project's findings showed that in case of school enrolment the *Woreda* was low in the region. Besides low enrolment there was a high drop out. The main cause of girls' school drop out was their migration to neighbour country-Djibouti and Jeddah by leaving their schooling to be domestic servant; and that of boys in search of seasonal jobs in Afar Region.

Gender inequality is manifested in the educational sector and perpetuated through educational structures and processes. A number of issues have been identified which bear upon existing inequality and their perpetuations within the education system (Leo-Rhynie1999:8). Likewise, the researcher's premise is in making understanding that the existing traditional gender role socialization is the causes of gender inequality in primary education in the research *Woreda*. In other words, the researcher tried to produce an understanding how the education system, through its agents, is perpetuating the existing traditional gender role socialization that contributes for gender inequalities in the primary education; which directly and indirectly affects the quantitative and

qualitative participation of girls' and boys' in education.

The current education strategies deployed by education sector in Ethiopia focused only on girls' educational problems and challenges. It neglects the problem of boys' education, knowingly or unknowingly. Besides, though many researches have been under taken to examine the causes of girls' school participation and performance in Ethiopia, they lack exploring the educational problem from gender perspective as a whole. In other words, boys' educational problems, which are the result of the existing gender role socialization, have been the missed part of most researches. Neglecting the impact of the existing traditional gender role socialization on boys' education and future life too is not a fair approach and that is not the objective of gender equality. Besides these, this sort of approach might have a backfire effect on the effort to girls' education too.

In addition, the general trend observed by the researcher in some of the reviewed literature was that they have been given high emphasis on women/girls' education only, i.e. their methodology, approach, sample/target, the findings, conclusion and recommendations forwarded something about the problem of women/girls only. If they used men/boys' educational statistics, it was merely for the sake of comparison than analyzing the issues from both genders sides or from gender perspective; and addressing both girls and boys educational challenges. This might be because, girls'/women's lower status in education has been considered as a 'universal truth'.

As a result, the practical value of this research is to make understanding the impact of the existing traditional gender role socialization on gender inequality in primary education; and the education sector also perpetuates the existing traditional gender role socialization that would have been expected to cultivate generation with new thinking. All these experiences make this research topic interesting for the researcher.

In this research project, the researcher commonly used the 'existing traditional' gender role socialization, which is to mean that a gender role socialization that was and is not questioned and examined well or a taboo one. Once the main research problem has been articulated, one of the remaining sub-topics comprising the setting of the research problem is its research questions and objectives.

### **1.3. Research Questions, Objectives and Assumptions**

#### **1.3.1. Research Questions**

The general question of this research is that "To what extent the existing traditional gender role socialization becomes the cause for the gender inequality in the primary education." And the

corresponding sub-research questions to be answered are:

1. To what extent and in what ways gender role socialization related to existing gender inequality in primary educations?
2. What forms of gender inequality is reflected in the education system and perpetuated through it?
3. Why does gender inequality exist in primary education?
4. What is the ultimate impact of the existing traditional gender role socialization on education performance of boys and girls?
5. Why the educational problems of boys' underestimated by education implementers and by many researchers on the issue and how this attitude can be changed?
6. How can we change the existing traditional gender role socialization: source of gender inequality in the primary education?

### **1.3.2. Research Objectives**

The general objective of this research is to 'create understanding how the existing traditional gender role socialization is the causes for the existing gender inequality in primary education in research *Woreda*'; and the corresponding specific objectives of this research are:

1. To examine whether the traditional gender role socialization exists in the education system and how it perpetuate through its components, and become the causes for gender inequalities in primary education.
2. To examine that patriarchy (gender power relations) and gender inequality exist in the school environment.
3. To examine the impact of the traditional gender role socialization on both boys' and girls' education performance and future life too.
4. To predict what would happen if the existing strategies employed by the education sector and the approaches used by researchers on girls' schooling only in primary education continued in the same fashion.
5. To create understanding about the importance of gender equality in primary education and to indicate a number of policy implications and to propose instruments to mainstream gender in education system.

Once the main research problem, objective and questions have been identified, one of the remaining items comprising the setting of the research is its assumptions.

### **1.3.3. Research Assumptions**

For this research purpose, the following situations are taken for granted by the researcher with respect to the research problem under discussion so that others inspecting this research project may evaluate it in accordance with their own assumptions.

- ◆ The existing traditional gender role socialization will continue.
- ◆ The data collected with sample kebeles in regard to gender socialization, complemented with secondary data collected about the *Woreda*, would govern the gender role socialization in the *Woreda* as a whole.
- ◆ That taking one school sample from each urban, rural high and low lands, complemented with secondary education and other relevant data about the *Woreda* would represent the whole primary schools facts/indicators in the *Woreda*.
- ◆ The last assumption is that the personal observation and the primary data collected in 2006/07 will not contradict with the use of 2005/06 secondary data.

## **1.4. Significance, delimitation and Challenges of the study**

### **1.4.1. Significance of the study**

The practical experiences about ‘Gender and Education’ mainly motivated the researcher to choose this research topic and personally interested to learn more about gender analysis in education particularly in primary education. This is because education is a means that able people to think critically, to claim their right, and to challenge the social, political and economic injustices and gender inequality. It is necessary to bring gender equality and social welfare in general.

This research is designed to undertaken at primary education level, in particular at remote locus. This is because the Millennium Development Goals/MDG/ has given a great attention first on eliminating gender ‘disparity’ in primary education level. Besides, on socialization context, it is believed that primary school level is a stage where children sense of identity, behaviour and attitude is on the process of development, and they are vulnerable to individual and social influence in the nurturing process. Primary schools’ environment also reflects norms, attitudes and behaviours, which exist in the wider society. Subsequently, the behaviour installed or learned in childhood, in the home, schools, media and in any institution is mostly remain in the domain of the mind until old age. On top of these, different scholars argued, complex social relations can become visible when research is carried out at the bottom of the social hierarchy or at family level. Consequently, the researcher assumed that traditional gender socialization is most revealed if research is undertaken at the lower administrative-*kebele* level. Due to these reasons, this research has been designed to be

undertaken in remote locality and mostly in *Woreda* rural primary schools, where most of the traditional gender socialization persists.

One of the motives for the researcher to focus on this topic is not the previous researches in the field is limited in general, rather as it is stated in the statement of the problem, the approaches or the research designs have not touched the education problem wholly from gender perspective. In other words, the literatures that the researcher has come across have focused only on girls' problems in education. However, the researcher's Seminar Course in Gender Studies study report, in Dembecha *Woreda*, 2004/05 in particular showed that boys' primary education was also affected because of the existing traditional gender role socialization. That is the *woreda* primary schools' enrolment rate for girls was less than that of boys'. Whereas drop out and repetition rate was high for boys'. This is because it is habitual boys' seasonal emigration with men to Wolega/Oromia Region to collect coffee and to generate income for their family. Likewise, in the research locality large number of boys' school drop out was also registered in primary school in 2004/05 as that of girls. Since most of the Bati *Woreda* societies are drought affected. Consequently, boys in poor family usually moving to Afar Region in winter time in search of seasonal labour. Hence, both boys' and girls' education is affected in the local socialization and from postmodernist feminist perspective the universality of girls' under-representation in education is questionable.

Therefore, by analyzing how the existing traditional gender role socialization is the root cause for the existing gender inequality in primary education and by identifying its perpetuators at the primary school level, taking Bati *Woreda* as a case study, the researcher believed this research will provide an overview of gender issues in the primary education from gender perspective.

In general, the researcher believes that the study will add to the knowledge on the research topic. On top of that, since the researcher is pursuing an issues of social, development concern and a global hot topic; which is one of the MDGs, "Eliminating gender disparity in primary education by 2005", the finding of this research report would actually make a difference in some way by showing different way of approach in identifying the root causes of gender gaps in primary education, and suggesting possible recommendations that would enable in addressing gender issues in primary education in Ethiopia.

The research report is also expected to attract or stimulate further researches to be undertaken on the issues raised in this research topic; and also to be explored the untouched issues in the education system /for glance limitation section/. Finally, it is also expected this research would come across research problems beyond its objective to address, and manifest them to be researched in the future.

And apart from the significance of this research discussed above, it has certain limitations.

#### **1.4.2. Delimitation of the Study**

Considering the obvious constraints of time, finance and its scope to be in manageable size, for the feasibility of this research project the researcher has limited his scope on the study of primary education in one *Woreda* leaving the impact of the existing traditional gender role socialization on gender inequalities in secondary and tertiary education levels. Primary education given in the night program and private schools which are usually provided in urban schools are exempted in this research. Besides, the research didn't also attempt to address the impact of gender inequalities in education on future employment/profession and career choice difference between boys and girls, except offering highlight. In addition, the income level of parents that has an influence in exacerbating the differences on the enrolment and performance of girls and boys is beyond the scope of this research. Mass media is also excluded though it is one of the most gender socializing agents that influence the attitude and behaviour of children.

Finally, gender role socialization and gender identity formation differs from place/culture to place/culture; besides that Ethiopia is a diverse nation in terms of culture, ethnicity, resource endowment and others; and gender roles varies from region to region, so except its lessons learnt and the approach deployed, the local specific findings, conclusion and recommendation that comes from this research may not representative for the region and the country as a whole. However, this research report provide a profound insight on the impact of gender role socialization on gender inequalities in primary education in any given social setting and also serve as a benchmark for conducting similar researches in other social setting. In addition, the recommendations and policy implications of the research could be used in other localities having similar contexts. Besides the significance and limitation in this research, there were also challenges faced during data collection.

#### **1.4.3. Problems encountered during data collection and coping mechanisms**

The national population and housing census was undertaken on May 2007 when the researcher arrived on the research *Woreda*. During that time, some primary rural school teachers were involved in the census process and schools were closed for a while. Hence, the researcher was unable to move to rural sample schools as scheduled that overlaps in the data collection month. It was difficult to move and deploy the whole day time for data collection as the temperature reaches high during May in Bati. Since the rural schools are inaccessible to transport, it was difficult to move as the researcher scheduled. This problem was solved by renting motor cycle.

The Education Office head was busy in coordination of the census; it was difficult to get him easily. Since the *Woreda* and sample primary schools secondary data had not been properly arranged or documented, it was time taking in organizing and arranging the relevant data for this research. Besides, Bati primary school was closed for one week for the purpose of eighth grade model exam. In general, the time selected by the researcher was not convenient for the data collection. On top of that, it is the researcher who is responsible to reduce the bulky qualitative data as there is no computer software program that transcribe in local language, like that of a programme used to reduce quantitative data. Because of this, data collection in the research *Woreda* was time taking and tiresome.

After stating the research problem, identifying research questions and objectives, commonly the researcher plan the overall research design to propose how the researcher achieved the intended research objectives. Hence, the final section of this chapter deals with the whole research design plan that would show the whole process of the research project.

### **1.5. Research Design and Methods of Data Collection**

The discussion issues in this section are the overall research design and strategy and the specific research methods employed by the researcher to collect relevant qualitative data that enable to offer appropriate answers to the research questions.

#### **1.5.1. Research Design Procedure and Strategy**

The characteristics of this research is much of qualitative research, therefore, the design of the research has been in a developmental process in which the research concepts, questions, objectives, strategy, and methods have been emerged, developed, and gradually understood throughout the process of this research project. The type of this research is mainly 'basic research' that deals with theoretical problems and is concerned with advancing of fundamental knowledge for understanding the social world-in this case 'the impact of the existing gender role socialization on children primary schooling'.

The general procedures followed by the researcher in order to achieve the intended research objectives are the following. The first task was describing the existing gender socialization in the research locality and to create understanding that the reasons given by the society of the target locality for their traditional gender role socialization and to interpret and derive meanings by the researcher from gender perspective. The second activity was exploring the impact of the existing traditional gender role socialization on the gender inequality in primary education; and hypothesized that the root cause of gender inequality in primary education is the traditional gender role

socialization in the research locality. The next step was predicting what would happen if the existing approach continued as it is in addressing the education problem in primary education. The last task was suggesting how to adjust the approach towards education problems, and how to change the existing traditional gender role socialization that has an impact on education in the research locality.

Since using a combination of research strategies and methods might be an advantage (Blaikie, 2003:122) and the practice of feminist research is interdisciplinary i.e. employing a variety of strategies for creating knowledge about gender and women, and their social worlds which often lies hidden from mainstream society; and use to study women and gender from the humanities and social and behavioural science perspective (Hesses-Biber *et al*, 2004:3). Similarly, the researcher being feminist qualitative researcher basically employed the feminist research methods and chosen two research strategies in this research project. The researcher makes use of the 'abductive' research strategy to address the two intended research objectives of creating 'understanding' and 'changing' the existing traditional gender role socialization. The 'inductive' strategy was employed for the purpose of achieving the 'prediction' part of the research objective.

'Abductive' research strategy was chosen as the main appropriate research strategy as it has advantage to answer 'what', 'why' and 'how' questions. Besides, this strategy is associated with case studies; and the objective of 'understanding', which is also the main research objective of this research, is the exclusive preserve of abductive research strategy (Blaikie, 2003:124). In general, to answer the general research problem/question, the researcher preferred to address the main research problem according to its sub-questions in the entire process of this research report. In the process of research design plan, after determining the research strategy, the next step is to introduce the research methods of data collection that enable the researcher to collect the relevant data that fit to answer to each research questions.

### **1.5.2. Methods of Data Collection**

Quantitative and qualitative research designs are appropriate for answering different kinds of questions. Besides, the two approaches can represent complementary components of the research process. So, applying combined research methods enable to learn more about the social world. Further more, one of the things that make feminism unique is that feminists employ so many different methods in a single research project and often combine quantitative and qualitative research methods in order to gather knowledge in different forms and from different perspectives (Hesses-Biber *et al*, 2004:15). Furthermore, qualitative researchers accept the possibility of and search for multiple realities or worldviews. Hence, in any social context, they argued the possibility

that people may have different socially constructed realities on one society and may therefore have different ways of interpreting their actions (Blaikie, 2003:251).

Likewise, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was employed in this research. Since the research topic deals with the issue of gender role socialization in which socialization designed, practised and reflected by the existing societal relationship and gender interaction in a given locality and time; obviously the option of the research method is to be mainly qualitative one. Thus, qualitative methodology is the best research method to work in line with feminist research that its argument based on people's experiences, opinions and perceptions.

Since, there are partial and context-bound truths that can be accessed through utilizing feminist methods that help to examine about the existing social relationships during discussion with research participants in the research locality. Furthermore, feminist research methods enable the researcher to investigate children education problem from different social groups' (teachers', school administrators', parents' and students') practical experiences, lives, perceptions, attitudes and opinions. Hence, standing from feminists' theoretical background, this research is a case study that focused examining the inter-gender relation, experiences and practices in primary schools environment and the culture of the community and the social relations in the research *Woreda*.

### **1.5.3. Data Types, Forms, Sources and Selection**

**A/ Data types and forms:** The types of data collected for this research purpose, were primary, secondary, and tertiary data. The secondary data that are educational indicators mostly used as starting point, the tertiary data employed as supporting evidences for any justification and the primary data which were collected by the researcher that are expected to answer the research questions. Besides, quantitative and qualitative data forms were produced. The quantitative data were produced in 'numbers', while the qualitative or textual data were produced in 'words' form.

**B/ Data Sources:** In quantitative design, secondary data related to school enrolment, drop out and repetition (at least five years) and other relevant quantitative data were collected from statistical bulletin and unpublished documents. These data were found from sample primary schools, Bati *Woreda* education office, Amhara Region Education Bureau (annual statistics), and from MOE. Map of the *Woreda* and population statistics of the *Woreda*/school age/ was collected from Amhara Region Finance and Economic Development Bureau. The primary qualitative data were collected in 'semi-natural setting' and individual social actors deployed as a source of primary data in their social setting, i.e. individuals as informants-directors; and representative individuals-research participants-teachers, students and parents.

**C/ Data Selection:** The main target population for this research is the Bati *Woreda* primary school students in the 2006/07 academic year. As this research is mainly qualitative, primarily the sample size was not determined to be representative of the research population for the purpose of generalizing. But the researcher was concerned mainly with the scope, quality and the range of information that enable to answer the research questions properly. Hence, the researcher made use of non-probability sampling method to collect primary data. From this type of method, the researcher used the judgmental or purposive sampling method. This is because this method is used to select a variety of types of cases for in-depth investigation. For this purpose, the researcher made use of a single-case study focusing on one *Woreda*, and using an embedded types of single-case study, where the impact of gender role socialization on primary education were examined at various social actors' point of view; such as parents', students', and teachers' attitudes, and school administration and environment, etc..

#### **1.5.4. Selection of Sample size**

**A/ Sample schools:** To start the field work, standing from the research purpose, the research locus debriefed to the Bati *Woreda* Education Office by the researcher. The head of the Office helped to select the sample primary full-cycle schools for in-depth investigation. Hence, three sample full cycle primary schools were selected from the existing seven full cycle primary schools in the *Woreda*. This was done purposely because the student target groups for discussion were intended to be from the six to eighth grade level. Besides, in selecting the three full cycle primary schools, distance from the town, availability of transport, representing urban-rural locality and geographical location were taken into consideration.

Accordingly, for comparison purpose (to examine gender gaps between urban and rural), Bati primary school was selected from the town. Besides, in order not to miss the important information due to location difference, among the two sample rural schools, Mamed primary school was selected from high lands and Selewa primary school from low lands. Similarly, the directors of the three selected sample primary schools helped the researcher in facilitating the group discussion with parent, teacher, and student research participants.

**B/ Sample informants:** To make manageable, generally, the respondents' number were predetermined to be from six to ten. In order to analyze the main research question from the two genders point of view, experience and practices, the research participants were predetermined to be from both genders. Besides, there had been an intention to balance the gender composition in each participants focused group discussion. This is because, primarily, the researcher believed the male-

gender to be among the research participant as they are part and parcel in designing the social relations and social interactions. Besides, as both girls and boys are the products of the existing gender role socializations, the negative effect also reached for both; therefore, the researcher is also interested to examine the boys' schooling issues in the research locality. Furthermore, boy children and the male-gender were expected to be part of the solution. In addition, before discussion was started, general demographic background which includes age, marital status, religion, family size and educational level were collected from both research participants.

**Table: 1.1. Sample schools, teachers, students, directors and parents**

No	Selected Schools	Samples								School Location
		Directors		Teachers		students		Parents		
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1	Bati	-	1	3	2	3	4			Urban
2	Selewa	-	1	3	2	7	4	6	5	Rural/low land
3	Mamed	1		1	4	2	3	3	2	Rural/high land
	Total	1	2	7	8	12	11	9	7	Urban + Rural

Source: organized from unpublished document of sample primary schools, May 2007.

The sources of qualitative data for the research were school directors, teachers, students and parents from sample school localities. The total number of director participated in-depth interview was three, of which, two were female directors. The total teachers participated in focus group discussion/FGD in both three sample schools were 15, of whom 8 were female teachers. Due to the inconveniency to get teachers at the same time in free class periods and since most of the teachers were absent from school for National Census, the number of participants in each school was five.

By considering capability of self-explaining, expressing their opinion, the target groups for student participants were predetermined to be from grade six to eight; where, children that can able to express their opinion constructively are expected to be found at these grade levels. Unfortunately, eighth grade students were left school after taking their model exam, and the last grade level was seven in Selewa school for the 2007 academic year, therefore, most (73 %) of the student participants were from grade seven. Besides, the total number of voluntary students for FGD was 23, of which 11 were girls. Though the intended figure of sample students in each schools were between eight to ten, due to misunderstanding created in Mamed primary school, the was a cluster exam (grade four students) was matched with the appointment day, and the other grade students were remain home. Hence, discussion was undertaken with the five students who came

unfortunately for study purpose in the school. The total number of parents who took part in the FGD was 16 from two rural *kebels*, and both were farmers, of whom female were seven. Since parents in Bati town are reluctant for such sort of gathering the school administration was unable to facilitate FGD with parent participants in Bati town.

**1.5.5. Timing of Data Collection:** To collect secondary statistical data that enable to compute the main educational indicators' trends that extended for five years period of time, 'longitudinal' timing of data collection design was used. Besides, to detect the existing social life situations during research data collection year that include social interaction, inter-gender interaction, norms, tradition, custom, belief, etc., the researcher employed a 'cross-sectional' timing of data collection design to collect qualitative primary data.

**1.5.6. Data Collection Techniques:** Employing multiple techniques help to secure a more penetrating grasp of the situation in the research locus. Besides the contemporary quantitative and qualitative data collection tools, different feminists' research techniques were also utilized to collect different types of data that fit to answer each stated sub-problems accordingly.

**1.5.6.1. Quantitative methods:** The analysis of these data would be expected to show the extent of gender gaps in the *Woreda* primary schools particularly it would tell us about the gender composition, in which grade level the problem is severe for boys and girls and why. Hence, to analyse the educational indicators' trend or to trace changes over five year of extended timing of enrolment, drop out and repetition, secondary data were collected by reviewing different documents. Consequently, to make sense of the quantitative data results and to search for the root causes of the identified problems and to create understanding its effect collecting qualitative data through qualitative means was employed.

**1.5.6.2. Qualitative methods:** Using the analysed secondary data result as a spring board or as an initial indicator, different qualitative methods were employed that enables to collect, analysis and interpret qualitative data. The collected qualitative data enabled to understand the complex causes and consequences of educational problems in primary education from the research participants (social actors) point of view and were analysed and interpreted from gender perspective. In other words, the qualitative findings make visible the invisible causes and impacts that would have been unforeseen by the quantitative analysis techniques that contribute for gender inequality in primary education. Consequently, qualitative feminist research methods were utilized. Hence, to answer mainly the 'why question' of this research, qualitative primary data were collected through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Besides that, informal discussion with individual teachers,

students and other community members were also undertaken.

During data collection in the field, the researcher started the duty first by collecting secondary/official data in the Bati *Woreda* Education Office. And not to be a stranger, the researcher made numerous preliminary visits and by collecting secondary data from unpublished school documents, and contacts made with the three sample schools' community. Formal and informal discussion with teachers and students, individuals in the community and personal observation of the school environment in general were undertaken before the main duty was started. Personal observation is important for it's' idea sparking or development that would be utilized during discussion with research participants. The main duty was started after a number of days' contacts and observation made; and when things seemed that a friendship has come in each sample schools' environment, FGD and in-depth interviews were followed. Before each discussion was made, suitable places were selected together with each participant and school director. It was commonly in the office, class, and in the field.

In analyzing the social relations and patriarchy in an institution that affect the distribution of resources, responsibilities and power in the school environment and in the society, the feminist 'Social Relations Technique' tool was used. Besides, the researcher has developed semi-structured guiding questions to collect primary qualitative data from each research participants mainly based on the feminist 'Social Relations Technique'. The detail semi-structured guiding questions developed for this purpose are annexed according to each sample group participants. In general, the qualitative tools used by the researcher to collect primary qualitative data were the following.

**A/ Personal Observation:** From the minute of entry into the research area, the researcher was carefully observing event, like social interaction and inter-gender relations. Observation had been ongoing process during the field work particularly in sample schools environments. This method helped the researcher to closely and purposefully see, internalize and interpret the school environment (classrooms, latrine, water, playing fields, student interaction, student-teacher, etc..) from gender perspective. For this purpose, photo camera was used in order to capture the way students play games, sitting in classroom, students' dressing styles and way of dressing (that show the local costumes for girls and boys, female and male teachers); and to capture different school environment that have a meaning for the researcher.

Furthermore, personal observation provides ways to check for nonverbal (tacit) expression of feelings, determines who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate with each other during FGD. This is because we can read attitudes and feelings through expressions and reflections.

In order to examine the teacher-student interaction in the classroom during class session, personal observation was also undertaken in five classes- one class led by female teacher and four by male teachers. Besides that, personal observation was undertaken in the main market place of Bati town and some pictures were taken in order to know more about the inter-gender roles in the marketing. In general, personal observation helped the researcher to be exposed to the social facts that spark some ideas that should be examined or would ignite some important ideas and/or some questions to be raised during FGD and KII.

**B/ Focus Group Discussions/FGD/:** FGD technique was the main tool chosen to collect qualitative primary data. Since FGD are communication events, helped the researcher to know more about the existing gender role socialization and social relations in the research locality that were reflected on the research participants' inter and intra-gender interaction during FGD. Consequently, to examine the inter-gender interaction, the researcher intentionally arranged both male and female genders to discuss together in each FGD that helped to examine when men and women research participants were confronted with disagreement on the issues under discussions. That moment, the researcher examined the inter-gender interaction-reflected in different forms.

Thus, the researcher detected the existing inter-gender hierarchy or power relation in research area, which can be observed, in participants' self-seating arrangements, way of speaking, body language, etc... Here, patriarchal power relation can be expressed and the researcher can be able to examine in the following different styles: seating arrangement (below, above, beside, or in-mixed type); in their way of speaking, in speaking dominance, by their power tones in explaining their view on disagreement between genders on some points under discussion. Similarly, body language/tacit depicted by examining their facial expression-eye contact, and the way of seeing towards to the previous speaker to show once disagreement on the point under discussion. Most importantly, to detect all these inter-gender interactions from gender perspective, all FGDs were facilitated personally by the researcher and the researcher was also part of the discussions. After collecting a total of eight qualitative data from FGD participants from both three sample schools, the next step was in-depth interviews with directors of each sample schools.

**C/ Key Informant Interview/KII/:** This tool helped the researcher to probe for additional qualitative data. KII was undertaken with three sample school directors individually in different time. KII was purposely undertaken after FGDs. This is because, directors have an intermediary role and have an access to policy and school environment, formal and informal relations with teachers, students and parents or community in their locality. Hence, due to their relation and exposure to

different social groups they were the key informant for the researcher to acquire further information and were expected to know and speak about some points (discussed during FGDs) that in need of further clarification. Hence, on the way, the original semi-structured questions developed for KII had been enriched by the points, ideas and views raised during FGDs. In other words, the researcher modified the original semi-structured questions for KII according to its relevancies to each sample schools' situations. During KII and FGDs with research participants writing the speaker code and sex and the main points of individual discussant was undertaken by the researcher to the extent that the participants felt comfortable with the note taking. Alternatively, to capture the whole information during discussion tape recorder was used. Besides, primary qualitative data collected, the researcher also reviewed educational documents, like that of text books, in order to collect educational secondary qualitative data.

**D/ Organizational Document Review:** In analyzing the curriculum, 'FAWE: ABC of Gender Analysis Tool' was used as guidelines. Since the intention of the researcher is not to pass judgement, rather to make understanding or sight how much the textbooks are also perpetuating the existing traditional gender role socialization. Hence, based on this model, the researcher examined only one English six grade text book from gender perspective and other educational materials (posters, paintings, test exams, etc.) at sample primary schools level. English text book is purposely chosen since the research language is English and the other Regional textbooks have been developed by the local languages that would be difficult for the researcher to evaluate and interpret.

In general, primary and secondary qualitative data collected through employing the above qualitative research tools, are mainly expected to answer the researcher's main research question, after that analyzed and interpreted from gender perspective. In other words, the qualitative research methods were developed in such a way that they would be able to maximize the possibility of generating relevant or appropriate answers to the basic research question.

### **1.5.7. Data Reduction and Analysis Techniques**

Gross enrolment, gender parity index, education coverage, drop out rate, repetition rate, and other secondary quantitative data were organized and analyzed by computer program. The outputs derived from quantitative data were demonstrated using tables to create convenience for summary.

In the qualitative data reduction and analysis processes, first the researcher transcribed in-depth interviews recorded by the local language, i.e. what the research participants said by their own language (Oromiffa and Amharic) during discussions. Secondly, qualitative data collected from personal observations and the large quantities of transcribed textual data/facts were organized and

reorganized into different relevant categories. Finally, by translating the textual data into technical research language (English), these different forms of categorized qualitative facts were constructed and deconstructed from gender perspectives, and made ready for discussion. Thus, ‘narratives’, ‘quotations’ and the use of ‘thematic’ categories were developed to illustrate the main qualitative findings. In the process of data collection, the researcher considered some research ethical issues.

#### **1.5.8. Ethical issues**

During data collection, first the researcher submitted his ‘To whom it may concern’ letter to Bati *Woreda* education office head and briefed the purpose of the study as to why the researcher is interested to study in that *Woreda*. Consequently, the researcher briefed the three sample schools administrators, and submitted the letter sent by the Bati *Woreda* Education Office to them, to cooperate with the researcher. For each group discussion participants, the researcher introduced his name, where he comes from and for what purposes. The research participants were also informed about the general nature of the study to be conducted and explained their significant vitality for this research if both actively participate during group discussion and they were motivated to do that. They were also informed that the discussion duration to be more for one hour. Finally, after forwarding these introductions and other relevant information and notices, like use of tape recording the potential participants, gathered by the directors, were given the choice of either to participate or not, before the normal discussion begun.

In addition, before discussion started, in order to keep the ethics of research by explaining the purpose and the advantage of recording, the researcher first asked the research participants’ consent to use tape recorder so that the researcher to attend fully and facilitate the group discussion without interruption keeping its flowing smoothly. Besides that, for confidentiality, research participants were represented by code numbers and to guarantee that all their responses would remain confidential and nameless. Hence, there was no use of name of the participants’ during discussion rather participants were contacted and communicated with their assigned numbers. Consequently, to describe a case story, the researcher used the participants’ school, age, gender. Subsequently, informing the purpose of the pictures and getting their consent, some inter- and intra-gender interaction pictures in the classroom, during discussion, students in playing field were captured.

#### **1.5.9. The Role of the Researcher in this Research Design Plan**

As qualitative feminist researcher, the interest of the researcher has been in creating understanding impact of the existing gender role socialization on gender inequalities in primary education. Since gender socialization is the result of the existing culture, social relation and interaction the research

participants (social actors) were active participants in this research. Therefore, researcher preferred to use the ‘research participants’ than simply use of the usual word of ‘informants’.

Consequently, the researcher followed the post-modern view of the role of the researcher. Hence, to minimize the qualitative researcher’s authorial bias and distortion in the research findings mostly the researcher tried to have a role of facilitator in every dialogue during discussion with each participants’ group by allowing a variety of ‘voices’ to be heard. Therefore, research participants’ different views, ideas, opinions, etc. raised during discussion become the main domain of research report. Hence, relying in one’s understanding of the situation under investigation from gender perspective, the researcher has tried to let the participants to (students, parents, teachers, directors) speak for themselves on each matter that was under discussion as much as possible. In other words, they are not simple informants; rather part of to the solution by suggesting possible remedies for their local issues that were under discussion. Subsequently, the researcher followed a ‘reflexive’ way of data reading; whereby this way locate the researcher as part of the data collected and seek to explore the researcher’s role in the process of generation and interpretation of data.

Hence, the issue of reliability and viability, generalization and replicating were not the main concern of the researcher. However, in order to increase the quality of the report, the researcher employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. In addition, to ensure the research report quality, the researcher also used multiple resources of data collections techniques. Furthermore, the researcher collected qualitative primary data from four different sources: school directors, teachers, students, and parents, from three sample schools for common theme.

For the purpose of triangulating (convergence of) the data and information collected, some similar guiding questions were intentionally raised for each research participant groups. In order to capture non-verbal languages during group discussion that have a meaning for feminist researcher all interviews and discussions were conducted by the researcher that would also increase the quality of the report. Ultimately, interviews were made with *Woreda* Education Office Plan and Program Expert to get further information that would premise for the data quality and clarity.

The developed semi-structured questions were translated to Amharic and read one by one for each participant groups during discussion. For one school/Selewa/ since the medium of instruction was Affan Oromo, the Amharic teacher of the school was cooperated to translate/ and communicate with student and parent participants; of course some student and parent participant were also speak Amharic during discussion. Discussion with teachers in the same school was undertaken in Amharic since they hear and speak the language.

## Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature

Leach (2004) argued gender equality is a priority for economic and social development, as well as in education; and denial of educational opportunity is a violation of human rights. Thus, asserted that no educational system should tolerate discrimination or inequality of any sort (Leach, 2004:4). For better understanding of the review of the related literature, the chapter is divided into four sections: conceptual definition, relating theory with practice, feminists' positions in better understanding education and gender, and finally gender role socialization on education system.

### 2.1. Definition of Gender and Education Related Concepts

Since technical concepts provide a set of general signposts for the researcher, the following selected gender and education related concepts are the domain and frequently employed by the researcher those sorts out salient elements in the research process.

#### 2.1.1. Concepts Related to Gender Role Socialization and Gender Relation

**Culture:** 'The integral pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behaviour that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations'; and it is 'the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group'. Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2004). Any researcher, as an outsider, cannot say this good and that is a bad culture; rather better to examine the traditional practices that against human rights, and let the community to examine its social relations and determine the practices to be transmitted to its succeeding generation. Furthermore, each generation transmits essential cultural elements to the next generation through socialization (Lindsey, 2005:51).

**Socialization** is a psychological process in which the individual develops historically as a person and as a member of society. In this process the person acquires or constructs a personal and social identity as a part of the social group to which s/he belongs. The individual is configured as a person with particular traits and personal characteristics, which are the fruits of this configuration process (Alfaro, 2000:36).

**Patriarchy:** is a power order or a mode of domination with the man as paradigm. It is based on the supremacy of men and masculinity over the inferiority of women and femininity. Men are the owners and leaders of this world—in any of the different social formations. Their power gives them the right to be served by women and by women's children, and to expropriate their creations and material and symbolic goods. This produces a world that is asymmetrical, unequal, alienated,

andocentric (Alfaro, 2000:35). The internalization of masculine power makes men conceive it as a tool to dominate, control, violence and subordinate other people. Thus, in patriarchy, the centre is not only the particular individual man but the patriarchy that gives the power, nurtured and approved for men to dominate.

**Sex and Gender:** Sex refers to the set of hereditary biological characteristics organizing individuals in two categories: female and male. Whereas, each society and each culture has given a distinct value and meaning to our sex differences and has formulated ideas, conceptions and practices about being a woman and being a man. This set of social, economic, political, cultural, psychological and legal characteristics and norms are what is called “gender” (Lagarde, M., 1994, cited in Alfaro, 200:8). As a result, there are two genders: male and female.

Disch argued that from the time we are born until we die, gender socialization is a constant part of our lives (Disch, 1996:74). In the conceptualization of gender, Leach also argued that our gender identity has been formed during our early years and largely determines how we perceive the social world and how we are perceived by others (Leach, 2004:16). Of course gender construction varies from one place/culture to another and also changes over time within that culture, and dependence in each person's subjective and objective conditions.

**Gender Relation:** refers ‘to social interaction and relationships between women and men, both in the private and public arena’. Fundamental to gender relations is that the concept of power and its unequal distribution. Gender identity and gender relations are in dynamic process; and are performed differently in different cultures, and in different historical contexts and events. Since culture itself is socially constructed by men and women, and is dynamic process (Hirut, 2002:1). Socialization patterns and expectations for male and female behaviour changed over time related to the historical contexts.

**Gender Roles** are derived from socially perceived differences between women and men that define how they should think, feel and act. These are constantly changing and can vary between and within cultures. They are an integral part of social identity and belonging and are a learned, differentiated pattern of behaviour for women and men acceptable to a given culture. Accordingly there are three types of roles: productive, reproductive and communal one. Leach argued that gender roles are determined by social and economic factors and by the norms and values that underpin what we do. As such, they are also dynamic and subject to change. They help to determine the amount of power and status accorded to individuals (Leach, 2004:18).

**Gender Division of Labour:** It refers to ‘the different attributes conventionally assigned to the capacities and skills of women and men, and consequently to the distribution of different tasks and responsibilities in social life’ (Alfaro, 2000:29). It is also culture-specific within a community’s given geographic situation, depending on economic conditions and access to resources for production and reproduction. For example, men customarily give the role of “family provider” or “bread-winner”, and women the “reproducer” or “home manager” role: responsible for the home and for raising the children. Division of work by gender is specific to each particular culture and historical moment. It is flexible and can be adapted to the changing conditions of the home (illness or absence of the a key member, changes of income or in the need for money), as well as in natural resources, or due to the impact of education or other factors (Leach, 2004:18).

**Gender Analysis:** “this involves examining relationships between women and men, and the inequalities and power differences between them, in a systematic way” The aim of gender analysis is to unpack the hierarchal nature of gender relations as part of a broader social analysis, to determine what changes are required if more equitable relationships are to result, and ultimately to promote a more equal society (Leach, 2004:19).

**Gender Equality versus Gender Equity:** ‘Gender equality’ refers to “the norms, values, and attitudes that allow for equal status between women and men without ignoring biological differences.” Whereas, ‘gender equity’ is refers to “fairness in women’s and men’s access to resources” (Leach, 2004:21). However, also noticed that it does not mean that everyone should be treated the same, or that is necessary to have equal numbers of women and men in any institution or profession.

### 2.1.2. Concepts Related to Education

**Curriculum:** refers to ‘the full range of subjects offered in a school or other educational institution’ (Leach, 2004:25). School curriculum functions to legitimate the political order, and any curriculum change often involves changing the definition of knowledge held by dominant groups; thus these changes are often fiercely contested (1998: 397 cited in Leach, 2004:89). The curriculum, from primary to tertiary level, has been subjected to analysis, and gender biases have been identified in the teaching objectives. Very often the persons developing, as well as those delivering the curriculum, are unaware of these biases and so the blatant as well as the subtle distinctions and discriminations persist.

**Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER)** is the most common statistical measurement, as it is the easiest to collect: it is the proportion of total enrolment in primary, irrespective of age, out of the

corresponding primary school age population. It is a crude measure of coverage. Usually it includes under aged or over-aged pupils and as a result it can be higher than 100%. Normally, the age of students in grades 1-8 has to be in the range of 7-14 for primary school in Ethiopia, and the starting age at grade 1 is seven.

The **Net Enrolment Ratio (NER)**, in contrast, refers to the number of pupils within the official age bracket (7-14 for Ethiopia) for a given level who are enrolled in that level, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that age group; this provides a more reliable picture of the proportion of the school-age population in school.

**Gender Parity Index/GPI:-** The ratio of female to male enrolment rates. In a situation of perfect equality between boys and girls, the lowest value of GPI is 1, and value is 0 when the gender gap is closed, when it is less than one Gender gap is high. Where as, in this research gender parity is also employed to compute parity in drop out and repetition too.

**The Gender Gap:** is the difference between the boys and girls enrolment ratio. These are gaps, which originated and are maintained through systems of gender discrimination. Such discrimination against women is common and nurtured at the level of tradition and social practices.

## **2.2. Feminists' Positions on Gender and Education**

In this section different feminist thoughts toward education are reviewed: liberal, radical, socialist, and post modernist feminist thoughts.

**2.2.1. Enlightenment of Liberal feminism/First Wave Feminism/:** Wollstonecraft believed that proper education and training in critical thinking, is the most important single item that facilitate women's self-determination...that brings women to have power over themselves; it will also enable them to think for themselves who they want to be, to control their lives (Wollstonecraft, 1993:26). In general, one of the basic tenets that the Enlightenment Liberal Feminists shared was that a belief in education-especially training in critical thinking-as the most effective means to effect social change and transform society.

**2.2.2. Liberal Feminist:** In general, the liberal view was that education replaces ignorance and prejudice with knowledge and enlightenment. The major concern was with girls and women being allowed equal access to education, and the legal frameworks ensuring equity of access and equal opportunity in educational settings.

**2.2.3. Socialist Feminism:** Their perspective involved a commitment to social change with the objective of eliminating social class inequity as well as gender inequity. From this perspective,

schools were seen as reproducing the status quo. The agenda there was primarily concerned with the ways in which education reinforces inequity, and methods, which need to be implemented to resist or change that.

**2.2.4. Radical Feminists:** Their perspective worked towards reforming the power relationships between girls and boys in the classroom, where it was assumed that boys dominate the classroom, that influence girls' future position. Similarly, the curriculum, in that view, was geared toward boys' interests, and teachers are found to favour boys over girls. Sexual harassment of girls by male students and teachers is another concern of this perspective.

**2.2.5. Post-modern Feminists:** In these feminists discourse, which consisted that knowledge is inherently linked to time, place, social position and other factors from which an individual construct their view of knowledge is particularly applicable to gender and education in the varying countries and their cultures, emphasized difference across race/ethnicity, class/caste and culture lines, and thus highlights the importance of gender analysis, policies and programmes which are sensitive to a country's social and cultural norms (Measor and Sikes, 1992:50, cited in Leo-Rhynie, 1999:18).

To conclude this section, if we examined these different feminists' perspectives on gender and education, there is no single perspective in gender and education that is able to represent the variety and breadth of issues in gender and education. Together, however, and informed by other perspectives, these approaches can help build a comprehensive picture of the multi-dimensional education process and its role in gender inequity; and therefore, Leo-Rhynie recommended that any analysis or attempt to mainstream gender in education must employ a holistic approach, examining institutions and practices in-depth (Leo-Rhynie, 1999:19). In the next section, global, continental, national and regional educational facts are reviewed with related theories.

### **2.3. Relating theory with practice**

In this section related literature of the world, national and regional facts with related theories, based on common educational indicators, are reviewed. On the whole, girls' drop out of education in greater numbers than boys where overall survival rates were low and gender disparities high. In some countries with high enrolments, however, an opposite picture emerged, with more girls enrolled and staying on in school than boys, for example, in most Caribbean and South American countries, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and some Southern African countries such as Namibia, Lesotho, and Zambia. In many of these countries, too, national data showed that girls' achievement was also higher than those of boys. There was an increasing evidence of boys playing truant and dropping out of school, even in the less well-resourced countries where national data still showed them achieving

better examination grades than girls. So the picture is complex, and boys too are at risk (Leach, 2004:5).

Whereas studies in some Commonwealth countries showed that there were more females enrolled in school, at all levels, than males. Thus, while the quest for gender equality in education rightly focus mainly on young women and girls, a case of reverse bias could be argued were the situation of boys and men not addressed too. The inference was that girls' successes were gained at the less attention given for boys' education; particularly in those regions of the Commonwealth Nations where enrolment, attendance and achievement rates were increasingly lower for boys than girls...Out of 25 countries included in the study, which were account seven years data /1986-92/, just over half, in 13 countries, had higher ratios for female secondary school enrolment; and 12 countries had higher, equal, or practically equal ratios for female primary school net enrolment. Surprisingly, from the 12 countries, the five were from Africa: Malawi, New Guinea, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia; where girls' net enrolment was higher than boys'.

But, in most instances, girls' were outperforming boys despite the many structural and cultural obstacles, which girls experienced in gaining access to, and participating in education activities (Leo-Rhynie, 1999:17). The Schultz also argued that the traditional disparity is changing in Africa as young women are catching up to men in terms of schooling, and even surpassing them in such countries as Kenya (Schultz, 2000:20).

Here, the above fact or experience showed that since schools have opened their doors to girls schooling their achievement rate was outshine the boys one, and by overcoming their the many barriers to their schooling. Though the study was not go in detail and interested to show what happened to boys schooling? How girls achievement rate outweighed: no explanation. But if we tried to analyse the fact the girls rate is high, that was computed as compare to boys performance; and when examine from boys sides too, either the boys rate was remain constant or declined from the previous fact/figure. Here the researcher interested to raise one question, that is, does education for all or increasing girls schooling mean to be ignorant for boys schooling? The puzzle about what happened to the boys' schooling? Based on this fact, what would happen if things is going in the same trend and using the same strategy 'increasing girls schooling'?

In Ethiopian context, from1997 to 2003 the gross enrolment had progressed from 43% to 74.6% for boys, and from 26% to 53.8% for girls in seven years. However, the trend varies according to the regions: Tigray, Benishangul-gumuz, Harari, and Gambella had experienced increases of over 25 percentage points in the seven year period for girls' enrolment. Meantime, the Afar and Somali

Regions had experienced lower increases. In most of the regions, the enrolment for boys had also increased by similar or greater amounts, resulting in a persistence of the gender gap. Only in the Addis Ababa Region had girls' enrolment increased more than boys' (Karlin *et al*, 2005:6).

The Ethiopian Net enrolment figure has showed a similar trend in increase. In 1997, only one-fifth /20.0%/ of primary school age girls were enrolled in school; and 47.2% in 2003. From 1997 to 2003, the figure for boys was being up from 29.5% to 60.6%. This gender gap has grown from 9.5 percentages points to 13.4 percentage points. Based on these data, Karin *et al* concluded that whatever interventions and strategies are being used to increase enrolments, they are not increasing the rate at which girls are entering the education system fast enough to reduce the gender gap. And they suggested that though the proportion of the girls' enrolment has progressed slightly, equally, the increase in the gender gap may be an artefact of the very different rates of enrolment at the start of the period (*ibid*). Some of the constraints identified for less progress in gender equality in education in Ethiopia by Hadra were high illiteracy rate, deep-rooted gender stereotyped cultural beliefs and practices...(Hadra, 2000, cited in Haregewon and Emebet, 2003:33).

Educational systems in most developing countries have focused on supply side- to provide enough school places for all school age children. Less focus has been paid to demand side of education, as it as always been assumed that demand will remain until universal access is achieved. Increasingly, however, there is evidence that not all parents believe in the value of schooling. Many poor parents prefer to keep their children at home to look after younger siblings or to work on the land, in the marketplace, or in wage labour. The poor quality of teaching and learning, poor facilities, high absenteeism among teachers, sexual harassment and abuse by some male teachers and pupils, and other issues have reduced the demand for schooling, in particular of girls (Leach, 2004:25).

Leach examined that despite all the public commitments and policy statements since 1990 by donors, lenders, and governments on the need to increase female participation in education, and so many programmes had directed specifically at getting more into school, progress had been so low....Because they focused only on gaining access for women for the benefits of these interventions. But little has done to change social perceptions of gender and the nature of dominant gender relations, and that could be in large part had explained by a narrow focus on girls that did not consider the gender nature of the society in which schools operate. Culturally sensitive ground, embedded with a multitude of traditions norms and values relating to the gender roles and relations, and to status and power in that remained heavily patriarchal social systems (Leach, 2004:6).

Leach further examined that perception about the value of educating girls as well as boys and about appropriate roles of girls and boys when they reach adulthood, the availability of jobs, the need and interests of the household, and also the attitudes and aspirations of girls themselves, all act as barriers to girls' educational opportunity. She also examined that schools themselves play a major part in reinforcing these gender views, and she argued that just getting more girls into school does not guarantee equality of opportunity or outcome. Hence, she suggested the need to examine the gender ideology that still prevails in the family, state institutions such as schools (Leach, 2004:7).

On top of that, UNESCO's Report of the Expert Group argued that parity and equality are often used interchangeably if not synonymously. According to them, parity in itself is not problematic; difficulties arise when parity is attained not because women's position has improved but because men have under-achieved. They also examined that attainment of parity can also be problematic when reduction of disparity on the aggregate masks and hides disparities among groups according to age, ethnic minority status or according to regions within a country. Hence, this experts' group report recommended that as it is important not to look at parity simplistically (UNESCO, 2005:17).

They further observed that even when parity is achieved, this needs not necessarily be an indicator of equality or that there is a change in power relations. Their justification was that while reduction in disparity between women and men in education, access to incomes, etc. is a precondition for equality, but it does not indicate equality of opportunities and security if violence against women prevails, and there is no autonomy for women. Hence, they concluded that equality is only achieved if women can enjoy and exercise all fundamental rights and freedoms (ibid).

Hence, to fully understand the continuing inequalities in educational opportunity, Leach advised as there is a need to engage in gender analysis of all aspects of educational provision, whether those were policies, institutions, curricula, teaching approaches, or forms of assessment... That could help to understand why girls in some situation dropped out of school, why boys in others were becoming increasingly affected negatively, and prefer to play truant. In this regard, Leach also advised that a need to find constructive ways of working with men to transform power and gender relations without marginalizing women (Leach, 2004:8-9).

In general, the reviewed related literature in this section signifies that women's/girls' less education compared to men/boys is not a universal truth globally. Hence, in order to narrow the gender gap in primary schooling, we have to go beyond the traditional approach that was focused on addressing the supply-side of education and on female gender only. Thus, we have to start to analyse the gender nature of the society in which the school operates. Hence, in the following section the researcher

reviewed the related literature on the impact of traditional gender role socialization on gender inequalities in education and its perpetuators on the education system.

## **2.4. Gender Role Socialization**

### **2.4.1. Gender Role Socialization**

Various theories have been proposed to explain the complex process of gender role socialization. It is generally agreed, however, that gender role socialization begins in the family, and that nursery and primary schools continue the process as well as play a part in constructing gender through their organization and practices. These processes and practices are then continued by the secondary and tertiary education system (Measor and Sikes, 1992: 50 cited in Leo-Rhynie, 1999:18).

Socialization is a lifelong learning process, with various requirements at certain age levels, by which through social interactions, we learn our culture, develop our sense of self, and become functioning members of society. Primary socialization begins in the family and allows the child to acquire necessary skills to fit into society, especially language learning and acceptable behaviour to function effectively in a variety of social situations. Consequently, continuing socialization process taken place that provides the basis for the varied roles an individual will fill throughout life (Lindsey, 2005:51).Socialization process also molds our beliefs and behaviours about all social groups and the individual making up those groups. Consequently, defined gender socialization as the process by which individual learn the cultural behaviour of femininity or masculinity that is associated with the biological sex of female or male. Hence, to explain gender socialization, it is necessary to understand cultural diversity in all its forms (ibid).

In general, though family role is considered the domain of gender learning or socialization agent in child nurturing, the degree or level of transmitting gender stereotypes to their children depends on families' educational background. Here, what is important as Lott argued is that what parents believe and what they do in relation to their sons and daughters contribute both to the gender concepts acquired by their children, and to the long-term and far-reaching consequences for their children's lives (Lott, 1987:59).

Brickhill and colleagues also argued that 'culture', which exists on a wide scale and is silently condoned in a male dominated society that promotes many forms of abuse against women and girls. Hence, educational approaches which ignore that (culture) are perpetuating it and in the process undermining fundamental educational goals and boys' and girls' potential for achievement (Brickhill *et al*, 1996:I).

Poverty arises out of people's unequal social relations, which dictate unequal access to resources, benefits, claims, and responsibilities (Leach, 2004:88). Haregewoin and Emebet also argued that poverty is subsequent to social injustice, manifested by unequal power relations among citizens, as well as gender inequality, as a result of which women suffer the most (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003:3). In this regard, Karin *et al.* also argued that poverty plays a major role in maintenance of barriers and strategies to expand girls' schooling (Karin *et al.*, 2005:32). Hence, poverty is also a consequence of the existing people's working-culture and time-use culture. Obviously most Ethiopian societies don't give value for time: an important input of production.

Social relations produce inequalities, which ascribe to each individual a position in the structure and hierarchy of their society. Gender is one type of inequality generated by social relations; others are class, race, ethnicity, caste, kinship, age, and (dis)ability. Gender inequality is one of the social inequalities that perpetuates in many ways; and the education system is one of them (Leach, 2004:87). A number of issues have been identified which bear upon existing gender inequalities and their perpetuations within the education system; though the situation varies from country to country and, even within one country, is constantly evolving. The principal role of education has been, however, in part to provide young people with the knowledge, information, and skills to help them to reduce their dependency on others and to challenge inequitable social relations (Leach, 2004:88).

Since analysing the main research problem in its sub-problems, allow getting to the heart of the problem, the following section holds review of studies and approaches how the education system, is perpetuating the existing traditional gender role socialization through its two main components: policy environment and institutional environment.

#### **2.4.2. Policy Environment**

Policy environment holds and deals with the policy statement and curriculum development issues.

##### **2.4.2.1. Policy statement**

In all countries it is schools, colleges, and universities that are the principal sub-institutions (within education system) by which the state reproduces its ideology among the young. The state jealously guards its power to determine the structure of schooling (including varying degrees of control over curriculum content, teaching training, assessment, etc.); and control over its capacity for social reproduction (Leach, 2004:89). Schools play an important part in contributing to individual achievement, social and economic progress, and democratic practice. However, as Nelly Stromquist point out:

*They are powerful ideological institutions that transmit dominant values, and function as mechanisms of social control. Schools transmit values that not only reproduce social class but also maintain gender structures. The formal school system contributes to the reproduction of gender inequalities* (1998: 397 cited in Leach, 2004:89).

And the next section reviews the related literature on curriculum and teaching materials; which is also influential in reproducing the existing socialization that contributes its part in the existing gender gaps in primary education.

#### **2.4.2.2. Curriculum and Education Materials**

Textbooks and other teaching and learning materials are a prime source of gender stereotyping. Powerful gendered images are transmitted through both text and illustration. It is the 'reality' of gendered perceptions which creates a false world in which women are largely invisible and voiceless; their share of responsibilities is downplayed; and they are reduced to a few subordinate roles (Leach, 2004:17). Leach clarified that the curriculum should never be considered as 'neutral' or 'objective'. It is the product of choices and decision made by those in charge of selecting what knowledge, information, and skills being passed on to learners embedded certain values, norms, and biases which reflect the dominant views and beliefs of those who have constructed the curriculum (Leach, 2004:102).

Consequently, when women are portrayed in a limited range of roles, often dependent on men, and are associated with passive characteristics, such as obedience, loyalty, gratitude, and shyness, this can contribute to a low sense of self-value and low self-esteem, which in turn can lead to under-achievement. If women are portrayed exclusively as wives and mothers, or in low income and unskilled paid work, schoolgirls will not be provided with role models to encourage them to study hard and consider having a career (Leach, 2004:103). However, Leach advised that, in the analysis of texts in their gender responsiveness care should be taken; for instance, every traditional role associated with women does not necessarily represents a negative portrayal. But, if women are only represented in domestic roles and not in the diversity of roles that they actually carry out in the real world, this would be considered as negative stereotyping (Leach, 2004:109).

Most textbooks fail to present the reality and diversity of both male and female roles. A false portrayal also prevents both boys and girls learning positive lessons from the real and evolving world around them, in which many men do spend time with their families and many women play a prominent role in public life (Leach, 2004:108). Similarly, pictures of all kinds present a powerful image to the reader and pass on important messages about gender relations. They (pictures) tell a story on their own; but it is also important to look at the interplay between the text and the

illustrations. The illustration may be gender-neutral or gender-sensitive, but the text may lead into a stereotypical portrayal of female or male roles (Leach, 2004:112).

Therefore, Leach argued that portraying girls/women as well as boys/men in a strong, central, leadership roles can have a powerful effect on girls' aspirations. Portraying boys/men in family roles, sharing domestic responsibilities will also help to dispel the image that this is somehow 'unmanly' and that only women are intended for 'nurturing' and 'caring' roles (Leach, 2004:122). Hence, in this reviewed literature part, we can be able to understand how much the curriculum, text books and the way illustrated reproduced the existing traditional gender role socialization. Hence, one can understand that learners' extensive exposure to textbooks and other learning materials through years of schooling serves as a powerful medium for schooling young people into dominant patterns of gender relations and gendered behaviour, which they will carry with them into adult life.

### **2.4.3. Institutional/School Environment**

Institutions produce, reinforce, and reproduce social relations, thereby creating and perpetuating social difference and inequality. As gender is one form of social relation, gender inequalities are not confined only purely to household and family relationships but are reproduced across all four institutional locations (state, market, community, and family and kinship (Leach, 2004:87). Disch also argued that, the gender system, embedded in other institutions, ensured its continuance through systematic socialization of children, adolescents, and adults (Disch, 1996:74). As Leach analysed, school experiences are a crucial part of gender identity formation, and school and other educational organizations are as marked by gendered practice as any other institution (Leach, 2004:16). Hence, in this sub-section, the related literature reviewed is focused on the gender inequality perpetuating means within and around the school environments.

#### **2.4.3.1. General content and structure of schooling**

Schools are part of the education system, which is an important arm of the state (machinery or institution), which create and reproduce gender inequalities. For example, in the UK most teachers were female and white. However, there were many more male head teachers, college principals, and professors than there were female, which was indicative of a hierarchy (leach, 2004:90). In general, Leo-Rhynie asserted that both the content and the structure of schooling and training have been designed to prepare young people for a male world. School has traditionally been a preparation for the public, productive sphere, ignoring the private one. Learning for family and personal life has been given less attention and left to the family. Therefore, what is reproduced in school is a gendered society. Young people to learn in school are shaped by gender relations and by notions of

what young men and women will do differently at work (Leo-Rhynie, 1999:19-20).

The view that schools transmit our 'common cultural heritage' has given way to recognition that out of the enormous range of ideas, values and knowledge available in any culture. Certain tasks also become attached to certain social groups, sometimes in the belief that they are the only people capable of doing them. For example, it is considered 'natural' that primary school teachers should be women, as this is a job which involves the 'caring' and 'nurturing' responsibilities associated with women. A head teacher (more likely to be a man) earns more than a teaching assistant (more likely to be a woman). Such a hierarchy of rewards reinforces inequalities between women and men, and between social classes (Leach, 2004:91). All educational systems, therefore, are hierarchal, with the minister at the top and moving down through ranks of provincial and district officials to head teachers, teachers, and finally pupils, who wield the least power (ibid).

In general, the inter-institutional analysis reveals a wide range of factors, some originating from within schools and some from other social institutions, which contribute to the limited impact of school in passing gender messages about gender equality. The analysis also showed that schools to be highly gendered places, where unequal power relations are played out and gender identities are developed and reproduced (Leach, 2004:98). However, she also emphasized that the school can and should play an important role in changing the negatively gendered pattern of relations that develops among adolescents during their school years (Leach, 2004:94). Hence, in order to understand well the influence of the institutions official and non-official working culture and practices on the existing gender gaps in education, an institutional gender analysis of the educational system (e.g. that can be applied at office, a school or even a classroom) should be carried out (ibid).

Leach also reconsidered that gender analysis frameworks have not usually been used to identify women issues to be addressed through actions. Men can also be disadvantaged, marginalized, and oppressed. She is also noticed as there is also increasing awareness that gender identity interacts with other forms of social identity and so a gender analysis needs to be multi-dimensional. In school context, Leach further elaborates that there is an increasing evidence that strategies to address the range of gender disparities that impact disproportionately on girls (including gender violence in school), will only be successful if both female and male pupils and teachers are involved in seeking solutions (Leach, 2004:35).

In general, the social relation analysis places gender at the centre of the institutional analysis. This is because it challenges the myth of the independence and neutrality of institutions and shows that in fact they are inter-related and are social and cultural creations. It also emphasizes the connectedness

of men and women and boys and girls through social (gender) relations, while highlighting their different needs and interests. (Leach, 2004:100).

#### **2.4.3.2. School Administration and Environment**

Men in the school system typically have more power and authority, and high status (Lott, 1987:64). The institutional environment reflects the extent to which an individual institution is aware of and ready to implement programmes and practices to address gender issues and promote gender equity. This readiness is demonstrated by the gender composition of school boards and staff, their working conditions, and the development and implementation of specific policies such as those relating to sexual harassment (Leo-Rhynie, 1999:30). In school factors also hinder girls' participation and performance. Schools have certainly served to widen girls' horizons in particular, and co-educational schools have the opportunity to foster constructive interaction and mutual understanding between the sexes from an early stage. At the same time, highly defined gender relations between female and male pupils, between female and male teachers, and also between teachers and pupils continue to be prominent features of all co-educational schools. This is not surprising, because to a large extent schools reflect norms of behaviour which exist in the wider society (Leach, 2004:17).

In most society, the tasks associated with males usually have higher status and values than those associated with females. This usually allows men to exercise more power (ibid). The school is not immune from these influences, and studies somewhat even in schools with female head teachers, male teachers are likely to wield more power and are given a greater role in decision making than female teachers. Leach also observed that research had almost exclusively focused on the way in which schooling has disadvantaged both girls and boys. The role of the school in socializing adolescent girls and boys to accept adult roles and pattern of behaviours which comply with the dominant social norms, including expectation of appropriate female and male occupations (Leach, 2004:8).

Studies from the English speaking industrialized countries(for example, UK, USA and Australia) had uncovered a range of influences which appear to have a negative impact on girls' participation and achievement in schooling and so also on their career choices. However, since the early 1990s in the developed world, the school performance of girls had caught up with that of boys, and in many countries boys lag significantly behind girls, (for e.g., in much of Europe, the USA, and Japan) (ibid).

Leach argued that many schools are gender-unaware places, where neither teachers nor pupils perceive gender as being an issue that needs to be addressed. Gendered school practices such as

giving separate tasks to female and male pupils are seen as 'natural', and bullying and other forms of aggressive behaviour, largely from boys, as 'part of growing up' (Leach, 2004:22). Leach and colleagues, in their study in junior secondary schools in Botswana and Ghana, had examined, in outside classroom teaching, teachers carried out tasks traditionally associated with their gender: male teachers were associated with tasks involving public events or physical exercise such as organizing sports days and school trips, or supervising work in the school grounds; while female teachers busied themselves with hospitality for visitors, fetching the tea during staff meeting, and counselling pupils. The study also found that quite young pupils had very clear ideas of which tasks are suitable for boys and which for girls (Dunne, Leach et al. 2003, cited in Leach, 2004:18).

#### **2.4.3.3. Children own perceptions and parental attitudes**

Children own perceptions and parents' attitude towards their daughters' and sons' affects boys' and girls' school participation and performance.

**A/ Children own perceptions:** Elements of home gender relations and norms still shape the way they see acceptable options. They assume the gender relation and norms to be applied even out side the home, and perceive to deviate from this is 'abnormal'.

**A.1. Girls and femininities:** Young women may be unwilling to deviate from gender-role norms during adolescence or to take classes judged inappropriate for them because of peer pressures and the attitudes of male classmates. Furthermore, the predominance of families with a traditional division of labour are all part of the world young girls knowledge. Their experience takes on meanings that lead to an expectation that traditional patterns will be continued. This sort of perceptions leads girls to lower self-esteem and self-confidence. And they any attempt to show young girls that the world is constructed in a way that might be changed, involves not just talking to them, but also showing them that conditions can indeed be altered (Leo-Rhynie, 1999:21).

**A.2. Boys' and Masculinities:** In many education context, boys under-perform relative to girls, including some part of the developing world, and it is also true in Dembecha *Woreda*, because of their gender role responsibilities, in Amhara Region/ as indicated by the researcher previous study report.

The school culture helps also to construct particular versions of femininity and masculinity (in the UK, for example) among pupils. In that the peer group is seen as reflecting these versions of female and male identity. For boys, this has resulted in a range of different masculine identities. Among low-achieving boys from a low social class, this peer group culture often results in an anti-school

attitude, challenging adult authority, truancy, and homophobia. Adolescent males have developed 'culture of resistance', which include resistance to schooling...In such peer culture, many boys are victims of bullying and exclusion from the group if they do not conform to dominant masculine behaviours...The view the boys are at risk in school has been relatively recent, but as Leach pointed out, we need to bear in mind when engaging in gender analysis; and she also noticed that the construction of opposing female and male identities at school is in many ways destructive of potential on both sides (Leach, 2004:12).

Hence, as Leach asserted the commonly held assumption that men are oppressors and women are victims is a simplification of reality; and not helpful in addressing either genders needs in a lasting manner (Leach, 2004:10).Therefore, gender should be viewed in terms of relations of power in a given locality, in which men as well may be vulnerable and disempowered. Consequently, there is a need to find constructive ways of working with men to transform the unfair power and gender relations without marginalizing women.

**B/ Parental attitudes to children education:** Parents' lack of awareness about the benefits of education and training of girls plays a role in perpetuating gender inequalities on education. In this regard, King *et al* argued that parents fail to invest in their daughters' education because they do not expect them to be able to make an economic contribution to the family, a prophecy that becomes self-fulfilling (King and Hill, 1993: VI). Families are thought to weigh the costs and benefits of sending their children to school. In some settings they decide it is more important for them to educate their boys than their girls. This could be explained because the expected private rates of return are larger for boys than for girls over their children's lifetimes. In some cultures, such as South Asia, sons are customarily responsible for supporting their parents in old age and daughters are not. This would seem to suggest how cultural arrangements of marriage and intergenerational support systems among kin could depress the incentives for parents to invest in the schooling of their daughters compared with their sons (Schultz, 2000:217).

#### **2.4.3.4. Sex-based harassment**

'Sex-based harassment' involves sex without consent, unwanted sexual touching, or being forced to engage in humiliating sexual activity. Sex-based harassment is based on the presumption of power relations which discriminate against girls and women. Consequently, boys practise in the school and other places in order to prove and exercise socially given power for masculinity. This area of research is fairly recent but is yielding much information which previously had remained hidden. Sex- based harassment relegates girls and women to an inferior position relative to boys and men,

and makes a female feel embarrassed, frightened, hurt or uncomfortable because of her sex. The research points to the abuse which many female students suffer as members of mixed sex classes and the lack of sanctions applied to male students and even in some cases male teachers who are guilty of this behaviour (King and Hill, 1993: vi).

Girls at risk experience school-related problems because both the curriculum, teaching practice and organization of schools do not meet their needs. Another problem relates to girls who are at risk include pregnant teenagers or teenage mothers, girls suffering from domestic violence or physical or sexual abuse, and girls suffering from serious health problems. These girls get lower grades and may passively or even actively prefer to leave schooling (King and Hill, 1993:vi).

#### **2.4.3.5. Informal interaction among students**

Extra-curricular activities refer to activities carried out at school but outside the context of the formal lessons (Leo-Rhynie, 1999:25). Although these takes place on a continual basis it is very often facilitated through clubs and societies, sport and other out of classroom activities. Many of these clubs are single-sex. Where clubs are mixed, it is often the case that leadership is dominated by one sex and the club is often seen as being a ‘male’ club, (e.g. the science club) or a ‘female’ club, (e.g. the home economics/girls club). The gender of the club is usually perceived in stereotypical terms. At school, boys play football, while girls play ‘girls’ game’. Yet, there is also a strong tendency for girls and boys to play together, they walk to school together and spend their leisure time after school together. When children play together, the group may consist of only one girl among several boys, which is a subtle signal that relations between girls and boys can be pleasant and simple (Brickhill, 1996:II).

#### **2.4.3.6. Classroom Interaction**

The school is a social setting where different constituents interact to achieve a common goal. The achievement of this dynamic social setting is influenced by the nature and changes occurring in its constituents. Classroom setting and dynamics are crucial for teachers to address, in order to create an enabling learning environment for both boys and girls. The teachers and the learner in the classroom are important mediators in interpreting the text. The issues used for this review are: participation of students, teachers’ expectations and seating arrangements, dressing of boys and girls, and use of space.

#### **A/ Teachers’ attitudes to male and female students**

What parents teach their children and what children read, see, and learn from adults, one another, and the media, is also what teachers typically model in the schools and reinforce in the behaviour of

the children in their classes (Lott, 1987:64). Teachers are as central as the textbook in actively transmitting messages about gender. This can help to perpetuate biases and stereotypes or they can help to reduce them. The teacher can either ignore traditional or non-traditional gender representation in the text, or can subvert it, or exacerbate it (Leach, 2004:112).

Leach also examined that teaching styles which favour boys, such as boys' dominance in class interaction, which marginalize girls' participation; teachers lower expectations of girls; teachers' own attitudes to gender values which, despite many believing that they treat girls and boys equally in the classroom, suggested that girls are 'passive' and boys are 'boisterous' (as summed up in the saying 'boys will be boys') (Leach, 2004:8). Leo-Rhynie also argued that females and males students are subjected to differential socialisation in mixed classrooms and are rewarded for different things. The attitude of teachers toward girls makes also a difference. If teachers discourage them they can do poorly and lose interest. On the other hand if teachers support and encourage them, they get interested and perform better (Leo-Rhynie, 1999:20). Besides that, even the style of dressing of female and male teachers themselves dressing sends out messages about gender.

Research on the way teachers divide their energies among their pupils has shown that there may be an unintended consequence of disadvantaging girls. Teachers tend to focus more attention on the boys than on the girls in their classroom. This has some important consequences: Female students are less likely to be challenged and stretched academically, with serious implications for their future performance; because they are less likely than boys to be singled out as worthy recipients of the teacher's attention, girls feel less valued in the classroom, reinforcing other pressures that urge them to take a back seat in classroom activity; and this may in turn affect their confidence regarding speaking publicly, and thus their participation in leadership in the public arena.

In this regard, therefore, Leach advised that teachers should make a conscious effort to channel more of their attention and energies to quieter pupils. The neglect of quiet pupils in the classroom works, on the whole, to the disadvantage of girls. It is only when teachers create an atmosphere in which girls and boys are, and know themselves to be, equally valued and equally welcome, that girls will be positively encouraged to voice their opinions and ideas (Leach, 2004:8).

### **B/ Classroom Interaction among students**

Concerning the gender division of labour in classroom, there is likely to be a social stigma attached to men carrying out reproductive work....In this regard, Leach *et al* analysed that from recent study in junior secondary schools in Botswana and Ghana, it was found that female pupils carried out tasks associated with female domestic roles, such as sweeping classrooms and offices and fetching

water, while boys did weeding, gardening, cleaning windows, and carrying heavy loads. Boys are rarely found with brooms or mops and were more often surprising girls' tasks than doing them themselves (Dunne, Leach et al. 2003, cited in Leach, 2004:19).

The physical space given to boys and girls (or taken by them) has an impact on the quality of learning, as does their access to resources such as books and equipment. Seating arrangements can convey gender messages, with in many cases girls sitting at the front where they are very attentive to the lesson (obedient) whereas boys sit at the back where they can chat and be disruptive ('boys will be boys') (Dunne, leach et al. 2003 cited in Leach, 2004:113).

Tasks set by teachers tend to be gendered: in many countries girls are required to do many chores around the school like sweeping the classroom, while boys may only perform tasks as punishment. Even, the way in which boys and girls wear their uniforms and teachers' comments on whether this is appropriate or inappropriate are gender-loaded too (Leach, 2004:113). Thus, as Leach argued to bring institutional transformation in gender, negotiation, bargaining, and reciprocity is essential at all levels and in all domains.

In general, when the reviewed related literatures summarized, they contribute important ideas, and sparks green light for the researcher in understanding of the specific problem the researcher is trying to address. Nonetheless, the researcher has slight differences in their approach and arguments. The general trend observed by the researcher in most of the reviewed literatures was that, they have been given high emphasis on girls' education. However, as this research has almost in strike light inclusively on the way in which schooling has disadvantaged both girls and boys. This is because, in the given socialization, both girls' and boys' behaviour, education performance, and future life is affected, in which the researcher is interested to give an emphasis in his findings. Hence, what all the issues discussed in these reviewed related literature, in general, mean to the researcher is that, the root causes for gender inequalities in primary schools is the existing traditional gender role socialization that perpetuates in the education system by its components or nurturing agents; and this would be explored by the researcher in his case study in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Discussion of *Woreda* Situation and Empirical Findings from Gender Perspective

#### 3.1. Description of *Bati Woreda*

**3.1.1. Governance:** Bati is one of the four *Woredas* in the Oromiya Administrative Zone in the Amhara National Regional State. The *Woreda* is divided into 25 administrative kebeles, of which 22 are rural kebeles. The capital of the *Woreda* is also named Bati. Data collected by Bati *Woreda* Women Affairs Office showed that the total number of *Woreda* council members for the year 2005/06 was 2,071, of which the women decision makers constituted 21.4% /443/. And in the same year the total number of political leaders at *Woreda* and kebele levels was 279 and 17 respectively. From these political positions, the share of women at *Woreda* and kebele levels was 14.3% /40/, and 5.9% /1/ respectively; obviously the one female figure was the Head of the *Woreda* Women's Affairs Office. In case of *Woreda* government institutional human power capacity, there were 17 Government Sector Offices in the *Woreda*, and within these sectors, there was 414 Government employees-both professional and non-professional staffs, and from this figure 136/32.8 %/ were women staffs in the same year.

**3.1.2. Geography:** The *Woreda* is bounded in the East by Afar National Regional State, in the West by Kalu *Woreda* (South Wollo Zone), in the North Worebabo *Woreda* of South Wollo, and in the south by Dawa-Chefa *Woreda* of Oromia zone. The capital of the *Woreda*-Bati (the town) is located 419 kms North East of Addis Ababa city, and 545 kms South East of Bahir-Dar (the capital city of the Amhara National Regional State). The *Woreda* covers a total area of 1246.96km<sup>2</sup>. Agro-climatically, from the total area of the *Woreda*, 81% is lowland and 19% semi-highland. The landscape consists of 42% rugged terrain, 28% gorge, 20% mountainous, and 10% is plain. Concerning land use, from the total area of the *Woreda* 70% is cultivated, 7% grazing land, and 11% is bush land.

The altitude of the *Woreda* is ranging from 1001-2500 meter above sea level. The temperature ranges from 18-36 °c (Average 26 °c); and the annual precipitation is 260-500 mm/year (average 350mm/year). The major annual crops grown in the *Woreda* are Sorghum, maize, chickpea, soybeans, and to some extent *teff*, pea and beans are grown irregularly. Regarding the animal husbandry/resources of the *Woreda*, cattle, goats are mainly reared and camel is the most transport means for the farmers.

**3.1.3. Population:** According to Amhara MOFED projection for the year 2005/6, the total population was estimated to be 140, 339, of which women constituted 50.5 % (70812). The rural constituted 77.4% (108,677) of the total population, of which, the women constituted 49.7% (54,028). From the total population of the *Woreda*, the primary school population holds 19.0% (26,674), of whom, girls were 13, 368 /50.1%/. Children under 14 years category/'dependent' make up about (42.9%), of which girls constitute 50.1%. The main ethnic groups in the *Woreda* are Oromo (92%), Amhara (7%), and Afar (1%). The main spoken languages are Oromiffa (88%) and Amharic (11.4%). The main religions in the *Woreda* are Muslim (97.3%), and Orthodox Christian (2.4%).

**3.1.4. Economy:** The Bati *Woreda* people livelihood is heavily dependent on agriculture, both subsistence cropping and livestock production. Few rural households are engaged in off-farm activities and most by going to Affar Region in search of labour to support their earning. The agricultural activities are mainly focused to natural resources development, use of soil and water conservation, forestry and livestock development. Though rural community, in particular the low land livelihood is mainly depend on livestock development, but due the practice of traditional way of rearing method, lack of forage, not avail of improved hybrid, animal diseases, etc. the productivity and production was low. With regard to rearing activities, the role of caring and keeping of animals mainly left on the shoulder of women and children. Hence, Bati is one of the most poverty-stricken areas in the region characterized by chronic food shortage and high vulnerability of the people. The people are poor both in terms of access to and availability of food especially women and children are the most affected.

**3.1.5. Social Services:** In 2005/6 there were 30 primary schools in the *Woreda*; of which 23 schools were first cycle and the seven were full-cycle primary schools. From these primary schools, five schools learning language was Amharic only, 18 Oromiffa only, and the 7 school employed both Amharic and Oromiffa languages. There were four alternative schools and one high school in the capital town of the *Woreda*; and the number of children completed their respective grade/1-10<sup>th</sup> grades/ level was 17,994; of which female students constituted 48.9%/8791/. The *Woreda* education coverage in primary school was 63.3%; and 12.8% in high school in 2005/06. In Bati primary education started in Bati town in 1950.

According the Bati *Woreda* Health Office data report, the *Woreda* total health coverage was reached 90% in 2005/06. The reproductive health coverage was 27%; and the prenatal, natal and postnatal services were 37.5, 4.7%, and 7.9% respectively. The reason specified for the low figure for natal

and posts natal services delivery was that the society is preferred to use usually the traditional way of mothers' treatment rather than going to health institutions. Consequently, this traditional way of pregnant treatment became the reason for high mothers and child deaths in the *Woreda*.

The pure water supply coverage in the *Woreda* was reached 55.8% in the town and 41.4% in the rural in 2005/06. Bati town has 24 hours hydroelectric power supply; and automatic telephone services, and some rural kebele community are also become beneficiaries of automatic telephone.

### **3.2. Discussions of *Woreda* Facts from Gender Perspective**

In qualitative research, well-described social setting is imperative in understanding the locality from gender perspective. Therefore, the research local inter-gender relations, HTPs, gender socialization processes is elaborated that is employed as a base for the researcher in the development of satisfying discussion in the main research topic that also facilitate the readers to have their own judgments.

#### **3.2.1. Gender Role Socialization in Bati *Woreda***

In this section the main local social relations, harmful traditional practices that are relevant to the research topic and the image of women and men in the local language are discussed.

##### **3.2.1.1. Socialization and Social Relation in Bati *Woreda***

The gender socialization process and inter-gender relations in working, benefiting, accessing and controlling of resources in the Bati *Woreda*, particularly in the rural dwellers would be discussed.

The main market day in the Bati town is Monday, where the rural community and people in the nearby town come this day to buy and sale products. In this Market day, nearby rural primary schools to Bati town are closed, and it is compensated in Saturday.

Men in Bati rural community are involved in production and community work at large; while, the routine (daily-base) and tiresome household activities-reproductive roles are almost all shouldered by women. Poultry production and sales of animal products is the activity in which women's share is 90-100%. While in sheep and goat rearing, and bee keeping women have equal participation (ORDA, 2005:10). The daily routine for men and women at peak season/April/ is 16 and 18 hours respectively. In slack/December/ season men works for about 11 hours and women for 15 hours. In the main production and slack periods women work more than men.

Men are the one who have control over resources at household and community level. Women's opportunity on making decision gets worse when the issues are more serious. Women maximum decision involvement in the household is seen in the issues to their given reproductive role. In case of education service, the share of women and men was 60 % and 40% respectively. The reason

forwarded for the difference was due to the attention given for girls' education in the locality (ORDA, 2005:13).

In case of benefit share in the rural community, the general finding showed that man was benefited more from different activities, services, resources and decisions of the particular sources. Whereas, in the share of benefit in food and drinks were the items in which a great variation was observed; the benefit share from these basic needs of men and women was 70-80% and 20-30% respectively (ORDA, 2005:14). When analysed the above facts from gender perspective, the basic needs are prepared by women whereas the benefit priority went to men. In other words, women give priority in feeding the family members.

Consequently, women/mother mostly feed what is left over foods from the rest of the family. In time of food shortage, though women lost high calories in daily routine production and domestic activities than the other family members, it is the women who sleep without eating. In this case, feminist literatures argued that being a woman means "to exist for others." More emphasis is placed on other than on the woman and her own life. Here, the argument also works in the research locality. While being a man means "to exist for himself. As we have seen in the daily routine activities identification, at slack period, women were busy in preparing foods and drinks for men in different ceremonies. Men usually maximize their leisure time, enjoy by having more food and drinks prepared by women/wife.

Besides, the local culture put sanctions or 'norms' in women's feeding custom. Accordingly, women are not allowed to eat with their husbands. The workload women shouldered have an impact on lose of apatite and not to eat on time. Moreover, due to the cultural influences imposed and in fear of the cultural punishment, women themselves are not mentally ready/nurtured to buy food and drinks in the hotel when they left home for marketing or other purpose; whereas, men have the possibility to do that.

The main dominant causes identified for the existing gender inequality and women's discrimination in Bati locality are: considering only women are appropriate for domestic roles, valuing simple and less women's domestic roles, male dominancy and opportunities and societies' perception that only men are capable controlling resources and decision making at home and outside. Besides, women feeling of inferiority and lack of confidence, males' less attentions for ideas raised by women, less valuing of women's knowledge/skills, less consideration of women's needs, incomplete understanding of religion, cultural and religious influence (ORDA, 2005:23).

### **3.2.2. Harmful Traditional Practices and Gender Issue in Bati Woreda**

Women and girls were the social groups who were largely affected by the existing HTPs. In the locally existing cultural practices, besides the identified HTPs, the society has a good culture of supporting each other in case of an individual household faced a problem. The HTPs identified in the *Woreda* are many, but for this research purpose, the researcher has tried to discuss only on HTPs that have directly or indirectly have an effect on children's gender socialization and education.

**3.2.2.1. Early Marriage:** Locally, the initial assumption for this practices is that when one's daughter waited unmarried a long time in her puberty her parents fear she might start sexual relation and have a child without marriage-bastard from unwanted or unapproved family's boy that would spoiled the family's societal honour. Most marriages are under taken locally without the consent of the two couples. In some cases the boy has a chance to choose and inform to his parents. The participant said that their religion approve girls to marry at the age of 15/16. When the researcher analysed this fact, the marriage-age of girls is really at critical years where girls is to be attending at primary school levels.

According to the most parent participants in rural areas underlined dowry, health complications, many children, divorce, education stopping are the main locally identified negative effects of early marriage. Due to the unnecessary competition among households, participant stressed that the amount of money for dowry is a serious issues that sometimes boys in poor family not to get married on time of need and forced them to migrate to other areas to look for labour activities to generate money for dowry. Boys migrate even stopping their education. Here, one can understand how much boys' life also affected by the given gender socialization. Besides, early marriage led for many children, and poor households' with more children are unable to feed their children that lead for child-labour to help their poor family that leads children to drop their education. It is not uncommon, the elder daughter is often to take her mother role over in feeding the family and take care of the young sister and brothers that affect her education performance; since the mother is already busy in child-rearing processes and often unhealthy.

Further more, since the marriage is arranged one without the consent of the spouses the marriage would not last long. Especially, since this marriage is under taken on underage girl, the girl is immature to feel the taste of sexuality. In this case, the following message of men transferred by the local oral literature, collected by Seid, asserted this reality:

(Seid, 1982:53).

The wife then becomes ignorant to her marriage and it become boring to her. Sometime they run

away. Since the running of the daughter will become public scandal, the parents' prejudices for their loose of respect that become the reason of early marriage, also happen in other way. Besides, the expenses for the wedding ceremony become wastage for parents. Participants stated that though there is the possibility for its improvement, still it is exercised there. They also remarked that as it become hard for the society to accept the Ethiopian Family Code that state 'the minimum age for female marriage is 18'.

Though it is the girls that most affected by early marriage practise; there is also a chance the boys to be underage, particularly in rural areas, where boys have been learning their primary education. For instance, as Hirut asserted that socialization is not only for girls but also for boys, who are socialized in a tradition and modes of behaviour they may not like...Child marriage for example, also affects boys negatively in their education. (Hirut, 2002:11). Though he is not physically and mentally ready to take home affair responsibility, after their wedding the boy is expected to be a 'man', to be independent and responsible to build his new home and to generate income for him and his wife means of living. Thus, to carry this responsibility, the first thing to do is to leave his education and look for his farm, and search other income generating activities. The choice of the partner or his wife's is not different from the boy partner, rather to follow his ways, and leave her education too, and prepare herself to be 'wife' and 'mother' at her early age, and to its other consequences.

**3.2.2.2. Polygamy:** is one type of marriage widely exercised in the *Woreda*. The effects of it are increase the size of the family, decreasing individual household income sharing; and the husband unable to feed all family properly. In order to minimize the family famine, the elder children are often obliged to manage their family. Hence, in slack season, the elder son in rural family went for labour, commonly to Afar region. The daughters also migrate to Jeddah stopping their education. Further more, participants asserted that the man is unable to share love equally, mostly men are reluctant for the former wife/wives. Consequently, this often led the former/old wife for jealousy and to revenge her husband. She made adultery to release her internal pain or turmoil. Local language also serves to express one's good or bad feeling. In this case, from Seid collected poetry, the following is women's local oral message in poetry that can able to strengthen the above parent participant saying:

(Seid, 1982:90).

And, if the husband heard the adultery, or red-handed her, he may kill her. The miracle thing is that, rather than discouraging the man did, the society blamed her and her death will be her societal price or punishment. Some of the reasons for polygamy practise forwarded by the participants were that

when the first or second wife age is increased, she becomes apparently wife when she looks old on the eye of the husband, though they are equivalent in age. In this case, there is a local dictum that reveal men's saying when they are this sort of feeling or mood; ' '; that to mean 'it is mother that should be supported, cared or pensioned at old age, but not wife'. Consequently, the man ignored or scared her! There is also another poetry that showed the tendency of the husband's aspiration for another additional wife to have:

Then he claim to marry young girl that can replace the old 'cow' or wife. As usual, since the female is expected to be with her virginity, obviously she is expected often to be underage. Thus, most polygamy marriages are under taken with big-age differences between the two partners; and it is the man who is older. In most cases, this female partner may be the second or third wife of the old man. According the culture, when men marry to young girl, assumed as they comeback into to their youth's ages, or refreshed. So, they want to marry the second, third, etc...Besides their education cut, child girls' sexual feeling is also affected when the old man age is increased, while the young wife normally goes into youth-hood. Actually, man has already made a solution for this from the beginning. That is, by practising FGM, man can able to minimize the degree of woman's natural sexual desire.

**3.2.2.3. Female Genital Mutilation:** The hidden agenda of this practice is to control women sexuality rather than the assumed at ease of the deflower process and the labour at delivery. By this practice women lose their natural sexual desire and become senseless to it and by this practise the men assumed the culturally given 'superiority' over women sexuality. Here, even the meaning given for 'deflower' by man is surprising one: "to take way the 'prime beauty' of female". As the researcher understands it, it is a wrong definition that holds a message that undermining woman. This definition sparks for the researcher one question: Is virginity the only beauty of women? Traditionally, what is the purpose of woman beauty,? To attract man?

**3.2.2.4. Abduction and Rape:** Due to the local community awareness to its harmfulness and the practise as a crime, the participant asserted that the abduction practice is at decreasing rate. Though rape is not completely stopped, since the society disapprove it as it is not good practise that can be proud of, it is practised hardly in the locality.

In general, the researcher observed that the psychological, moral effect of rape, abduction, early marriage, FGM, and widow inheritance were unmentioned one or that often get over looked by the

society. This is because, the deepness of the psychological, moral effect and mental shock are not become well known. But these are the worsened forms of HTPs, than the commonly mentioned physical and economical or their social negative impacts. This is because, from education perspective, psychologically affected girls can not be motivated to go to schools and if they go, they can not able to attend their schooling properly. Thus, one can quest that how could a girl with psychological pain, moral and mental illness can attend effectively their education, with equal status with boys out of this pain?

### **3.2.2.5. Gender Dimension of Excess Resources utilizations for traditional festivals**

Parent participants underlined that most of these different traditional ceremonies are commonly practised in order to avoid from societal gossip. Though they practised for maximizing leisure and to strengthen social bondage (in situation of individual and/or social: happiness, sorrow, good wish, good health, etc...), they consumed excess and huge amount of resources (grain, human labour, time). Besides that, they consumed the existing low agricultural productivity and production that would exacerbate the existing family poverty. Hence, the low and unreliable income and chronic food insecurity of the rural household is more fuelled by these practises in the *Woreda*. Consequently, it consumes a lot of working hours and days that would have been utilised for productive purposes. Here, needless to mention, as there are so many celebrations, the burden to prepare food and drinks is mainly shouldered by women. While these activities consume women's time and labour, men are usually maximizing their enjoyment, being the main consumers.

When the researcher analysis these things it has a room to argue that this is the occasion or time where “the work eats the labour and time of women, and men eats the sweat of women”. Accordingly, girls are always behind the adult women or mother in the foods and drinks preparation process that strongly affects their educational performance. That increase girls' tiresome and directly consume girls' time that would have been used for study and working homework.

### **3.2.2.6. Subordinate Position of Women in Bati Society**

The community assumed that man is strong in his work performance or labour than woman. The other point mentioned is that in Genesis, it is stated that ‘ . It is to mean “she is only a woman” that is mentioned in caring downing manner and that puts woman to be in subordinate positions. The society also perceived women as inferior because they are ignorant or lack knowledge. Similarly, the other perception is that ‘woman-being cannot reach anywhere’ or ‘women do not have any destination’. In particular, this perception can be asserted by the local dictum of, ‘ ’ It is to mean that woman possess legs but not residential

place or no destination. That is, woman is portable and when married the husband can take her anywhere he decides to live. The other message is that since she is mobile, women cannot claim for inheritance of property or wealth. Due to these societal attitudes women were denied for education in the research locality.

When the researcher analyzed the above stated facts, we know that men and women in rural areas practically working at least equally; but denied property inheritance. The other point is that who made women to be ignorant? Obviously it is insulters or the men themselves that made women not to get proper education and training that would increase their knowledge and mental development. In regard to the issue raised in case of the 'Genesis' that 'call woman with out title', to the researcher understanding, it is not for sake of care down woman (the detail discussion presented on 'socialization and religion in chapter four). In nutshell, when analysed the entire HTPs practises, they have been seriously affecting the whole life of women than men. Since they are the result of biased gender socialization, they have also a generational effect. In other way, these HTPs have an effect on the life of men too.

### **3.2.3. Gender and Local Proverbs**

Studies indicated that oral literatures or discourses have a great power in perpetuating social inequalities, including gender inequalities; having this hint in mind the researcher interested to review and analyze hereafter some of the local oral literature that have relevance on the issue under discussion, and how the local language usage imaging women and men would be discussed.

The word Bati derived from Oromiffa language to mean 'moon'. Bati is famous being the soil/mother of beauty. Bati is commonly known by Ethiopian people as 'home/source of beauty' (of women). When the name of Bati mentioned what comes usually in the mind of Ethiopian people is that of the legend of women's beauty. Further more, one of the five Ethiopian music rhythms or musical note is named by Bati. Hence, to admire or visualize Bati's source of beauty, so many traditional and modern known Ethiopian Musician song about Bati that express its glory of beauty. For instance, a song that address about Bati, and used by many Ethiopian musician as song headline /'azimach', but surprisingly enough, if one analysed, it has a bad a message of women's sexual subordination; it say:

This poetry has an idiomatic expression that used to mean-how much it is joyful or exciting for man to sleep with more than one women in a single night'. The oral literature has the power to pass once culture or socialization to the next generations –and transmit the good and the bad perception in one

locality. Oral literature employed by local society to advise, recommend, and to express one's internal suppressed feeling of hate, love, beliefs, hopes, needs, aspirations, etc... Thus, things that commonly used by the *Woreda* community by their language that put women in subordinate positions and propagate via music and poetry in transmitting it. How local language usage holds positive and negative image of men and women would be examined next.

### **3.2.3.1. Local proverbs' negatively stereotyping the female-gender**

There are also oral literature sung by men to reflect women's love for money and otherwise they are ignorant for men's love or engagement, to say, wealth become the precondition for women to love men:

This poetry of men directly reflects (men advised men) women as money or property lovers; and blames them without money they don't care about love of men-being. But when analysed the reality critically, it is men who prohibits women not to have property, generate their own income and to be economically dependent upon men and to look for.

There are also oral literatures that say about blaming women as they are talkative, and when they are gathered together on a coffee ceremony, they usually gossip; and so it also advised them rather, it is better for the women to process cotton and make traditional clothes, and dressing her husband, the role that the society assigned to a 'wise' women, and that will offer her the title of 'good' wife.

### **3.2.3.2. Local proverbs negatively stereotyping the male-gender**

Women also express about the unfaithfulness of their husbands, through poetry, for instance:

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The above saying showed women explaining their complain, about how much men are ignorant for women's love feeling, except their desire.; and the second poetry message is women's complaining about men's unfaithfulness for their marriage, making adultery.

In general, we have seen that the first school for a child is the home. Whereas, one can easily

imagine that what the children-boy and girls of the society, are learning or nurture from these commonly heard oral literatures and from these home-hanged poetry. Further more, the music that seem appreciating Bati is mostly around women’s beauty. What the young girls learned from the music messages is that to give attention to their external beauty and that has also an internal influence. Since the trend seem that the outside guiding or influencing the inside self of girls. Hence, girls of Bati are invited to think and to prepare themselves mostly for their external beauty than to their internal beauty that can bring mental empowerment.

All the music about Bati transmits the message for girls to give more attention on their external beauty. Further more, it is common in Bati to steamed girls/ and women by smoke comes out from fired special wood of “*Woyiba*” that make smooth, clean and smell good the body of women and keep their skin beauty. Here, in addition to the other gender socialization agents, these sort of music are influential on the thinking dimension of girls that might led them to give less attention for their education. Hence, to make an intellectual guesses that might be one of the factor that exacerbate for girls’ lose of interest on their education.

On top of that people of Bati can told you that when men went to Bati or made transit the first question that come in the mouth of these men is that they need to taste the Bati’s beauty that men usually listened highly pronounced Beauty of Bati women in music of most Ethiopian musicians. To mention one single poem or verse from Maritu Legesse music:

To add to my surprise, when the researcher told friends that the research *Woreda* is Bati; the immediate and the first thing that comes to their mind and speak out was that ‘I guess you go to study Women’s Beauty?’” Though it seem they are joking, but their saying by itself is also passing the old message that: ‘If you want to see beauty, go to Bati!’ It also seemed that the BGI Beer Brewery named one of its Beer type by Bati and promote it by bill board (holding the picture of Bati’s girl); and promote by media saying ‘for women’s beauty, it comes first Bati!’ ‘

!’



Analyzing these facts, any person can imagine what all these messages have been transmitted for Bati girls? What psychological impression would have for Bati girls, especially for female students? When the researcher analysed all the above facts from gender perspective, the negative message or the invisible hand of these music can be manifested that have a power to influence Bati girls' life.

Nevertheless, 'Beauty' in the thought of Gibran is not in the face; beauty is a light in the heart (Gibran, 2005:7-8). In this regard, Baker further elaborates that as it is true in our other lives, today; beauty is thought of in terms of physical proportions. But, it is what we have on the inside (character, thinking capability) that determine who we are; that is very vital to experience authentic and successful living (Baker, 2007:10-11).

Consequently, describing and introducing this much Bati's locality inter-gender relations, HTPs, gender socialization processes enable to create understanding about Bati's social setting, and make use of as a base for the researcher in the development of satisfying discussion in the remaining main research topic issues that would be raised in the following section and chapter.

### **3.3. Discussions of Education Empirical Findings from Gender Perspective**

Discussion would be undertaken based on the common educational quantitative indicators and qualitative primary data collected by the researcher. The qualitative discussion is based on the inter-gender interaction among students, teachers and school administration and facilities in sample primary school qualitative analysis from gender perspective.

#### **3.3.1. General Trend of educational indicators**

##### **3.3.1.1. School Enrolment and Gender parity**

The 2005/06 year, the primary school GER in the research *Woreda* was 68.2%, of which 66.1% for girls and 70.3% for boys; and that of the gender parity was 0.9. The GER of the *Woreda* showed about 34 % of girls and 30% of boys could not get the education opportunity in the 2005/6 education year. But the actual figure will be more than this; this is because, GER is a crude measure of educational coverage, usually includes under aged or over-aged pupils. Though not able to get the NER of the *Woreda* for this year, the age of students' participated the research indicate that total participated students was an age of 15 and above that constitutes 61%, of which boys' was 75%, and that of girls 45%. From personal observation the age of students especially that of the students in rural primary schools looks aged beyond the age of the primary school (7-14 in Ethiopia).

As indicated in the table: 3.1., the percentage of girls and boys enrolled in primary level during the five years in the *Woreda* was between 41.6 and 66.1 for girls and between 41.7 and 70.3 for boys. A

great change was seen in this regard. The data below showed that the girls and boys enrolment rate and growth rate of educational coverage of the *Woreda* an even growing trend; and with high enrolment in the year 2004/5, according to the education information it was the year where high promotion works undertaken in the *Woreda*. The Gender parity index also showed constant trend, and with slight difference in 2005/06, the gender gap is almost quantitatively closed zero. Though most literature reviewed argued the universality of girls' educational under-representations, whereas Bati *Woreda* trend showed that, the under representation generalization of girls in primary school enrolment does not hold truth at least for the research.

**Table: 3.1. GER & GPI trends in Bati *Woreda* in Primary\_schools: 2001/2-2005/6**

Year	Gross Enrolment Ratio			Growth rate of Coverage			GPI in Enrolment
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
2001/2	41.7	41.6	41.6				1.0
2002/3	40.5	41.0	40.8	-1.2	-0.6	-0.8	1.0
2003/4	47.4	47.4	47.4	6.9	6.4	6.6	1.0
2004/5	64.3	64.0	64.2	16.9	16.6	16.8	1.0
2005/6	70.3	66.1	68.2	6.0	2.1	4.0	0.9

Source: Organized from unpublished documents of Bati *Woreda* Education Office

### 3.3.1.2. School Drop out and Gender Parity

From the enrolled boys and girls, the four years drop out trend showed the drop out rate was at decreasing rate for both genders.

**Table: 3.2. Bati *Woreda* primary schools drop out trend:2001/2-2005/6**

Education Year	Enrolment			Drop out			Drop out %			GPI in Drop out
	Boys	Girls	Total	boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
2001/2	4842	4811	9653	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2002/3	4815	4850	9665	912	911	1823	18.9	18.8	18.9	1.0
2003/4	5757	5731	11488	619	495	1114	10.8	8.6	9.7	0.8
2004/5	8043	7869	15912	794	597	1391	9.9	7.6	8.7	0.8
2005/6	9349	8837	18186	570	508	1078	6.1	5.7	5.9	0.9

Source: Organized from unpublished documents of Bati *Woreda* Education Office

Whereas, the inter-gender trend of drop out showed that the rate of boys drop out was high in each of the five years. The GPI in drop out also ensured this fact except for the year 2002/3 where equivalent drop out, /GPI =1.0/ was registered. For instance, as it is shown in the table: 3.2., the total drop out rate of the *Woreda* in 2005/6 was 5.9 %, of which 5.7% was for girls and 6.1% for boys. This shows that the stated percentage of students left the primary cycle without attaining the required skill in the cycle; indicating the boys drop out rate was higher than that of girls'. For instance, as indicated in table 3.4 below in both sample primary school and in all grades in year 2005/6 the drop out figure is high for boys.

**Table: 3.3. Drop out by Grade and Sex for sample primary schools by 2005/6**

Grade	Drop out											
	Bati				Selewa				Mamed			
	boys	Girls	Total	Girls %	Boys	girls	Total	girls %	Boys	Girls	total	girls' %
1	19	10	29	34.5	3	3	6	50.0	10	2	12	16.7
2	5	4	9	44.4	0	0	0		4	4	8	50
3	10	6	16	37.5	2	3	5	60.0	3	0	3	0
4	7	4	11	36.4	2	0	2	0.0	3	3	6	50
5	12	15	27	55.6	1	2	3	66.7	10	0	10	0
6	9	11	20	55.0	3	0	3	0.0	3	0	3	0
7	20	13	33	39.4	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	50
8	33	27	60	45.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1-8 <sup>th</sup>	<b>115</b>	<b>90</b>	205	43.9	11	8	19	42.1	<b>35</b>	<b>11</b>	46	23.9

Source: organised from unpublished documents of the three sample primary schools

In order to examine at what grade level the drop out for girls and boys is high and to make understanding the reason why; exploring the fact by grade level from gender perspective is imperative.

When we analyzed the four years drop out rate trend by grade and gender, though the 2002/3 percentage has exceptional fact for both gender, the general drop out rate for boys was high chronologically in grades five, one and seven. Whereas, girls drop out was high chronologically at grade six, five and seven.

**Table: 3.4. Bati Woreda Drop out trend by Grade and Sex, 2002/3-2005/6**

Grade	Boys drop out trends in %				Girls' drop out trend in %				Rem.
	2002/03	2003/4	2004/05	2005/06	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	
1	28.8	14.2	12.2	9.8	23.6	7.7	7.2	6.2	
2	20.8	7.2	6.4	4.5	21.4	6.0	5.7	5.4	
3	21.3	8.5	6.8	3.2	20.8	7.0	4.8	4.4	
4	11.6	7.4	5.6	3.5	12.5	8.6	8.1	4.8	
5	15.4	16.6	18.7	13.0	14.8	9.3	14.4	7.1	
6	3.4	1.9	10.4	4.4	10.3	20.3	15.6	9.1	
7	13.7	4.9	11.3	6.3	12.4	12.5	12.3	7.1	
8	6.9	12.6	11.4	7.7	9.5	15.0	7.5	8.7	
1 to 8	18.9	10.8	9.9	6.1	18.8	8.6	7.6	5.7	

Source: Organized from unpublished documents of Bati Woreda Education Office

When we examined the reasons why the drop out rate is high at these grade levels for boys and girls; when boys are at grade one level, though enrolment is high at the opening of school by school administration, teachers and PTA high efforts, since the poor family needs their children labour for cattle keeping and sometimes renting them for others. When boys reach grade five, boys in poor family migrate to Afar Region in search of temporary job to bring additional income for their poor family. For girls, when they reach grade six and five level, according to the society belief, it is the

'appropriate' age for girls to be married. At grade seven, it is commonly explained due to absence of nearby second cycle primary school in the rural locality that works for both boys and girls though the girls case out weigh.

As the quantitative data collected in three sample schools drop out by causes/for glance annex 10-12/ in 2005/6, showed and that also approved by the qualitative data collected from research participants, the general causes for drop out for Bati town primary school are chronologically family influence, health, local seasonal migration for job, and abroad migration to Djibouti and Jeddah. Here, family influence is mainly reflected in family poverty and parents fears of children distance/far from them. The cause for high drop out for boys was chronologically family influence to send children to school, discipline case, abroad migration and health problem. High drop out rate for boys due to family economic problem was observed mainly at grade eight and secondly at grade seven. In case of discipline for boys it was observed mainly (82%) at grade eight and (18%) at grade seven. For boys migration abroad was observed mainly at grade five level. In case of health, it was high when boys were at grade seven mainly.

Nevertheless, the causes for highest drop out rate for girls in the same school and education year were chronologically family influence, early marriage, health problem and local migration. High dropout rate for girls due to family influence was observed mainly at grade eight and seven level. This is because, there is no near by junior high school for rural community. Though the case is true for both boys and girls, rural family did not want to send town especially their daughters after finishing six grades to continue their schooling due to fear of sexual relation before marriage. Obviously, the only option for these girls is to remain in their locality get to married. This is also the impact of gender role socialization. In case of girls, early marriage was observed at grade seven and eight in urban town. Local migration for girls was observed at fifth grade level due to the fact that poor family rent their daughter for servant and cattle keeping in relatively well households.

In case of the low land part of Bati *Woreda*, in Selewa primary school, generally highest drop out rate was observed due to early marriage, local migration and health problems/for glance annex :11/. When this case examined by grade level and from gender perspective; highest drop out rate for girls was due to marriage (at grade 3 and 5), local migration at grade one, and health at grade one level chronologically. In case of boys, high drop out rate was due to local migration when they reach at grade six, three and one levels, and due to lose of interest or motivation when they reached at fourth grade level.

### **3.3.1.3. School Repetition and Gender Parity**

The five year trend of girls and boys repetition showed that at decreasing rate in general except for the year 2002/3. When the repetition trend examined from inter-gender, as the GPI showed, almost there was equivalent trend, except for the year 2002/3 that showed big difference of 1.2. In case of intra-gender repetition, high repetition rate was registered for girls in all grades. In terms of grade level, high drop out rate for girls was registered specially at grade eight, one and two in 2002/3. Since there was a repetition rule, before the self-contained policy implemented in first cycle primary school in the country. In the next table the 8<sup>th</sup> grade repetition data for the *Woreda* for 2004/5 is not available and not include it.

**Table: 3.5. Bati *Woreda* primary schools repetition trend:2001/2-2005/6**

Education Year	Seat for exam			Repetition			Repetition %			GPI in Repetition
	Boys	Girls	Total	boys	girls	Total	boys	girls	Total	
2001/2	4842	4811	9653	503	523	1026	10.4	10.9	10.6	1.0
2002/3	3903	3939	7842	546	681	1227	14.0	17.3	15.6	1.2
2003/4	5138	5236	10374	350	315	665	6.8	6.0	6.4	0.9
2004/5	7249	7272	14521	100	100	200	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.0
2005/6	8779	8329	17108	254	233	487	2.9	2.8	2.8	1.0

Source: Organized from unpublished documents of Bati *Woreda* Education Office

In case of repetition by grade and gender, as indicated in the below table, boys' high failurity is registered when they reached mainly at eighth grade level and next at grade five and three. When boys reached at grade five level; it is the time when boys' labour is wanted specially in the rural family, that slightly increase boys' labour burden that could share their studying time.

**Table: 3.6. Bati *Woreda* Repetition trend by Grade and Sex, 2002/3-2005/6**

Grade Level	Boys' repetition trends in %				Girls' Repetition trend in %				Remark
	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	
1	17.6	6.7	1.1	0.7	19.7	5.1	1.0	0.4	in 2004/5 8th grade no data
2	15.5	5.4	1.5	0.7	18.2	4.1	1.1	0.3	
3	15.6	7.1	1.7	0.5	17.4	6.2	0.6	0.3	
4	8.2	5.4	2.1	3.3	9.6	6.3	2.9	4.2	
5	9.3	9.5	2.9	5.4	15.9	11.2	3.8	3.6	
6	3.5	4.3	1.3	2.6	3.7	2.6	3.0	2.9	
7	5.1	3.2	0.7	7.1	2.9	1.7	1.7	13.6	
8	39.4	17.5	0.0	29.6	67.1	20.5	0.0	35.1	
1 to 8	14.0	6.8	1.4	2.9	17.3	6.0	1.4	2.8	

Source: Organized from unpublished documents of Bati *Woreda* Education Office

Girls' repetition trend showed that high repetitions rate was examined mainly at eighth grade level, similar to boys, secondly at grade five and thirdly at four and three. The case of high repetition rate at grade eight is not due to the magic of the number/grade, rather it is the cumulative effect and the reason of the case discussed latter in the qualitative findings section.

In general as the *Woreda* trend of inter-gender enrolment, drop out and repetitions indicate that most

of reviewed literatures arguments are failed to work with or supported by the *Woreda* local real fact. To the reverse, the drop out trend showed that it is boys more affected than girls due to the locality socialization and their associated tasks assigned for boys that allowed boys to travel far from their localities to generate additional income for families.

Generally, according to the analysis made in the *Woreda* in general and in the sample school in particular, the school enrolment and repetition trends for girls and boys are almost equivalent. Whereas, in case of school drop out trend, it is the boys that are the most affected. Hence, in the existing traditional gender role socialization, it is not only girls suffer but boys too. When the quantitative and qualitative presentation of children in education is analysed in this *Woreda*, boys are obliged to emigrate to other region to generate income for the family /men labour for outside home works/; and girls migrate to Jeddah to (be domestic servant) and generate income for the family that results for boys and girls high drop out and repetition.

### **3.3.2. Exploring educational barriers from local gender socialization perspective**

**3.3.2.1. Family Influence:** It is reflected by the family need for child labour and household workload, economic problem to send children to school, and parents fear (of safety) when children far from them.

#### **A/ Need of Child labour at Household level**

A child need arise in our country particularly in the countryside because of child labour, as production unit or for their economic and social benefits (family security at old age) but not child for psychic income being a parent. Here, when the family is under poverty, a poor family may be hard pressed to meet the incidental costs of school. When these happened children are made to stay home and help parents.

Due to the unwritten gender role duties and responsibilities of the rural society in a given household, it is observed that often mothers are against daughters' education. This is because, it is the daughters who are expected to help their mothers before and after school return. The need of girls labour is sever in the rural community. For instance, in the data collected from student participants who is the initiator or supporter from their family for their education, the result from 11 female participants indicated that first become father (46%), both mother and father secondly ranks (27%) and mother thirdly (18%). In regard to the inter-gender role differences between boys and girls after retuning from school was well explained in the following way by grade seven female students (14 years old) from Bati primary school during discussion about their studying program situation:

*Usually our brothers walk away the plates which they have been fed. On the other hand, their sisters collect these plates, wash, dry and placed it in proper places. Doing this and other domestic chores, female students help their mothers in their time that would have been used for home work and study. Boys after eating their lunch meet their friends and play a while and then study together. This gives them a chance to discuss their subjects which in turn increase their understanding and knowledge. But this opportunity is strange and unthinkable for female students. If girls have programme to study, since they are not allowed to study outside their home, rather they study alone in their parent home. This really makes a difference between boys' and girls' education performance.*

Actually the researcher was convinced with this student saying, with slight difference that being together not all boys used their time properly. Good boys can actually exploit this opportunity as it is stated; but sometime the unwise boys may use their togetherness/ relation for wrong doing rather than for study.

**B/ Local migration:** Since most of the people in countryside in this *Woreda* are under poverty and food insecurity. To cope up this situation, poor family rent their children especially boys for relative wealthy family for seasonal works in their localities. This is the most reason the quantitative data showed for students to stop education at grade one level.

**C/ Abroad migration:** It is the case particularly for Bati town students' school drop out. Besides that one of coping mechanisms of the rural household to their low and unreliable income and chronic food insecurity is by sending daughters Jeddah, stopping their schooling.

### **3.3.2.2. Harmful Traditional Practices**

The *Woreda* is known for food insecurity that also exacerbated by many traditional festivals, and celebrations of the community. If there are many traditional festivals, it increases the work burden of women and girls that result for girls tiresome and lack time for study. Besides, one of the main causes stated for girls drop out was early marriage in particular for rural female students. The locally prevailing view is that parents made an arranged marriage for their daughter especially during the first semester vacation. Consequently, married girls do not often want to go to school because external influence and personally not feel good.

**3.3.2.3. Health:** It is one of the three main causes or school drop out. Both boys and girls become victims of such circumstances. In areas where malaria and other water born and communicable diseases are rampant children are often absent school. Especially Female children are responsible taking care of sick family members and vulnerable to diseases. Besides, they have more workload and they become sick time and again and miss classes that can lead for poor grade results and

academic difficulties.

**3.3.2.4. Boys' Misconduct:** One of the causes of boys' drop out, next to family influence, was boys' discipline problem in Bati primary school. Due to their repeated bully acts in the school in Amharic shift two boys from seventh and nine boys from eighth grade were punished for one year in 2004/5. Teacher participants in Bati school were strongly complaining about the behaviour developed by boy students. They underlined that seeing boys' misconduct is the daily routine practises that seriously disturb the school environment that affect these boys' and others education (more discussion on 'boys gender socializations' next chapter)

**3.3.2.5. Lose of Educational Interest:** Teachers participants in Bati primary underlined that as there are commonly observed phenomenon in Bati town that primarily, parents do not follow up their children education properly. Some of these parents are leaving for Jeddah. Likewise, most students have a tendency to migrate abroad and to be prosperous and education is secondary for most of them. They also asserted that the aspiration for abroad migration is out weigh by female students. The detail discussion, based on qualitative data is presented in quality of education in chapter four.

**3.3.2.6. Distance to School:** In this regard, one illiterate, 55, male parent participant in Selewa Hato/ kebele express his discouragement on the impact of the existing poverty and absence of nearby high school for their children in the following manner:

*Ideally I wish my children to continue their higher education going to Bati town in order to reach higher level in their education and to live a good life better than me. But, the financial capability for their town cloth, house rent and living expenses is the crucial and the great challenge thing and worried to me fulfil. So, unless our economic capability is added to our inspiration to our children education continuity, only aspiration becomes nothing! Therefore, it is difficult and challenging to me and is unthinkable to send my children to Bati. Hence, it is a must to stop their education!*

### **3.3.3. The Impact of Traditional Gender Role Socialization on Bati Primary Education**

In this section, to examine the gender inequalities in primary education, discussion would be undertaken based on the qualitative data collected on the impact of the existing traditional gender role socialization process in children primary education, by dividing the case in to two main categories, the policy environment and school environment.

#### **3.3.3.1. Policy Environment**

Policy environment also holds two main topics that the discussion would spin in policy statement and the curriculum.

### **A/The policy Statement**

The Ethiopian Education and Training Policy (1994) has some provision given to women that also works in the Amhara Regional Education Programme. One of the specific objectives in the policy is to introduce a system of education that would rectify the misconceptions and misunderstandings regarding the roles and benefits of female education. For its implementation, Gender and Education Equality Department is established in the Bureau and Ministry of Education. Affirmative action for females who join in Teacher Training Institutes/TTI/ and providing gender training for teachers trainees in TTI; and for female students who join higher institutions. Several studies on gender parity and girls' education in particular have been undertaken by the ministry. Tutorial class in primary schools is provided for female students with poor performance. Schools are informed that classroom monitors must be composed of female and male student in a class. These are some of the attempts undertaken in order to narrow gender gaps in primary education at policy level. But its strategy/ approach are only focused on the side of girls' education.

### **B/ Curriculum and education materials**

The researcher more interested here to examine six grade English text book deployed by Amhara Region. The Region deployed directly the curriculum designed by Federal for model that might lead children at primary level to know beyond their locality. Of course, attempts were made to improve the curriculum and text books from its gender biases. But, to create understanding that the Ethiopian curriculum is still working in perpetuating the existing traditional gender stereotypes, the following are presented for example. The front page of the text book show both boy and girl holding handbooks on their one hand and giving greeting in the other hand of course, with great smile in their face. The symbolic message of equity and positive change of the book covers will also reach the parents. Parents in research *Woreda* simply looking the cover's image of the text book, they are clearly told that girls also belong to school and that they are able to do the same things as boys.

Nonetheless, in the next text and picture, the author mostly reflects what is usually practised in the peasant society of Ethiopia. Besides that, more emphasis is given in the description of the agricultural or production role; and the owner of the farm and the agricultural role is totally given for the husband. The author (s) denied the women's ownership of the land these days in Ethiopia, and falsely portrayed the rural women's role in agriculture.

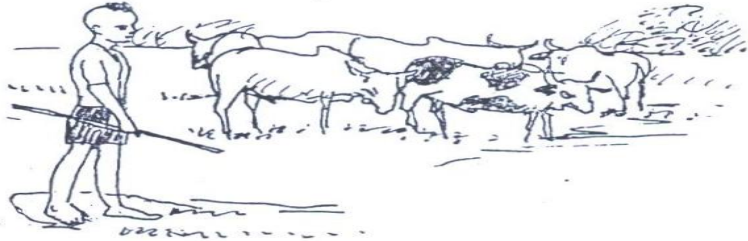
## A Farming Family's Day

Bogale has a small farm in the country. He and his wife, Kume, work hard every day. Their children help them before and after school.

Bogale gets up before dawn and feeds his oxen. Kume also gets up early and begins to prepare food and coffee for the family. Her daughters help her when they wake up.

When Kume's son wakes, he goes and looks after the oxen and cows. His father has breakfast then.

After breakfast Bogale takes his yolk and plough and goes to work in the fields. He stays there all day.



Kume works at home.

She usually milks the cows first. About noon she takes her husband some lunch.

Bogale returns home with his oxen when it gets dark. He usually asks one of the children to feed the oxen. About 8 o'clock everyone sits down for dinner. It is the only meal they can have together. They have coffee after dinner and talk for a short time. Then they go to bed. Bogale and Kume go to bed a little later than the children but they are usually too tired to stay up late.

*Source: Grade six English textbook, Page 23.*

Women's practically participated agricultural activities, beside their domestic role in Ethiopia, though it is denied according the message of the text. The author also visualized the husband productive role as important and the main one and his wife as follower (in subordinate position) or second to him and also her role. Further more, the book showed the son keeping the cattle and visualizing the role by illustrating by the drawn picture, that may seem denying or ignoring girls' task as ordinary, not important as such. But, keeping cattle is not the role of boys only; in some locality girls also deed that.

In the two consecutive sentences: 'Bogale has a small farm in the country.' 'He and his Wife, Kume, work hard every day'. Better if it was written like this: 'Bogale and Kume are husband and wife. They have a small farm and work hard everyday.' However, in its positive side, the author acknowledged that women's domestic work is also hard that has been commonly assumed simple and less valued by the society. Besides that, it is made parents to talk after dinner that culturally partners often do not discuss about their common issue.

Further more page one of the textbook / below/ also reflect the stereotypes. The dialogue and the picture showed that it is a woman nurse who under take registering the necessary information (name, address, birth date) before a child see the doctor, by default a man, and the mother role here is as take care of her child. Why not the father? This is really reflecting the stereotypes.



Source: Grade six English text book, Page 1.

Likewise, the next passage with its picture reflects as:

Who is the judge? ...the clever chief man.....Man as a master;

Who is stolen?... the women.....imaging woman as a weak; even the woman is not visualized in the picture, rather the clever chief and the thief.

Who is the thief?...the man.....symbolizing of man as bad actor...And what boys and girls at grade six learn from this passage...definitely 'the existing gender stereotypes.

### The Clever Chief

Once a woman went to the chief of her village. "Somebody stole some money from my house yesterday," she said.

The chief called all the villagers together. "Who stole this woman's money?" he asked.

None of the villagers spoke. Then the chief held up some sticks. "These sticks are 10 centimetres long," he said. "I want each of you to take one of them.

Tomorrow you must all come here again with your stick. Then I will know who the thief is. His stick will be longer than the others because it will grow during the night. Sticks grow 1 centimetre when thieves touch them."

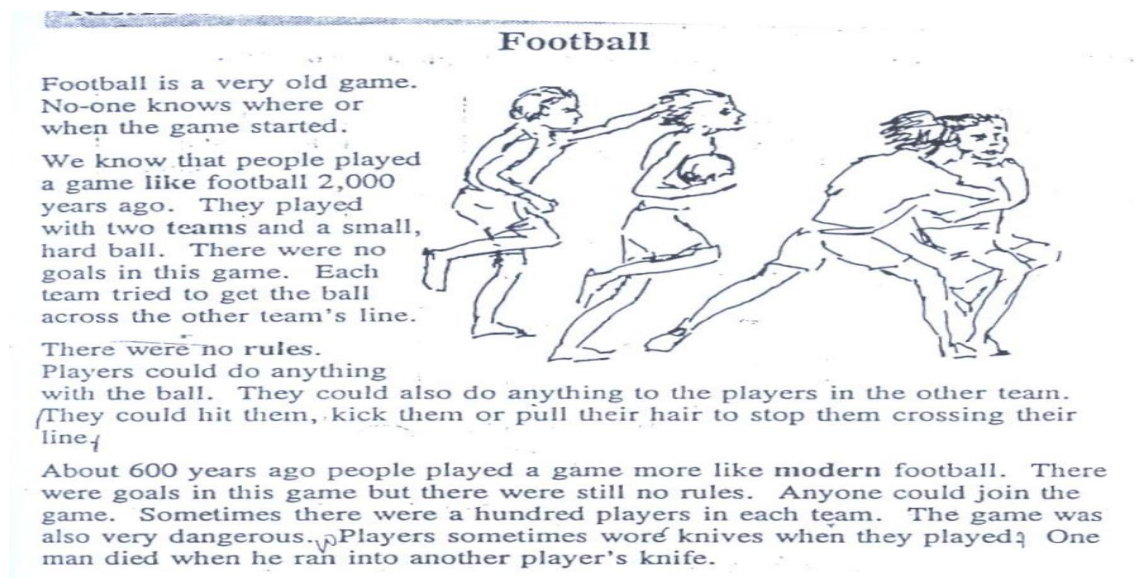
The thief was afraid. "What can I do?" he thought. "Tomorrow my stick will be longer than the others." Then he said, "I will cut a piece off my stick. It will grow during the night. Then tomorrow it will be 10 centimetres long again."

The next day the chief looked at everyone's stick. The thief's stick was shorter than the others because thieves' sticks do not really grow. The chief said to the man, "You are the thief. You didn't want your stick to become longer. So you cut a piece off it."



Source: Grade six English text book, Page 68.

In the following football playing story, in the passage the plural ‘people’ deployed as playing football, denying the reality; while the picture is showing that the men/boys are really playing, of course ‘aggressively’ showing bad habits or manner (hitting, kicking, bullying); even playing holding/belting knife in the west. So, what message the text is really transferring to the boys at grade six during their nurturing time? What girls can learn? They come up to say football is boys’ playing game. Surprisingly, a boy playing a football is also drawn on the wall of classroom in Selewa primary school. Actually that have a potential to discourage the kid girls playing football with boys team in the same school/for glance the picture in the E/informal interaction among students/.



*Source: Grade six English textbook, Page 48.*

In general, except the slight role changes, the passage and pictures in this textbook mostly reflect ‘business as usual’. There is no reverse of gender stereotypes, except page 81, where some of the picture show man sweeping, feed chicken, fetch water, changing the traditional gender role, reversing the stereotypes.

### **3.3.3.2. School Environment**

The implementation of an education policy which has gender objectives requires an institutional environment which is sensitive and receptive to meeting the special needs of girls and boys. The institutional environment reflects the extent to which an individual institution, primary schools in this research case, is aware of and ready to implement programmes and practices to address gender issues and promote gender equity. Accordingly, the researcher tried to examine the school environment from gender perspective.

### A/ General content and structure of schooling

In this research gender inequalities in primary education is not to mean directly gender disparity, rather it goes beyond that and includes the hierarchal/patriarchal power relation between boys and girls, intra-teachers, superiority and inferiority positions, power relation, the inter-gender roles between students and teachers within the school, gender performance differences, etc..

As indicated in Table: 3.7, from the total number of teachers in the *Woreda* in 2005/6, female constitute 33.2%; and in terms of qualification, female teacher only constitute in diploma, TTI and Below TTI 14.3, 35.5 and 33.3% respectively. Though the TTIs have an affirmative action for women candidates to join and to be a teacher, in Ethiopia case most primary school teachers are still men in Bati *Woreda*.

**Table: 3.7. Teachers' by qualification & Sex in Bati Woreda, 2005/6**

Qualif.	Bati comp. primary				Mamed				Selewa				Bati Woreda total			
	M	F	T	F %	M	F	T	F%	M	F	T	F %	M	F	T	F%
Diploma	24	4	28	14.3	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	36	6	42	14.3
TTI	17	12	29	41.4	8	9	17	52.9	7	7	14	50	218	120	338	35.5
<TTI	0	0	0		2	1	3	33.3	0	0	0		18	9	27	33.3
Total	41	16	57	28.1	14	10	24	41.7	7	7	14	50	272	135	407	33.2

Source: Organized from unpublished documents of Bati *Woreda* Education Office.

Here teachers below TTI level, their salary is paid by community contribution. In case of Bati education office employees in the year 2006/7 there was six sub-professionals and one professional man. But, there was no woman employee in these professions categories. Hence, since the men were high in number and in profession wise in the education office and sample schools, then salary budget allocated for the *Woreda* goes to the men's pockets.

### B/ School Administration and Environment

The data collected from *Woreda* education office showed that there had been 31 school directors in the *Woreda* in 2005/6, of which female directors constitute only 16%. Besides that there were two directors in Bati Primary school. The main director was male and the deputy was female. In division of school duties and responsibilities, the task of the male is to undertake duties like running financial matters and with tasks associated with supervising cluster schools and participating gathering outside the school. The remaining daily routine school administrative tasks are the duties of the deputy. Hence, female directors were very few in the *Woreda* that would be used as role model for female students in their schools.

Concerning Schools environment, student participants in all sample schools were complained about the scarcity of text books. Specially, English text book is the common and severe problem in both rural schools and they face difficulty to work homework properly. In case of latrine, it was not built for girls and boys in different places in all schools. For instance, in Bati primary school, the latrines are two for both male and female students and teachers. But they are not clean and separated; and no water after uses of the latrine. Because of this, it is boys that commonly use the school latrine, and negligently. But girls use the school latrine rarely. Commonly boys answer call of nature outside and around the latrine, and perhaps, the latrine were not cleaned. Here what the boys learnt in the school become norm to urinate outside latrine, in the street. Obviously it is not uncommon to see men answering call of nature or urinate anywhere in the street in Ethiopian

There was no drinking water for students during break time, the school having non-functional water pipes. Most of the classrooms in Bati primary school are not clean; and some of them (their wall, roof, and floor) are old and dirty. In general, the school environment of Bati primary school was not teaching-learning friendly. The general information of the three sample schools' environment is found in Annex 4.

On top of that, student participants in Bati primary school were strongly complained as it is common to see boys' arguments with teachers and as most of the time the misbehaved boys refuse when asked to leave the classroom. Rather the teacher left the class. Hence, due to one student misconduct the whole class will be punished. Some time, boys fight each other in group that reach sometime up to a bloodshed; and often difficult to control it. Most of the student participants underlined that, it is difficult to say that the school environment is friendly for learning and teaching.

In the school environment, teachers are not only governed by official rules. But they are also governed by unofficial rules that can be expressed through societal norms, values, traditions and customs, inter-gender roles in ceremonies. In case of teachers' role modelness, the evidence obtained in case of inter-gender division of labour, in group discussion with teachers in both sample schools showed that during public events or school festivals male and female teachers were undertake roles that are traditionally associated with their gender. For instance, in staff ceremony, women buy food items in the market and prepare food and make coffee, clean the floor. Whereas men collect money contribution for festivals, buy goat in the market, prepare the meat for cooking and prepare the hall. In catering both men and women participate. If the occasion is to say goodbye staffs members, the buying of gift is undertaken by the corresponding gender: male to male, and vice versa.

Hence, all these inter-gender divisions between teachers in the school are typical on what practiced in the home. However, during discussion, male teachers were argued and acknowledged that the females' work burden can outweigh in the process. Female teachers during discussion also asserted that the domestic chores task and management is their responsibility even though they are generating their income too, of course supported by home servant. This evidence showed that even the educated female teachers outside their formal teaching role are carried out duties that are primarily an extension of their domestic and caring functioning in the home that involve the servicing of men.

Therefore, one can understand what girls and boys students learn in the school custom in the informal inter-gender social relations by their teachers. On top of that, the researcher observed that Muslim female teachers were observed under veil in the school. Because, in order men not to make sin by looking them (their face and legs). But, by using the same logic, the question is what about women, who are looking the uncover face of men? That might invite them to be attracted to men that led to make women sin.

Sometimes, pictures prepared and posted in the school for transmitting one aim might have a negative or wrong gender messages for children in schooling. For instance, the researcher observed the picture below posted in the Selewa primary school director office. It seems developed to create awareness about family planning. Whereas, when it is analysed from gender perspective, it can mean that the family is responsible for their boy nurturing and educate him. They are seeing their fruit on the boy being graduated and become professional. In the picture the girl child is standing there 'enjoying' her brother fruit. From this picture we do not know for what role/purpose the girl has been nurtured by her family?



Source: picture posted in the wall of Selewa School director Office, 2007.

#### **D/ Students' perceptions and parental attitudes**

In the discussion about the importance of education for students, most student participants argued that education is a source of knowledge and is the foundation of life. Education also develops their thinking; acquiring new way of thought and leaving the old thought; and to escape from ignorant and illiteracy, and asserted that every skill and profession need first education. Ultimately when they are educated they can able to reach good living status, and to lead an independent life, to be self-reliant; and able to support their family and their nation. Meanwhile, students participants in rural schools in their explanation, what they commonly added is that, education help them to 'escape from agriculture, not to be farmer.

**Parents' Attitude:** In the discussion to students' studying program, one male student in Mamed primary school explained his complain parents' attitude towards study. He puts it in this way: 'parents do not understand or want to hear that to study what we have learnt in the school and to work homework'. For the question raised for discussion about what would be their personal decision and their reason if they are forced to whom they favour in case of choice to continue education and complete either their daughter or son. Hence, one male parent tell us that he favour his daughter to continue and to complete her education. He put his reason in this way:

*Boys, after completing their education and become successful, have a good position and start to lead a good life, sons have one attitude in common. They delete in their mind to think or to care about their parents. They are ignorant. They for get you(their parents) and can't see back. Whereas, daughter, whether they poor or rich, successful in life or not, if they have their own source of income, whether their parents faced a problem or not, at any time and place, they have an attitude of thinking and helping their parents. So I prefer to educate my daughter.*

In one way, the father argument goes with the feminists' theories that "woman lives for others and man live for himself". In similar issue, in the same school, female parent participant tell us that she will decide to her son to continue and complete his education. She put her reason in this way:

*First, the ruminant of the attitude of ' being educated, female couldn't reach nowhere' is till in my mind; Second, , in addition to her regular support for domestic chores I need to use her labour for the special activities that I can't; like, cattle keeping, fetch water, and collect fire wood. Thirdly, according to our local culture, if female pass her 15, she is within 'marriage zone'. She might be proposed for marriage and we can't say no for the proposal. According to the culture, once she engaged, the responsibility for her education is on the hand of her husband.*

Therefore, the parents' attitude towards for boys and girls education differs from family to family, However, in the discussion with Selewa parents' participant , the trend seem that men favours for daughters continuing and completing their educations; and women participants for sons. But, within a given household, it is the father who decides mostly for children education. For instance, the data gathered in the sample students' research participants showed that about their initiators or supporter of their education in their family, first ranked father, secondly both mother and father, and mother is

the third ranked for both female and boy students' education matter.

When students reach 8<sup>th</sup> grade in Bati primary school, the parents' fear is that they would start 'early-love' affair. This might be the case where the rural parents' source of their fears to send their daughter to Bati town to continue their high schooling. As described, according the locality culture, once the girl's lose their virginity (spoiled) outside marriage, they would not get husband-valuing virginity as girl's economic and social security of their future life.

Furthermore, Selewa parent participants also explained that one of the reason become for their arranged marriage for their underage daughter at primary schooling is fear schools. Because they assumed that schools are a place where their daughter are out of their sight, build their consciousness and then develop a tendency not to hear parents' advise how to act, behave according to the local cultural norm. Besides, parents fear when girls' ages increase they are vulnerable to make sex; and a chance to lose their virginity; and to lose their 'security' to get husband. According the culture no man would marry a girl without her virginity-their 'prime beauty'. In addition, to strengthen families' friendship, the girl's parents might have been made a promise to offer the daughter for another family in the name of marriage, without her knowledge. So, if their daughter has lost her virginity, at the time of wedding, male partner will sent her back by beating, and her parents are obliged to return the bride price. They will be in the new scandal in their locality; and their societal respect will be spoiled: lose their honour.

For this reason, the only solution exist, to avoid this sort of fear, in the mind of rural parents is that to arrange marriage to their daughters at their early age, by stopping girls schooling. The girls drop out figure asserted this fact at what grade/age girls drop out is high (grade five and six in rural areas)/ for glance Annex 13 and 14 /. Thus, girls lose their schooling by virtue of marriage and vulnerable for the obvious early marriage consequences. Where marriage for her, was became slavery, and life prison. In strongly criticising and condemning early and arranged marriage Gibran in the book of "Spirits Rebellions", make this point well that her father is really has committed a crime by giving her way to a man before she attained understanding age, placing on her neck the heavy yoke of corrupt marriage (Gibran, 2005: 15).

When analyzed parents' fear critically these parents' rationale, one can understand that their attitude stands from wrong logic or rationale. This is because when girls join higher education, they would have their jobs. That is, they would have their own economic means and most probably would dwell far from their birth place, to different culture, where virginity loses its economic and social attachment. Since they declare economic independent, they have the choice to marry with their

consent; and even not to marry. In other words, when women/girls empowered, the key is on their hands! On top of that, for the question about why they educate their children, most of the parent participants have the same understanding that their children to 'escape from agricultural work'.

### **C/ Sex-based harassment**

In the *Woreda*, as parent participant informed, there is no as such sex-based harassment and rape case in female students, except some events of marriage by abduction in the rural areas. For the question raised for discussion whether sexual harassment is there in the school, the argument was that students would start love affair at early age 'early-love' affair. Especially, when students reached 8<sup>th</sup> grade in Bati primary school, the habitual trend is to have boy or girl friend. In this instance, for the enquiry in case of sexual-base harassment in Bati primary school, the deputy director (female) answer for the question was short 'Here, no need to enforce girls for love'. In addition, both teacher and student participants asserted that as there is no direct force-based sexual harassment in the school, except taking girls textbook, inserting love-letter. Initiating the other day to talk about love affair outside the school compound is common by separating them from their school mates.

### **D/ Informal Students' Inter-gender Relations in the School**

During discussion, what the researcher examined from what has been observed personally, in both teachers', students' and parents' research participants; men were dominating the discussion session. In students discussions in particular, girls' shyness and tilting down of their face to the ground was observed. For instance, in the group discussion with students in Bati primary school, only two girls actively participate, that made the discussion really hot; while the two girls were passively seated, though the researcher initiated them to participate. From the researcher point of view these phenomenon has an implication that culturally women are often sanctioned to speak publicly that affects girls mentality that to fear to speak publicly, to be decision maker and convincing oneself that leadership position is only for men, and not to aspire to be a leader from their childhood, and then to exercise it early.

Hence, boys and girls have been shaped by the larger culture and perpetuate the hierarchies that characterize social life. Schools are, therefore, used as a means in maintaining the local unequal power relations. For instance, the next picture show boys are digging hole in the school compound, that boys are working in repeating the so called societal 'men's tasks' at the school compound; but no female students participating in it.



*Picture taken when Boys digging hole in Bati primary school, May 2007*

In examining the inter-gender roles practices in the sample primary schools, in rising and down of flag, only boys participate in Selewa, and mostly boys in Bati primary school. Similarly, the researcher observed and told that, it is boys that often ring the school bell.



*Pictured depicted at the wall of classroom in Selewa school, May 2007*

One can easily understand observing the above picture, drawn at the wall of classroom, what can children learn from this picture and what really schools are doing? Obviously, schools are doing in repeating what is believed and practised in the society; and is also working in nurturing children that 'football for boys', and maintaining it. Hence, boys are practising what they observed and learnt.

Concerning students' participation in sport club, in Volleyball club both girls and boys play even together. Whereas in football club, only male students are members in both schools; and during playing interested few little girls rarely play football with boys.



*Picture taken when boys playing football in Selewa primary school, May 2007*

During break time, the researcher personally observed when two girls and one girl were playing together with boys' football team in Selewa and Bati primary schools respectively, for glance above picture. This is because too little girls child are not well nurtured and matured. Therefore, they are often who cares type for the gender stereotypes or norms. Of course, latter they are expected to be influenced and to act according to the existing norm.



*Picture taken when girls playing in Bati primary school in break time, May 2007*

What a surprising matter the researcher has observed in Bati primary school was that, boys were playing 'biy' even by cents at break-time. When the researcher raised this event for teachers' discussant, one male teacher responds the question in a sense of reflecting the worsen of the situation, by saying, "if you add your duration of time in the school you will come across many miracle things done by boys in the school compound, even worsen than what you have observed and surprised." Here, it seems the boys get an approval to do any bad things in the school compound. It seems that who cares what the boys practise or learn, and considering gambling as a normal game for men/boys. Actually, by changing or shaping their life direction, it really has an

impact on the future life of these boys.



*Picture taken when children playing 'Biy' with cents, and girls observing the situation in break time in Bati primary school, May 2007*

Concerning Schools support for students, since girls has workload in the home then unable to study properly and to compensate this tutorial class is arranged in the weekends for about one to one and half hour for female students with poor performance and for those absentee for long time. Besides, boys with same situation are also called to attend; but they do not come often; particularly in Bati primary school. According to teachers' discussant, mostly boys are ignorant for tutorial classes; and one female teacher explained on what the boys in town are most interested, and she puts in this way: "they prefer to watch the 'Arsenal-Manchester' football play in DSTV house than to come to tutorial classes in the weekend.

In both sample schools there is girls-club, members are all female students headed by one female teacher. Mostly the club function as offering counselling for girls. But there is a special case in Selewa where home economic activities were carried out by girls. Awareness training about the local HTPs, and skill training about embroidery, 'tilf, 'yeji-sira' was given to members. When analysed what the club deed from gender perspective, rather than changing the traditional gender role, it was really working in preparing girls for domestic works and for their stereotypical future roles: to be married and be a 'good wife', because they have a hands-skill. Why HTPs awareness training only for girls? Why not it be given for boys too? Boys to be aware and to be concerned about the problem and part of the solution.

Besides that, in the discussion of the inter-gender relation with student participant of Bati primary school most of them underlined that it is custom in their school that students passing to eighth grade

starting to have girl and boy friend and to start love affair. Consequently, most of them remarked that it could be one of the reasons for high repetition in eighth grade.

### F/ Classroom Interactions

Classroom cleaning and class-monitoring positions in sample schools, for instance, in Mamed primary school, the school has 25 sections, and in these sections, there were 23 male main monitors, and only 2 female main monitors; and 24 boy deputy monitors and only one female deputy monitor.

**Table: 3.8. Sample schools' Class monitors by class and sex, 2006/7**

Grade	Sectn	Mamed Class monitors						sectn	Selewa Class monitors					
	No	First			Second			No	First			Second		
		Boy	Girl	girls' %	Boy	girl	girls' %		boy	girl	Girls' %	Boy	Girl	
1	5	5	0	0	5	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	
2	4	4	0	0	4	0	0	3	2	1	33.3	0	0	
3	4	3	1	25	4	0	0	2	1	1	50	0	0	
4	4	3	1	25	4	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	
5	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
6	2	2	0	0	1	1	50	1	0	1	100	0	0	
7	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
8	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	

Source: organized from Selewa and Mamed primary school unpublished documents

In Selewa, from the existing 13 section in 2006/7, the number of boys and girls main class monitors were 10 and 3 /23%/. From the 15 class monitors coalition members, only three girls presented. The Selewa and Mamed school class monitors trend / Table: 3.8/ showed those even these small numbers of girls' class monitors were found around grade 2, 3, and 4 levels.

Both teacher and student participants speak of the same thing about how school monitor selected: it is by parliamentary style, that is, first awareness would be created for students that one of the criteria to be a candidate is a student with a good educational performance. According to the rule or direction students appointed for candidate of class monitoring must be one female and the other male student. These two candidates would compute for the main and deputy monitor positions. The duty and responsibility of class monitor are to keep the silence of a class, to remind the period for late teachers, to inform the school administration if the teacher is not available in the school compound, and to facilitate or coordinate class discussion between students on the issue they want to discuss in that free period. The other duty is to list the misbehaving students name in the class and to pass their list to homeroom teacher or to office.

In this regard, facts showed that class monitors are mostly boys, though selection is under taken by democratic vote. Hence, next question was forwarded for both teachers and student participants by

the researcher discussant. Do girls incapable to under take these duty and responsibilities? Of course, 'they can', was the answer of student and teacher participants in both sample schools. If so, why the class did not give often their vote for girls to be main monitor? Most of the teacher participants underlined that it is not actually the challenges of the duties and responsibilities of class monitoring. One of the reasons suggested is that since females show a trend of fear behaviour towards boys, they do not want to compete for candidate especially in the disturbing class. This is because when the female monitor record and pass the name disturbing students, mostly they are boys; and then these student would warn them that they would attack them outside the school. Even there was case that female disturbing students were attacking a female deputy monitor keeping outside the school compound in one of seventh grade in the previous education year. However, there is a hidden or invisible thing that would be associated with gender role socialization that would be discussed in detain in the next chapter

In order to examine the teacher-student interaction in the classroom, during class session, personal observation was undertaken in three classes, one six-grade Maths session, teaching by female teacher, and two seven grade English sessions conducted by male teachers in Bati primary school. The other was in Seventh grade English and sixth grade both given by male teachers in Selewa School. During class room observation, it is difficult for the researcher to give witness that the situation to represent the usual phenomena. For instance, the researcher observed that mostly the teacher taking time to ask question to students and checking assignment. However, the students' reaction seems the common they look, giving no attention to me. For instance, the following were observed in Bati School. In the sixth grade, female teacher, the trend in answering question is by crying as whole, most of them try to answer by seeing from nearby students' notebook; at the back there was a high chatting, and students enter class at any time even a boy enter when 20 minutes left to end the period.

Whereas in the seventh grade class conducted by male teacher boys seat in one block, and mostly back, and girls on the other block. Most boys did not wear uniform. There was often disturbance and chatting and the teacher only saying 'please silent'. Most girls were in veil. Some girls did not attend and four were slept. When the teacher ask question mostly his eye go to the boys block. Since the classroom door was open, some boys were attending the outside events than the class. When the period left five minutes to end one boy nock the door and entered, and the teacher said nothing. Actually these events were not observed in the rural school of Selewa.

Concerning gender division of labour or participation among students in classroom cleaning, due to in fear of girls' fall to the well, teachers enforce boys to bring water in the well in Mamed schools, and that of girls is to under take cleaning the classrooms; whereas, in Bati School, classroom cleaning was under taken by hired cleaner; while in the Selewa both boys and girls bring water in the river and girls make the cleaning process: showering and weeping the floor.; where, cleaning is developed and assumed by the society, and it practised in the school too, as it is the role of girls, or women in general.

In general, when analyze all the above schools' environments, it become 'business as usual' that the school reflects the existing stereotypes that is established in the community. Therefore, schools rather than become a place where that create a new generation, with new way of thinking, they are working in reproducing and maintaining the existing gender socialization upon the children.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Critical Analysis of the Impact of Traditional Gender Role Socialization on Gender Inequality in Primary Education**

This chapter is purposely added to make generalized arguments on the gender socialization actors, main perpetuating institutions and its direct or indirect influence on primary education performance of girls and boys. Gender socialization is everywhere, though it differs in forms. Besides, the gender socializing agents (family, society, religion, mass media, primary schools, etc.) are also everywhere. Hence, it is possible to discuss the issue in general terms. Therefore, this general discussion goes further one step beyond the specific research findings. Of course, vital findings from the case study research are employed as argumentative instances. Furthermore, the researcher tried the generalized arguments' to be supported by other authors' view, opinions, belief and arguments (tertiary data).

Consequently, the research issues would be analysed and discussed in holistically, and to forward a critical analysis in generalized manner to the issues that were raised previously in the case study discussion part of this research. Most importantly, one of the research questions: the 'how question' would get answer in this chapter by the logical analysis and interpretation and logical generalization based mainly on general facts. That is, how to change the existing traditional gender role socialization; how to 'change' and adjust the educational approach in order not to see the intended result of the existing approach.

#### **4.1. Socialization and Harmful Traditional Practices**

Traditional practices have been designed, nurtured and passed from generations to generations. Most of these traditions have been designed and redesigned and exercised to reveal directly the patriarchy (power of men over women) or that practiced to facilitate to the manifestation or to prove 'men power' (Alfaro, 2000:35). Of course, these practises have not been approved naturally by God, man to exercise upon his natural partner or to the other (his) half-being who is essential for his existence on earth. But many of these practices as Hirut well expressed, though harmful, they are widely accepted by the society, even by the victims (women) of these practices. These HTPs have been also created and nurtured by the society to ensure the sustenance of women's low status (Hirut, 2002:5). Of course, in the process of nurturing and passing of the HTPs to the next generation, women, as Hirut stated well, have a fundamental role to play in the transmission of culture and social continuity. Indeed, this cultural-born role is developed by the society as accepted role of women; in addition to their involvement in childbirth and rearing (Hirut, 2002:2).

As Hirut stated, it is believed that education could create the desired positive impact of change in that it enables educated people to discard negative cultural and traditional practices (Hirut, 2002:9). But, sometimes there is a situation where the non-educated are become courageous to quest and a person of action to change what seemed wrong tradition. For instance, from the researcher's previous continuous visiting to Awiramba community/Amhara Region, South Gondar Zone/ the following understanding has been developed. Zumira, the leader of the Awiramba community, is a 'natural' man feminist who designed gender sensitive principles for his established community and practising it well with good experiences and that has become gender friendly model community in Ethiopia.

When Zumira's background examine, this man was born and nurtured in traditional family and came rural community. He was considered passive by the community and uneducated one. That is why the researcher prefers to use 'natural' man. But the man has the courage to ask and examine serious and that have been unquestionable issues by the local community, even by the 'educated one', related about religious-Muslim and Christian Canons. He quest and critically analyzed puzzles like that of the following practices of Muslim and Orthodox Christian respectively: 'God is everywhere and in every direction, so why we praise in the direction of East only? Hence, the Awiramba community started practising in the direction that suits to the individual believer. The other puzzle to Zumira is that 'Why we always ask God to bless at a time when we cut wood, our daily bread, slaughter animal, etc. once He has already blessed and given the earth and its living and non-living resources for human being since created?'/for glance 'Genesis' in the Bible/. Therefore, the community do not directly practise it; simply do what they want to do.

Similarly, Zumira also challenges other culture and traditional practise matters and ignored what he has not convinced on. So, Zumira is known by his resistant nature of, not accepting on what not convinced matter and to practice on what he has believed. Thus, education of people is not enough to bring change in HTPs and gender equality in general. It also needs a courageous and a person of action that could do on what she/he believed! To strengthen the issue under discussion, Baker's argument works here: to know and not to do is not know at all! (Baker, 2007:143). Of course, here to know and to do should work only for constructive purpose; but not to mean that to know and to use the knowledge for destructive purpose or against human-being interest.

However, it is common to come across even the educated who are expected to bring about change, are exercising the HTPs. This is because the school environment and social system, on what they have learnt, had been exercising these HTPs and gender inequalities in their childhood and currently

behaved it and not courageous to act against it. So, what they practiced is what they have been learnt in their childhood. Therefore, we can assume the environment on what the educated nurtured have not been gender friendly; and there had not been education for them that made to think differently, and that motivate to bring change first on their personality and then on the community.

Actually, when critically analysed what is 'education', and who is 'educated' person? Of course, researchers argued that, knowledge is really a responsibility! To practice on what believed true and even live for it! Anyway, though it is not fully guaranteed to discard the existing traditional gender socialization and HTPs in particular and to bring change, first it should be shouldered on preferably the 'educated' one. The educated have to start questioning the traditional practices that have been taken for granted. This is because it has been taboo at their childhood to 'ask why' and to get appropriate justification from the family and community particularly in cultural and religious matters in the most part of Ethiopian family.

#### **4.1.1. Gender Socialization and Marriage**

Since men and women are socialized in a different manner in patriarchal society, they are taught and shaped (socialized differently) to assume different roles and positions in a given society. The gender socialization process in almost all societies placed women in subordinate conditions and positions in any inter-gender relation in domestic and public arena. Thus, being women and girls in subordinate situations narrowed the negotiation possibility of women (Zaldana, 2000:8). Consequently, it leads for any act of gender-based violence that result in physical, sexual or psychological harm to women. One of women in subordinate positions is practised by one of the social relations: 'partnership in marriage'.

##### **4.1.1.1. Partnership in Marriage**

According to Osho, marriage is the 'ugliest institution invented by man' as its aim is to monopolize a woman'. In the mean time, he also highly criticized the institution of family. According to him, 'family corrupts the human mind' (Osho, 2002:169). This is because, the family as one of the gender socializing agent, is highly criticised to its biased gender socialization practises and its effect on the behaviour, attitude and practises of the coming generation. Likewise, in manifesting the crime in marriage partnership in patriarchal society, Gibran critically quest the husband, "Are you a husband who regards the wrongs he has committed as lawful, but those of his wife has unlawful? If so, you are like those extinct savages who lived in caves and covered their nakedness with hides" (Gibran, 2005:40).

When the researcher analysed partnership in marriage, standing from the above authors' perspective about marriage and position of partners in patriarchal society, the big question that can be raised is that, what is the purpose of 'partnership' in marriage? Unless both partners benefited equally and joyful being together, what is the purpose of establishing, keeping and caring about partnership like that of marriage? Hence, in most cases boys have not been socialized (taught and observed) from parents and society to give love and respect to one's partner and to females in general. Rather, most boys learnt to respond in hatred way and to react in violent way.

As Baker underlined, had our parents learned to communicate lovingly, being our positive role models, we would have learned successfully how to communicate, especially our difficult feelings with our partner (Gray, 2006:230). Unfortunately, in our country context, in the rural society in particular, since most marriages have not been under taken in consent by partners, rather by the will of their parents at their early age in every aspect; then the loving and understanding matters between partners is under big questions. So, it is unlikely partners to learn understanding each other and lovingly communication with one's partner from our family and societal socialization process.

Subsequently, when our societal inter-gender practical relation is analyzed, it becomes more visualized that 'partnership' is working out of its conceptualization. That is, due to women's low social and economic status and their subordinate position in society, this 'partnership', make sexual negotiation difficult with their sexual partners. According to the tradition, it seems boys and men are often expected to be sexually experienced and prove their manhood through multiple sexual relationships and dominance in sexual relationship. For instance, it is enough to refresh the effects of polygamy, FGM, widow inheritance, early marriage practices discussed in the research locus of Bati in chapter III. Further more, Hirut also discussed the issue, in the following manner:

*Sexuality, which is socially constructed, or a social product, that inevitably linked with cultural concepts of masculinity and femininity, and then sexuality is a representation of natural functions in hierarchal social relationship...More generally, sexual relationships often incorporate power disparities based on age as well as gender, and access to resource... Due to these power disparities women and girls often have little control over what happens to them sexually or to their sexuality and violence against them (Hirut, 2002:6).*

Thus, from our societal facts discussed above one can understand that women in general have been denied for centuries the right to choose their partner, to get married with their consent; the right to satisfy their natural sexual desire with one's partner; and even the right not married life long.

Hence, the existing unfair man-made gender socialization often nurtured girls as submissive and culturally subordinate to their counter partners; and unable to negotiate about sex matters. For instance, early marriage, wife inheritance, polygamy, sexual violence and other HTPs result women

and young female vulnerable for many complicated problems throughout their life. Whereas, men's sexual relationship outside marriage is considered normal and seems accepted by the society. Hence, lack of economic opportunity and gender discrimination forced rural women to migrate to urban and to be home servant or commercial sex worker. Similarly, the urban women often to migrates to Arab Countries that 'feminization of poverty' leads to 'feminization of migration'. These entire phenomenon also commonly happened in young girls in the research *Woreda* that they were forced to stop their education at early age and to migrate to Jeddah/for glance chapter three/. Consequently, they became victim and vulnerable to gender-based violence/GBV/ and for other multifaceted women life complications.

#### **4.1.1.2. Harmful Traditional Practices**

Religion is one the gender socializing agent that contributes in perpetuating the traditional gender socializations in a given community. From this reason, the relationship of HTPs (like polygamy, widow inheritance) with Muslim and Orthodox Christian religions is analysed in this subsection.

**A/ Widow Inheritance and Religion:** Though the society in research locality claimed their Muslim religion rules for their practise of widow inheritance but, the fact is different. With regard to the stand of Muslim Religion upon women inheritance, Haji Nuru asserted that the Muslim religion offer great honour for women and forbids women alive inheritance by men. However, he observed that, Muslim men are practising it intentionally or being ignorance of Allah domains that seem as the religion is a discriminatory one (Haji Nuru, 2000:86).

**B/ Polygamy and Religion:** As Muslim community usually practice, Muslim society in the research locality claimed as their religion approved the possibility of men to marry up to four wives taking into consideration men's economical capability. This is because women are assigned for domestic role and have no economic means and power. For instance, research participants in the research *Woreda* asserted that 97.3% of the *Woreda* inhabitants are Muslims, polygamy is practised in the condition that even men income is not sufficient to feed a single wife with her children, let alone four wives or households. Besides, in case of 'equal treatment', the religion statement deals with the man's financial capability only. But, not state about the man's capability in treating equally and in fulfilling both of wives' natural sexual desire. In this regard, parent participants also underlined that practically it is observed that the man is unable to share love equally and mostly men are reluctant for the former wife/wives. Furthermore, in polygamy, commonly the old man goes to the young female child in Bati Muslim community. This girl is obviously found in primary education with her assumed virginity. The young/new wife is also obliged to stop her education to

be a 'good' wife of the old man.

In addition, when we deconstruct this religion's rules from postmodernism feminist perspectives, the rule works only for the situations wherein this rule is established; i.e. to solve the existed problems on that time, historical events. Likewise, according to the legend, polygamy marriage as a solution was designed when shortage of men happened due to the 200 years extended of war that swallowed many Muslim men. However, it is not logical the stated rule to be practised on today's societal situation. In other words, the rule is outdated to apply in today's society, where the situation is different or changed as there is no shortage of men. Nowadays, the men and women figure of any society is almost proportional. Further more, today's society is living on a situation where people's life is at risk, esp. HIV/AIDS.

In criticising polygamy and early marriage, and its negative consequences upon women lives, Gibran in his book of "The Wisdom of Kahlil Gibran" has stated the dirtiness of the practise and his sorrowfulness in this way:

*Are you a young woman on whom God has bestowed beauty, but who has fallen prey to the base lust of the rich, who deceived you and bought your body but not your heart, and abandoned you to misery and distress? (Gibran, 2005:54).*

#### **4.2. Religious Beliefs and Gender Socialization**

As Gemetchu argued, though the man-made religious institutions have discriminatory acts and rules in case of inter-gender interaction, they tried to defend for this, particularly Christian and Islam and manages to escape critics by claiming higher moral grounds (Gemetchu, 2002:13). For instance, in the giving of religious services, Aba Gerima asserted that the regulation of Orthodox Christianity placed the chosen or holy women role as 'the assistant of the priests' (Aba Gerima, 2000:72). However, the original source of their beliefs might not be responsible for these religions' unfair inter-gender relation canon.

##### **4.2.1. Beliefs Principles and Gender Socialization**

In the Christian Bible, Jesus taught for His followers that men and women are creatures of God; and not created on the intention that one crucial for other; rather they needed each other for their existence. Accordingly, they are half creatures, and to make whole, the integration of the two genders are complementary (I Corinthians 11:9-12).

In this regard, Leeuwen investigated that the Rabbinic and other extra-biblical Jewish writings of the period showed that the Jews of Jesus' time had an overwhelmingly negative attitude towards women; and put it in the following way:

*...Into that (mental) setting comes a rabbi (Jesus) who almost never tells a parable using male images and activities without also using a parallel one involving women...To a culture that allowed easy divorce and even polygamy for men, but not women, He insisted on monogamy and the elimination of divorce by appealing to God's original intentions for both men and women..(However, His disciples were so stunned by this teaching that they suggested it would be easier not to marry at all!) (Leeuwen, 1990:48).*

Accordingly, one can easily understand that being 'nun and monk' is a wrong perception and is against the teach of Jesus; and this surprising thing is accepted and commonly exercised by the Orthodox Christian followers in the monastery and to be the higher leader of the church (patriarch-man ruler!) to be a monk is a must!

She further investigated that in a culture that refused to recognize women as teachers or as witness in court, Jesus allowed women to be the first witness of His resurrections and a woman to proclaim that event to His male disciples (Leeuwen, 1990:49). Furthermore, she explored that in the "emancipation proclamation", Jesus is setting women and men up for the Pentecost that Christ-following men are no longer to think that "dominion run wild" can bring in the kingdom...With regard to their wives, men should to follow Christ's example of servanthood and self-sacrifice...At the same time, Christ-following women are no longer to use relationship maintenance as an excuse to avoid the risks that inevitably accompany the promotion of God's kingdom...They are "joint heirs" of Christ salvation with men and must act accordingly (Leeuwen, 1990:50). In analyzing these instances critically, the researcher assumed that Jesus is the first feminist that criticized patriarchy and men domination upon women in their social relation. He taught and underlined that the social relation must keep the equality of women and men; and women to be courageous for critics and not to be reluctant for the unfair inter-gender relations.

Consequently, as Leeuwen critically analysed the chief new Testament metaphors, being a Christian, are not drawn from socially assigned male-dominated activities (such as warfare, politics), rather they are mainly metaphors concerned with, like witnessing so that others can be 'born-again', patiently discipling others (nurturing), and taking the lower status of a servant-all activities taken as the more "natural" domain of women!...Christian also reminded they must not assume worldly power can save them(act 'like children'); but instead adopt the friendly status of a learner. She is also noticed that it was hard for many men of that day to accept that becoming a Christian means being more like a woman or a child in the eyes of the world (Leeuwen, 1990:117-118). Hence, being in confusion with forgetting the patriarchy or culturally given masculinity and accepting 'feminine as Christianity', men 'Christian' have established religious institution in their domain of superiority. For this reason, Leeuwen made an hypothesis that this man-made religious

institutions are deployed as coping behaviour or mechanism for 'Christian' men, and she put her justification in this way:

*One of the ways that men can soften the conflict between their cultural masculinity and their "feminization" as Christians is to turn churches and other Christian agencies into thoroughly hierarchal institutions, with women kept as low in the hierarchy as possible...By so distancing themselves from women who are their fellow believers men may feel correspondingly less feminized themselves (Leeuwen, 1990:118).*

Subsequently, the researcher argued that Jesus is the first who hates hierarchy, patriarchy and use of power or force, rather non-violence resistance in resolving arguments and being responsible in continuing telling the truth in the social relationship and reflect this by teaching and by practising or living it. Hence, this is what would be expected in our 'educated' society being responsible in challenging the patriarchy, all forms of injustices and in changing the existing gender socialization.

In this regard, Osho also advised that a woman should search within her own soul and rebel against any repression in order to find her true potential'. He added his recommendation that women should not imitate men. 'Rejoice in their feminine qualities, make poetry out of them'. By his argument, Osho can be categorized in the 'Cultural Feminists'. Further more, he believed that when the whole world is in the domain of women, where women are with their domain (the heart as a master over head) life become heavenly on earth (Osho, 2002:32, 47). Practically, as Osho noticed, there are some masculine women leaders that act by imitating men actions in leadership-assuming and accepting that masculinity as a norm for 'good' leadership.

Furthermore, the researcher assumes Jesus, as the first who taught and practised gender friendly approach and the non-violence resistance that followed by Mahatma Ghandi. Hence, Jesus is assumed the first feminist by the researcher. On top of that, as Osho's community has believed and exercising by assigning women the head of the community. Thus, to avoid world war and war of aggression, and the world people to get peace and to be in harmony, the world should be governed or cared by women.

#### **4. 2. 2. Religions and Education**

Religion is one of the gender socialization actors and mostly its believers claim it for their harmful traditional practises. In this section, the common religions' stand on education would be discussed from gender perspective. For instance, the Muslim community in research locality tried to justify their practise about the restriction of women movement outside the home and HTPs, like early marriage and polygamy are established in associating with their Muslim religion domains that directly influence girls' education. But, the reality is different as it is stated by Hajji Nuru that in Muslim religion learning and acquiring knowledge is an obligatory one. He asserted by stating one

of the Prophet Mohammed Principles that holds the following message for the followers, ‘Aspire education, and it is obligatory for male and female to learn and acquire knowledge even by going where they get education (Haji Nuru, 1992:82).

Actually, not all world religions have a gender discriminatory canon. For instance, Bahai is a faith that has gender sensitive principles that the researcher come across with clear principles that declared equality of men and women. One of the social principles to which Bahauallah (the founder of the religion) attaches a great importance is that women should be regarded as the equal of men and should enjoy equal rights and privileges, equal education and equal opportunities (Esslemont, 1971:146). For the emancipation of women from oppression, this faith also placed education as the first tool. The great means on which He relies for bringing about the emancipation of women is universal education...Girls should receive as good education as boys... In fact, it also stressed that, the education of girls is even more important than that of boys, for in time these girls will become mothers and, as mothers, they will be the first teachers of the next generation (ibid).

About the imperative of appropriate primary education for their behaviour of children and their future life too, the Bahauallah faith also teaches like this, “Children are like green and tender branches; if the early training is right they grow straight, and if it is wrong they grow crooked; and to the end of their lives they are affected by the training of their earliest years...How important, then girls should be well and wisely educated” (Esslemont, 1971:147).

Hence, based on the entire discussions in this section (4.2.) the researcher argued that the original beliefs principles of religions are not gender discriminatory rather the canons that hold gender discriminatory rules that formulated to regulate the man-made religion institutions.

### **4.3. Impacts of Gender Socialization on Gender Inequality and Education Quality**

The quality of education becomes the critical question. Since primary education is the bases for all education level, the issue was one of the puzzles of the researcher and discussed with research participants. Accordingly, the discussion in this section was about the quality of education in relation with gender equality. The initial point for this discussion was the high number of student failurity in grade eighth in the *Woreda*.

#### **4.3.1. Boys’ Gender Socialization and Education**

Since birth, men become potential power executors; bullying and other forms of aggressive behaviour, largely from boys, as ‘part of growing up: testing ones fitness to man-being ’. Gender socialization of men in superiority position obliges them to take unnecessary risks in order to prove

their capability. The prevalent causes of illness and death in men (accidents and other violent causes) provide the most telling evidence of their exposure to risk (Alfaro, 2000:10). Hence, boys are also victims of the existing gender socialization, and their life is at risk on the way to act on what the society assigned to perform 'properly'. So to show once 'superiority', they make an intra-gender argument and try to solve it in aggression. Due to aggressive way of boys' gender socialization, in almost all society, lead most of the time men to perform or practice things in violent ways that make their life at risk; and even to the extreme: Men make war and die there! Some facts from the reviewed literature asserted, adolescent males have developed 'culture of resistance', which include resistance to schooling.

Likewise, the same thing was happened in the research locality, where eleven boys students were victims of bullying and the dominant masculine behaviours. Consequently, one of the causes of boys' education drop out, next to family influence, was boys' discipline case in Bati primary school. According to school administration explanation, the causes for boys' punishment for one year forced drop out was because of repeated records in initiating fighting between boys in the school by forming groups by village to show their masculinity that the fighting sometimes reached in high bloodshed. The other reason is due to boys' insulting their teachers and trial to fight with them in the school. Hence, this is an indication that boys' masculinity is reflected in disturbing the teaching-learning process particularly in semi-urban school of Bati.

If this case is critically analyzed, where the behaviour of these boys learnt from? Obviously, it is not inborn, rather behaved according to their gender socialization: to act aggressively. Children in childhood learnt or nurtured on what they look and learn from home, neighbour, school environment, media, etc...Hence, boys', due to their biased gender socialization are also affected in many ways as that of girls. Being punished for school forced drop out due to their bullying in the school, for physical damage during fighting each other, and moral damage for those boys defeated in front of the girls and their girl friends may be there and they develop shame and all these result for boys' poor educational performance. However, we should not forget that these (misconduct) boys have been delivered, came to this world as their sisters and nurtured by their mothers (women) to be aggressive or violent. Actually, women cultivate boys by the men system! Here, patriarchy works with double standard system of gender socialization for men and women in a given locality and time. That is why boys in general become potential or real abuser during their youth and tomorrow in their adulthood.

But, if the issue consciously analysed, these boys (who misbehaved) should not be blamed totally in developing or behaving aggressively. As psychologists argued, such boys are not suffering from any disease of mind but rather from disorder of their feelings, often linked to intra parent or parent-child problem (Peale, 1990:213). In short, they practised what they learnt from home, village, society, etc...This implies, due to their biased gender socialization, the boys are also at risk in schooling. Here, what should be questioned is that who is responsible for these boys' misconduct? Is it the boys or the existing gender socialization system that nurtured these boys to behave like that? Besides, who is responsible for the multifaceted problems to follow? One thing to be noticed is that, misbehaved boys are not good at their education performance most of the time. Secondly, they were punished by their school for one year that has cost for the boys family and the nation at large. Last but not least, the possibility of the future life of these boys to be good citizen is a rare case that has also societal cost.

In most gender socialization boys are not nurtured to resolve conflicts and disagreements peacefully by discussion rather by using force or violent act like beating and using insulting words. Hence, Boys should not be blamed by their aggressive behaviour fully. Since they are not as such responsible by not acting or speaking on what they have not been learnt by any means. Because they have been doing what they have learnt from the society in general. As Baker visualized, due to the lessons poorly learned in childhood, boys are ill-prepared for what follows and cannot, by virtue of their upbringing be truly successful in life (Baker, 2007:20). Hence, behind aggressive conduct of boys, the society is there clapping their hands, mean saying "Boys Bravo! The real man of Tomorrow!" So, since boys are not born violent or with unhealthy attitude towards female, the society is really responsible for misconduct of boys.

Therefore, continuing in transmitting the existing traditional gender socialization, the society is really working in re-borning (spoiling the non-violent natural mentality) of the socialized children: an aggressive men and submissive women. Consequently, the society will continue in proud of by their social constructions and passing and strengthening it by Northern oral lesson of:

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This oral saying really has a strong message for boys and enough to nurture violent and aggressive boys that would try to resolve challenges and problems by aggressive means and assert their socialized being-man as their fathers behaved! Besides, in terms of gender role, the proverb passed a message that cotton ginning is the duty of women; and the expression used as less valuing of women domestic roles. Surprisingly, the message of this oral saying in some Northern Ethiopian

society is soundly supported by Leeuwen's finding, by analyzing of in most cultural practices. Her finding result showed that yet in most cultures, ironically, less social recognition is given to the women who produce new life than to male warriors who risk their own lives in their process of destroying the lives of others (Leeuwen, 1990:115).

Unfortunately, our culture and its socialization agents, as Baker well asserted, has become one of the non-responsibility and complaint in child nurturing (Baker, 2007:17). And as some other researchers also asserted, due to the 'old-software' or out-date programme installed up on the young children mentality (thinking and behaving patterns) that develop early ill-nurtured children, particularly boy-children, that follow for bad or misconduct, and the lack of the ability to develop strong character in areas critical for their future success; and since it has a back fire effect on girls' life also affected. Since girls are often the potential battle field for the misconduct or wrongly socialized boys to exercise or to practise upon them.

When the researcher critically analysed gender socialization process in patriarchal society, children are not responsible for their misconduct or ill-behaved. This is because, they did or behaved what they have been learnt during their nurturing time from the society. So, why boy-children should be punished by doing or behaving on the way they have already learnt or nurtured from the society? Since, the society is harvesting what they have sown (installed on pure child mentality-thinking) rather, the society have to blame itself for its nurturing system. If possible society should be punished even by spoiling the current and future life of the children. Of course, sometimes it has been paid latter in the same coin for the nurturers (parents and society) of that time in different ways and forms. For instance, if boys and girls have been nurtured well, latter they will be good for their parents, society and for the nation at large. But, if they have been nurtured unwisely and not educated properly, then they will be violent, druggist, addicts and in most cases ignorant with no vision. They will develop a destructive and revengist mentality up on their family, society, the nation, and even to the world.

Accordingly, the researcher believes that patriarchy that designed the existing socialization system with double standards is the root cause for good or bad phenomena in individual life and in social relations. To mention some view, attitude, situations: development or backwardness, prosperous or poverty, pessimist/corrupted mentality or optimist/positive thinkers, etc. of an individual or a society in a given locality. Likewise, the unfair gender role socialization is also one of the outputs of patriarchal system that result inter-gender inequality in education and on the other socially constructed relations between women and men.

#### 4.3.2. Gender socialization in leadership and class monitoring

As it observed, quantitatively, class main monitors were mostly boys in sample primary schools in research Woreda Bati. Remembering the criteria for monitor selection, the duties and responsibilities of class monitors discussed in the previous chapter; in this section discussion focus how class monitor associated with gender socialization in leadership positions.

Discussion was made with students in Mamed primary school about the reason why most of the class monitoring positions are controlled by boys in their school. The discussion was also aimed to know girls' attitude towards leadership. The following anecdote given by eighth grade female student participant, an age of 20, clearly reflect her acceptance of female subordinate positions and revealed the secret behind that can be associated with children gender socialization difference in the research locality:

*Because female monitors are not courageous to pass the name of misconduct students, especially boys, they fear the revenge that would come outside the school. Besides, though the boy is the same age with me, and though he is not in position to frightened me, but, being a male, I am in fear of him... (Why you fear of him?)... I must fear of him, because he is male-being! Besides that, our culture does not put women ahead (as a leader) rather backside of men. Furthermore, our religion (Muslim) also prohibits women to be front or ahead (be a leader) in the presence of men. Since this is a well known fact by the student, during voting, assuming that boys are being feared and capable in controlling the class discipline than girls, and keep the silence well, then most of the students, even female students, gives their vote for boy candidates for class main monitor position.*

Though teachers explained that monitors are to be selected from 'strong students' by democratic vote, what the students understand by that and though teacher further explained that 'strengthens' is by the 'ability to give advice' the class. Of course, later teachers did not deny that age is decisive factor for class monitor. Here, it is possible to understand that what is there in the mind of students and teachers employing 'strongness' to mean the 'physical strength' is the hidden criteria to be candidate for class monitor. Besides, even the language used by teachers and students during explaining in discussion was the male pronoun, 'he'. According to their explanation on the existence of even those female monitors are explained by their 'strongness'. Besides, students calibre also one criteria for candidates, assuming they can able to initiate the class for discussion and to facilitate it. About the reason or the assumption that students to select boys for class monitoring, a female teacher in Mamed school forwarded what she was observed in the following manner:

*There is a sign or a situation where boys are reflecting the existing local cultural attitude in the school environment too. Most of the time, there is a tendency that boys are seen acting according to the local culture that men are superior to women. Likewise, boys by accepting their tradition claim and believe men superiority. They undermine girls in their relation. Then, they believe and decide that boys should be the class main monitor and they did it; even by ignoring the rule, they prohibit the deputy monitor for female students.*

The above explanation rings true, /for glance table: 3.11/ in the year 2006/7 there were only 2 main and one deputy female monitor in Mamed primary school. In this case, it seems that if not the rule /one male and the other female monitor/ female students will not be assigned even for the second position in the other schools too. In this regard, most of the teacher participants underlined that since culturally the leadership role is assigned for men; and the trend boys being for class main monitor is borned in associating with the previous norm or local tradition from the beginning leadership or monitoring is known in association with manhood; and that is why even female students do not claim for themselves and rather give vote for male students candidate for class main monitor positions. Similarly, in associating with the absence of the female student in main class monitor positions, in particular to show the society is a hierarchal one in social relations and the biasness of the local culture towards women, a male teacher participant in Bati primary school point out in the following manner:

*Of course, the attitudinal change is seen currently. But, previously female teachers had not been accepted to teach in the rural kebele of Bati Woreda. When I first came to Bati Woreda 1994, I observed that female teachers were not considered or accepted as a teacher. This is because, students had not seen a female teacher and female civil servants previously in this locality. Of course, this attitude was not seen as such significantly in Bati town. This sort of attitudes, seeing women as inferior have been in this locality. Hence, one can understand that locality can determine for female to be class monitor and to get accepted. So, the problem for female to be a class monitor here should be seen from this context.*

In general, for quantitative and qualitative under representations of girls, researchers argued that the existing gender-stereotypes-men for public arena and women for domestic role thinking (gender socialization) exacerbate the gender gap in class monitor or leadership positions. That is women are generally perceived not compatible with conventional leadership, where the masculine behaviour is perceived and practised as a norm for 'effective leadership'. For instance, gender and leadership in Bati Woreda in 2005/06 facts showed that only 16% represent women in primary school director positions. Women decision makers in Woreda council constituted 21.4%; and the share of women political leaders at Woreda and kebele levels political positions was 14.3%, and 5.9% respectively. In general, in any decision-making and leadership positions women have been underrepresented quantitatively. Here one can understand that according to the local culture, the leadership role is assigned for men and what the students are exercising is this in the class monitor role positions. Hence, it is arguable that class monitor is the reflection of the existing gender role socialization.

#### **4.3.3. Education Quality and Gender Equality**

Teacher participants of all samples schools strongly argued that 'quantitative promotion' of students is not the problem in primary cycle this day. If he/she is alive and able to present bodily at exam

period she/he would be given simply a pass mark or a promotion card would be prepared for her/him. However, they stressed that the practical problem encountered the primary schools these day is to bring 'qualitative promotion' from grade to grade in the second cycle.

In the discussion about high number of student failurity in grade eighth and in the quality of education with teacher participants, in general, most of these participants in all sample schools underlined that though they often raise the seriousness of the issue in any opportunities, there is no any inclination to think about the quality of education matter in the *Woreda*. Rather the Education Office was busy in the increasing of the educational coverage that the *Woreda* education office wants to hear, quest and evaluate schools. As a result the school administration are also worrying and working on what they are going to be evaluated. Their effort is to increase the number of students enrolled. Consequently, the school administration, in particular in rural schools, by assigning villages and responsibilities for the teacher, mobilize them to work even by going to the individual student parent house. Especially, there is high hurry and worry at the beginning of the first semester.

In this way of teaching and learning process, students start learning at grade one and they come up with free promotion up to grade four level. By simply pushed up promotion, these students come up to the upper ladder and hardly reach grade eight. Where the actual result of the whole process of teaching and learning efforts (of administrators, teachers) is manifested here by the direct fruit of students at this level. The result of students become as they are not learned. This is the great challenge/problem that the *Woreda* Education Office did not want to hear, think and solve it; as they were busy in increasing enrolment rate. In this regard, a female teacher, in Mamed primary school, explains well the severity of the problem; and she put her deep observation in the following way:

*Particularly in this Woreda, what is needed is that increasing the figure of students only or increase the education coverage, nothing else! But the quality of education is declining from time to time, which is not their intention. This problem directed to the school administration or to the education system. Most of the time, students do not learn properly in this kebel, as they do not come to school regularly; and teachers report that to school administration timely. But, when January comes those absent students come for exam. When this situation reported to school administration, as usual order will come these students have to seat for the exam and promotion card need to be prepared for them. So, in the current education situation, there is no drop out unless a student is died or left the kebele permanently. Likewise, there is no repetition, simply promotion. As the students know these practises, they went to Djibouti and Afar Region search for seasonal labour. They return back at exam months of January and June to get promotion card...and the situation goes on in this way.*

In explaining the general trend of declining the quality education in the *Woreda*, most teacher participants argued that students are simply promoted of or pushed to the upper grade levels without

capturing the expected knowledge at each grade level. This trend results students to be negligent and careless. As some of the students move in search of seasonal labour; and some of them to lose educational motivation or interest, and they didn't develop a habit of study. Alternatively, they developed coping mechanism, like passing by cheating. Currently this becomes a norm in Bati primary school in particular. These entire phenomenon ultimately results high failure when they reached eighth grade level. In general, they argued that the principle of no drop out and repetition principle makes students often to be negligent, ignorant, and do not motivated to attain their education properly; ultimately, the student become resultless and the teachers too. Besides, most of them underlined that though they become fruitless and working for nothing, since they were crying as far as possible in any opportunity to concerned body, they assumed as they are free from self-blaming and regret on the result.

Likewise, teacher participants in Bati Primary School argued that the learning-teaching situation has encountered great problem. Though teachers were aspiring or expecting good result from their students, the actual thing that was happening is somewhat different and frustrating one. Accordingly, students are seen: destroying school property; insulting their teachers, even attempt to fight; undertaking so many illegal things-gambling in the school; jumping over the school fence; and working the National Exam within few minutes. Furthermore, teachers asserted as these situations have really destroyed their spirit of teaching. Then they enquired that living and working in such school environment and conditions, how come a teacher can be satisfied with his/her teaching, and able to see the fruits what she/he aspire or expect?

Consequently, in case of high repetition in grade eight, most teachers underlined that there is no special thing or reasons attached for that. It is not the difficulty of the eighth grade; rather it is the most reflection or the cumulative effect of each grade levels and the whole primary education system. Furthermore, they asserted that, as it is not the only problem of students; but the locality has its own influence on the education of students; as the locality has the power to determine every thing. Accordingly, the next discussion focused on the influence of each local stakeholder on children's education.

**A/ Local societal attitude:** The locality has its own influence on children education. That is the society that formulate its social system can influence children education by that attitude developed in social relation. As stated the rural community in Bati *Woreda* has many traditional festivals. Besides, the *Woreda* profile showed, the rural women's daily working hours, from slack to peak period, ranges 15-18 hours. If women were expected to work many hours a day, one can presume

that the time allocated for girls' school work and working assignment would be less. This is because it is girls' responsibility to help their mother domestic roles. Hence, the 'qualitative promotion' of female students is influenced by existence of heavy domestic workloads, HTPs. On the other hand, boys' or brothers' are also concerned about girls' or their sisters' education matter. For instance, to put a clear understanding about the extent and severity of girls' school drop out problem in rural areas, an eighth grade male student participant in Mamed School had explained the issue in the following manner:

*There is no as such sever boys' school drop out problem in our locality. However, the extent and the severity of the problem is very high on our sisters. For instance, when we were in fifth grade, we were 45 students in our class, 26 girls and 19 boys. But due to early marriage and abroad migration, by dropping in the six and seventh grades on the way to eighth grade, except one girl who is from the previous batch, currently, we (boys) only left and are attending grade eight. This is really sorrowful issue for me!*

Needless to say, there is a 'business-oriented culture in Bati town; the locality thinking is mainly about business, having a business thinking attitude. Whereas, the society gives little emphasis or value for children education. In other words, the tendency of the society of Bati town is towards to the business-world in general. So, the local business-oriented attitude of the society, can decrease the tendency of parents about the importance of education for their children and the children themselves develop lose of interest for education.

**B/ Parental Attitude to children education:** The local parents are working on moulding the mentality of their daughter migration to abroad. One of the methods is salivating and agitating girls by talking about somebody's daughter's going to Jeddah, sending money and items, and announcing her comeback and the changes comes in the life of the family due to their daughter. Hence, parents are working usually in preparing their daughter mentality towards Jeddah. So, daughters are allowed to attend their education to certain grade level up to their ages increase the level/year suits for being servant in Jeddah. All these phenomena led to decline daughters' motivation towards education. If Jeddah is not in the mind of parents, the other alternative is aspiring for getting 'good' husband for their daughter. Here, goodness is not seen for the daughters, rather the wish of 'good' husband is in terms of finance (income) being the man a source of good income for the daughter parents. Due to these societal and family attitudes, parents do not encourage girls for education.

Similarly, since girls know from the parents' propaganda what would happen tomorrow: journey to Jeddah, they also lost interest on their education. So, some of them simply go and back school until the day come to Jeddah. On top of that, Teachers also explained in Monday Bati market day, some

female students do not come to school rather help their parents in the marketing. In general, when the teachers asked what they expect from students, specially from female students, most teacher participants asserted that, what do they expect to be the attitude and aspiration of girls for education, when the nurturing and propaganda or agitation of the parents and the norm of the society is crying: ‘girls for Jeddah, Jeddah...Jeddah and if not they should get married.

Parents’ attitude to their son is not as such different from girls’ situations; the only difference is that boys’ are agitated and prepared towards Djibouti for seasonal employment or labour; which affect boys’ education too. Hence, there is no a continuous follow up and evaluating children’s education by parents. Instead parents motivate them to search for job or generating income for the family. Due to the above factors, particularly the female education interest and performance is relatively very low. Hence, due to these factors teachers were complained that they are not really getting what they expect from students; especially from female students.

**C/ Woreda Administration Environment:** This environment can be seen from the absence of Pre-school and the existing educational supervision style.

**Absence of Pre-school,** as it is observed and teacher participants asserted that there is no Pre-school in the *Woreda*. Whereas, the criteria for entrance grade one is only age of the children, seven year old. In self-contained education system, according to teachers’ experience, when children go school for entrance in first grade, some thing is expected to be known by children: identifying/known words, their kebele address, writing their names. All this learning was expected when children were in the Pre-school levels. Unfortunately there is no Pre-school in the town and rural kebeles. So, what the teachers do is not directly start the syllable of grade one, rather obliged to give that would had been given in Pre-school levels. Thereafter, they continue to give the first grade lessons in hurry. Since there is no repetitions in self-contained education system, what teachers do is that facilitating tutorial class.

Teachers also briefly describes in all these situations, unless children are supported by their parents, they will pass grades without knowing what is expected. Consequently, when the grade level increases, they will be in difficult condition to cope up. Then, they develop a tendency to hate education/learning, and going up –up to the higher grade levels by this trend, without a base and interest. Ultimately, when they reached eighth grade level, since the coping mechanism is narrowed (testing only one student per desk) and failing become a must for most students. For instance, teachers evidenced that 50% failed in eighth grade National exam in 2004/5.

On the other hand, with regard to ‘Schools supervisions’, directions, through experts or letter often comes from *Woreda* education office at the end of the semester that teachers should not make students to repeat. However, teachers explained though there is no a single teacher interested for the failurity of a student, this direction is one of the reason for simple promotion from grade to grade without knowing or understanding what is expected in each grade levels. These simple promotion trends ultimately create problems when students reach grade eight. Where the situation is beyond the individual teacher and school responsibility and reach; besides of tightness of the testing system, in such a way that to see failing so many students at eighth grade level is become real.

**D/ Students Attitude:** Students, in particular in Bati town, developed a culture of unnecessary ‘early-love’ affair in school, especially when they reached at eighth grade that led to their attitude towards education to decline/decrease from year to year and lose interest for education. Concerning, about the students’ early–love affair, one male teacher participant in Bati primary school put the case in this way:

*Among students, it is a norm to be seen in pairs. When we discuss with them about the cause for the decline of student performance in first semester, since (they are free to talk) they identified that ‘early-love’ can be one of the causes for their poor performances. This is because the local culture that makes them for early maturity for love, before they are well reaches and understands their education well.*

Of course, the local people, and most of the South Wollo society, it is common both men and women are to talk freely about sex and love affairs in any corner, home, street, time and condition, even in front of children. As students said, that might be one of the causes for pre-maturity for sex on children mind, and to be motivated early and eager about love affair. Further more, some boy students develop bad behaviours; a tendency even to fight with their teachers that affect misconduct boys’ education and the others too. The other thing is that for the sake of passing exams, students in town specially, develop a coping mechanism to pass examinations.

**E/ School Environment and Teachers Attitude and Role Modelness:** Next to parents, teachers and school administration could not escape from responsibilities for poor performance of students. As many studies in gender issues in schools manifested in the developed world, the researcher also observed the same thing in the role of the school in socializing girls and boys to accept adult roles and pattern of behaviours which comply with the dominant social norms. For instance, the girls’-club works, students’ informal students’ inter-gender relations, the classroom interactions in the sample schools asserted this fact in the previous chapter.

In regard to ‘teachers role modelness’, for instance, the gender division of labour between female and male teachers during attending celebration in the school had followed the same pattern that is

practiced 'normally' in the home and in the society. Children learn more from what they observed particularly motivated to imitate on what they assume 'good person or teachers' deeds-as 'good model'. However, these school-cultures signify that the positive role-modelness of female teachers for female students in this regard is only number. This is because, they did not tried to change the existing gender division of labour at least in the school. In this regard, the advices of Gibran for teachers to be a good gender socialization agent and to be positive role model for students and changing agent for the new gender socialization processes in the book of 'The Wisdom of Kahilil Gibran', put in this way:

*Whoever would be a teacher of men let him begin by teaching himself before teaching others; and let him teach by examples before teaching by word...For he who teaches himself and rectifies his own ways is more deserving of respect and reverence than he who would teach and rectify their ways (Gibran, 2005:106).*

So, what children observed in the school environment and learnt from the school administration style, from teachers' practises in school social relations is not changed from what the students usually and practically observed from the home and local community tradition. Hence, the school-culture in official and non-official relations has become the reflection of the existing traditional practices of the community.

Likewise, teachers' attitude towards students, in discussion about whether teachers are achieving what they expect from students, one male teacher in Bati school explained the whole school story in this way:

*Basically, we expect many things from students. However, currently the existing teaching-learning situation is different and unhealthy. It becomes teachers' most worrying and daily routine burning issue under discussion. Of course, teachers are trusted in teaching and to see our fruits ripen. But, currently the school environment has changed that the system of education and the teaching situation is not good for teachers; students are become ill-behaved, teachers are trying to teach students who assume/claim as a right of: exam coping, to come school late, not to hold text books, not to work homework, not to wear uniforms,, to walk out the class during teaching time. Students in Bati town in general are not mentally ready to learn. Because of such school environment teachers become dissatisfied on and fade up with their teaching. Although we have been repeatedly crying in any occasion for concerned body about the situation; but nothing happened. So, the school environment is not in good condition. Therefore, let alone creating a generation with new thinking, we are not able to keep the status quo, the so called the old traditional culture of teacher-student relation school environment. Hence, the situations become worsen and complicated from time to time. It has to be studied by concerned body that needs an immediate and last long solution. Otherwise, it will be difficult even to guess or imagine what would happen in the near future.*

Hence, teachers' losing motivation for teaching and learning process can also able to decrease the quality of education. In nutshell, teachers also recommend what actually to be done to maintain the quality education, side by side with the effort to increasing the number of school enrolment; if a

student do not attend properly his/her education and absent for continuous days, according the regulation, they have to be forced for drop out. They have to be allowed a chance to continue in the next education year. Besides, students should be examined and evaluated properly; and for those students do not achieve the minimum score required, they have to repeat and allowed next year to try their best.

Furthermore, the teacher participants asserted that this apparent promotion would be the main cause for 8<sup>th</sup> grade high number of failurity figure. They further consider that, since primary education is the bases for the preceding level of education. This poor qualitative performance of students at primary level, most importantly, has a direct contribution for the poor performance of those students 'qualitatively' when they reach to second and tertiary levels. They also strongly quest that these situations, including students' lose of interest and the dissatisfaction of teachers has to be studied thoroughly by educational expertise to found ways of remedies soon. Unless, these and associated things become worsened and the teaching and learning processes would be totally collapsed.

Here the invisible things that manifested is an indication for the decline of the quality of education in primary schools; whilst the drop out and repetition of students decrease from year to year in the nation, where as it is the Regional National Examination, the examining, passing matters are beyond the individual school rather determined at Regional level and examining mechanism is also different from that of the usual trends followed by individual schools, that would minimized students' cheating, test coping; besides, individual teachers would not be responsible or evaluated by the administration. In general, from the research participants' thick description of the local social reality towards gender socialization and education, explanation and analysis, one can be able to argue that for the low performance and decline of students' interest towards education and misconduct, and the decline for the quality of education all these stakeholders (parent, education administration, school environment, teachers, students, societies) are responsible.

Hence, in the socialization process of children particularly in the formal way of nurturing children in the school, what is important is maximizing the quality of students such as the ability to think freely, believe in justice and in gender equality, beside to the usual slogan of 'Education for all'-the quantitative aspect of education.. In the quality and relevance of education, in asserting this fact, it is argued that "an important aspect of quality of education is gender equality (DESO, 1996:25). Man-made institutions are therefore, inter-related and they are the product of social system in a given locality. Hence, they reflect the biased social norms that existed in the wider society and contribute their part in the perpetuating of gender, economic and social injustices. Therefore, schools are highly

gendered places and one of the socializing agents, where unequal power relations or hierarchal social relations are played out and gender identities are developed and reproduced. Hence, just getting more girls into school does not guarantee equality of opportunity or outcome.

#### **4.4. Patriarchy and Men for Change**

In the patriarchal society, men make the rules and women are supposed to implement these rules. In most community, women also expected to keep the societal rules, as 'best-seeds' and to pass for the next generation. Most often these rules are mostly injustice and harmful for women and placed women mostly in subordinate positions. Patriarchy is sustained by cultural practices that are in favour of male domination (Hirut, 2002:9). But we cannot able to blame all culture are the source of patriarchy. For instance, the culture in Osho community and in the AWiramba Community is a gender sensitive/friendly community. Surprisingly enough the gender friendly culture of the AWiramba Community is developed by a man called Zumira-natural male feminist. Thus, we can make men part of the change, rather than blaming and clubbing all men as part of the problem. In this regard, Hirut put her argument in this way:

*Since negative culture has an impact on whole societies, neither women nor men can effectively do anything alone. They are both part and parcel of the problems, and they should therefore also be part and parcel of the solutions....Men, too, are affected by the way they were brought up. Socialization is not only for girls but also for boys, who are socialized in a traditional and modes of behaviour they may not like.... Child marriage, for example, also affects boys negatively in their education (Hirut, 2002:11).*

This is because immediately after their wedding the boy is expected to be a 'man', to be independent and responsible to build his new home and to generator income. Since boys are not financially, physically and mentally often ready to take this responsibility, the first thing to do is to leave his education and look for his small plot of land and search other income generating means. The girl's choice is not different from the boy partner: to follow his ways and to be 'wife' and 'mother' at her early age. Most of the rural parent participants remarked that after engaged in (early) marriage, due to the responsibilities that handed over to them, both partners are often unable to return back to schools to continue their education. In particular, a female parent participant in Selewa (Hato Kebele) explained well, what is happening in their rural locality after wedding ceremony is over, in this way:

*After wedding the new partner will be given a small amount of grain and few domestic animal. If any a small farm land as initial capital or in the form of rehabilitation that can able to feed them probably for one production year. Henceforth, no more economic support comes from their parents. Since this new partners are beginning to led their own new home life; and all responsibilities lie upon them, and they are busy in administrating their life then the first thing they will do is to stop their education. If the worsen comes, both will migrate for seasonal labour...Hence, it is in this way that so many children's have been stopping their education in*

*our locality.*

Hence, the difference is the magnitude of the negative impact of early marriage for girls and boys. Though, as girls grow up, they are influenced more negatively than boys, but this does not imply that boys should be excluded from the educational interventions needed in this area. Nonetheless, men and boys for long time have been taken as only the problem, not as victim of the existing gender socialization. Currently, men become realizing the negative gender socialization that men are also vulnerable for life risky activities that are performed to proof their 'maleness. Those men who understand the ugly face of the patriarchy as a paradigm and its inter-generational effect of its socialization are opposing it and also write against it. For instance, Osho and Gibran are the case in points. Gibran, in particular, highly criticised patriarchy as system that human-being, even if they are born free, will remain slaves of man-made strict laws enacted by their forefathers; and the firmament which we imagine as unchanging, is the yielding of today to the will of tomorrow and submission of yesterday to the will of today (Gibran, 2005:105).

Hence, we have to address the man-made gender socialization holistically and strategically from gender perspective. For this common issue, boys and men should be part of the agenda: as they are part of the man-made socialization problem (with lion share) and they have to be part of the solution. These have been the main facts that motivate the researcher to explore and to create understanding that the existing traditional gender role socialization is the root causes of gender inequalities in primary education from gender perspective. The next attempt is made to forward some remark points of the 'so what?' puzzles of the researcher and most of the generalized suggestions are forwarded for the 'how question' part.

#### **4.5. Critical Analysis of Findings and Researcher's Remarks**

In the process of socialization as cultured-society in patriarchal society, children learn more as behaviour from the societal intangible assets or values of gender inequalities. Gender is one of our social formations that encompass full of inter-gender inequalities in social, economic and political relations in a given time and locality. Gender have been constantly constructed or developed and transmitted from generation to generation by different gender socialization agents that act or nurture simultaneously and mutually reinforcing. These agents are grand parents, parents, neighbours, government institutions (e.g. schools), religion institutions, mass-media, etc... These 'socialization actors or agents' transmit gender role socialization through employing multiple media or 'means' of transmissions. Hence, children have learnt or nurtured their personal gender behaviour and practices through the above multimedia or means, in different 'forms'

In general, the research finding showed that how much societal traditional norms, attitudes and behaviours have been inculcated within every institution's systems and practises, and works so as to contribute their part in perpetuating of the existing traditional gender socializations in a given locality. In this case, the education system that is established with responsibility of cultivating the new generation with new and developed way of thinking culture has been practically working on the contrary as the gender socialization agent for the young children at primary schooling levels in perpetuating the existing unfair gender socialization.

Hence, the education system and primary schools' environments working in perpetuating through official education policy and curriculum, formal and informal rules in the school environment, inter and intra-gender interaction between school administration and teachers, among teachers, between teachers and students, among students, etc...Through these schooling means, children were learnt their gender identities by observing their role model, studying behaviours and practices in the form of stories, jokes, playing together, music, drama, art, history, pictures, examples, teachers experiences. Here, it should be noted that 'role-model' can also works for wrong child gender socialization. For example, bully-behaved or acted male teachers, and/or smoker male teachers, are wrong potential role-models for boys' gender socialization in their childhood. These can encourage boys for misconduct or ill-behaviour.

The other important point is that gender analysis in education should employ a holistic approach by examining thoroughly the institutions' working culture and practices. As post structural feminists believed, we must not necessarily try to mainstream gender in the existing education system if necessary, we have to go beyond that and claim and work in transforming the larger patriarchal power structure that colonize women and girls, and that also wrongly socialized boys and prepared for wrong acts in their social intra- and inter-gender relations and for their wrong lifelong lifestyles in general that affects their life and others' too. Hence, exploring and act on the profound root causes of the issue; rather than the usual trend of developing immediate solutions and working on the immediate causes of the problems and strategically aiming at disturbing social systems, source of gender discrimination, by utilizing the complex standpoints cultivated by patriarchal systems. So, the endeavour should be to bring social structural transformation; attempts to end up the imbalance power relations or hierarchal social relations that are reproduced in the existing traditional socializations in a given locality.

The general themes run, throughout the most literature reviewed in this research, were that the causes of gender gaps in education are culture, economic/poverty/, and politics: more general and

not in-depth that can lead to search for its root causes. However, as some of the reviewed literature entails, we can also be able to understand, and further to be examined is that poverty plays a major role in maintenance of barriers and strategies to expand girls schooling. On top of that, poverty (of family and nation as a whole) by itself is also emanated from the biased socialization about work and its inputs. Hence, the researcher hypothesized that, the working-culture of a given society determines its level of development. If there is a good working-culture it has a positive impact on development attempts in a given society. For instance, the society do not offer value for time in the research area, rather the precious time is lost in celebrating too much traditional fests, festivals in Bati rural community.

Accordingly, the researcher argued that the root cause of gender gaps in primary education is the existing traditional gender role socialization formulated by the patriarchal systems. The other factors, like family economic status and national poverty, are secondary, that can have of course, the power to exacerbate the existing educational gaps. Hence, to empower women through proper education and training is to mean also reducing poverty-that exacerbates the gender gaps in education in Ethiopia, and to bring sustainable human development.

Worldwide studies and studies in our country showed that even though there is an increase in school enrolment. It is at the expense of quality. The current promotion in primary school trend shifted from qualitative promotion to quantitative promotion. This is because the high ambition of most developing countries (example Ethiopia) to achieve the MDG on time or early. It has also a direct effect on the qualitative performance of these students in the following schooling levels too; and currently this effect is observed in the tertiary level of education.

Concerning to education indicators, there is a need to move from ‘gender parity’ to ‘gender equality’ in analyzing girls and boys school quantitative and qualitative participation. Gender equality in children schooling is not simply computing the merely enrolment rate of boys to that of girls: gender parity; since the problem of gender inequality in primary education is beyond this. As UNESCO study report highlights the insufficient of the ‘gender parity’ indicator, and as the researcher’s qualitative findings has showed the overall gender inequality in primary schools are reflected in the education policy environment (policy statement and the development of curriculum) and school environments and its perpetuator means. Even achieving the gender party by closing the enrolment rate doesn’t indicate the achievement of gender equality in primary education. Because, there is invisible things that the ‘quantitative parity’ indicator can not invite to oversee the gender aspect of the problem in education; otherwise that can be visible by employing qualitative techniques too.

Therefore, great attention should be given not only for enrolment rate equality between boy and girls. But also most importantly to the qualitative participation and performance of girls and boys' that include the drop out and repetition matter in primary education.

Gender inequality in primary education would have also impact on their secondary and tertiary level of education, Further more, it has a long last effect on every walk of girls' and boys' life. Gender equality in education can only be achieved if the existing social relation as whole is changed and become fair. Hence, gender socialization agents have to work holistically and strategically for further improvement in the social and inter-gender relations in a given time and locality. Consequently, if girls and women enjoy and exercise all fundamental rights, and are free from violence against them, share of domestic roles created, avoiding stereotypes and if the school, community and home environments are gender friendly, gender equality in education can also be achieved. As a result, in analyzing girls and boys school's quantitative and qualitative participation, there is a need to move from 'gender parity' to 'gender equality' educational indicator.

As some of the reviewed related literature signified, and the qualitative finding of this research asserted that generalizing girls' under-presentation in primary education compared to men/boys is difficult to be a universal truth at this time. In addition, as Leach argued, just getting more girls into school does not guarantee equality of opportunity or outcome. Decrease in drop out and repetition does not mean that in increase in education quality, performance, and gender equality. Hence, in order to narrow the gender gap in primary schooling, we have to go beyond the traditional approach that was focused on addressing the supply-side of education and on female gender only. Thus, we have to start to analyse critically the gender nature of the society in which the schools operates: that play a major part in reinforcing and perpetuating the societal gender views; and made an attempt also to explore the issue holistically and strategically.

Since gender means the relation between men and women, girls and boys, and quest or works for the existing injustice in relation between the two genders; therefore, this day we have to think time and again on what impact will have on tomorrow the effort's or the approach deployed on education. In other words, if we are concerned on girls' education only, there is a chance the reverse effect that is to come tomorrow, as we have seen a sign/symptom in some developed and developing countries. Therefore, we have to start to examine or look the issues seriously from both genders' perspective. Otherwise, there is a possibility other disadvantages or negative effects to born out of the existing educational approach: high emphasis for girls' education. Like boy gangsters, this might be against girls' education that was already seen as a great problem in Bati primary school.

Besides that, one can guess what would happen when these boys transferred to high school growing physically in the meantime?

It is obvious that the first school for child is home. Whether women/mothers are educated or illiterate they are the first teacher nurturing their children in the 'home-school', in under taking the societal assigned role of women, in preparing children for socialized men and women of tomorrow. Therefore, for best child nurturing or socialization process, first the mother has to be educate well. Whereas, Ethiopian women have been silent for centuries, accepting 'the normal femininity' and working in perpetuating it to the next girls' generations. This is due to lack of proper education and training that makes them blind to feel and think about what Friedan named "the problem that has no name", desire for the public arena. Therefore to uncover their eyes from the yashmak, and to think critically about issues (gender inequality), proper education (mean free from unfair gender socialization) and gender awareness training for both genders, is the necessary or pre- condition for women to aspire their natural rights, the right to share domestic and public roles. Hence, women empowerment is crucial.

If women are educated their knowledge would be transferred to children, and the benefits multiplied for the family and to the nation at large. This is because, very importantly, empowerment of women would increase their ability to think critically; that capacitate them in addressing of gender strategic interests that requires changes in the behaviour and attitudes of women and men. Consequently, women's empowerment involves the break down of gender stereotypes; the transformation of patriarchal ideology, and the structures, institutions: mean the socialization agents supporting and perpetuating of gender discrimination in a given locality. Besides that, the best education is those which transcend cultural barriers Empowerment of women, through education and training, are therefore, both the ends in themselves and cornerstones of development. As UNDP motto progress for women is progress for all! Therefore, gender equality in education is really a political, equity (at home and public), social and development issues that needs every stakeholders' attentions most.

It is not surprising for the existence of remnant diehard 'educated' men, even women:-those hate change and always want to maintain the status quo. Thus, social and gender transformation is a long and hard way process; in particular in Ethiopia, where there have been and will be irresponsible people though 'educated'; in one side, they are also the product of traditional gender socialization. The society of Ethiopia have been highly hierarchal, patriarchal and traditional, locked and unable exposing oneself for new way of thinking, ideas; and less communicative. It has been also blanketed with many unquestioned taboos for centuries. So, it is difficult and challenging for interventions to

bring behavioural change. For these reasons, the social transformation and gender equality process in Ethiopia is a long and hard journey that needs to be done in a systematic ways and that demands the effort of both men and women of today and tomorrow. Hence, to contribute our part for this long journey, let have the courage to start this journey now: in our generation!

In nutshell, in the new socialization process of children: children be should free to think; and the society has to stop imposing its old attitude, behaviour, and let children be what they want to be, not what their parents' wants to be. Thus, we can, as parent, family, teacher, preacher, and other socializing agents, prepare our children-the national new comer citizens, for proper education, and let the society educate them how to think, but not what to think and dream that would destroy their many future lives in their youth-hood and adulthood. In addition, as the researcher wish to be, our way of socialization of the current young generation is vital to contemplate what Kahlil Gibran in his book of "The Prophet", has taught and critically advice us how to nurture our children; he has put it this way:

*"Your children are not your children;  
They are the sons and daughters of life's longing for self.  
They come through you but not from you,  
And though they are with you yet they belong not to you.  
You may give them your love but not your thoughts,  
For they have their own thoughts (Gibran, 2005:21-23).*

Thus, to nurture a generation that is free to think, choose, ask and analyze and that do not accept things for granted-rather that have the courage to break or examine thoroughly the taboos, and that believe in social justice and gender equality; the first step that the socialization agents (family, society, religions, school and others institutions) should take in their locality is that to explore themselves (analyze critically the existing socialization-filtering what is good and bad), and then to develop new ways of socializing of children, to transmit the good and to stop the bad there (their old software to remain in their mind alone and buried there) and saved the new generation. This is because, the society and its social institutions have the responsibility and its institutions to care children but not to impose totally their old software upon the children.

In addition, this is the time where children are in the critical period where basic nurturing processes and formal education learning level that the individual child talent where identified and its behaviour developed, that would determine mainly on the children's future behaviour and life characters too. Therefore, gender education is imperative before children started sense of social interaction between the two sexes. Hence, our attitude toward Kindergarten and primary education practises in allocation of teachers and facilities should be changed if the intended goal is to be

achieved in Ethiopia. On top of that pre-school and primary school teachers, as one of socializing agents, has firmly determine to make equity a lifelong commitment for the construction of a new society of tomorrow that believe in gender equality and justice in all spheres.

In general, the very important thing for real change to come in child socialization, every socialization agent that contributes in reinforcing and perpetuating the existing traditional socialization in a given time and locality has to be first courageous to start in self-blaming for these socialization effect and to take its share. If they do this, some percent of the problem is solved. This is because, if every socialization institutions-family, mass media, religion, schools, etc...starts self-blaming, rather than claiming for its wrong doing or forwarding to others, like to supernatural force. They really starts to examine, and to learn from its past wrong doing, and these agents would start to regret, that would motive to contribute their part for solution; as they have been part of the problem. Thus, if any socialization agents start self-blaming, and contribute its part, then the changing process of the existing traditional gender socialization in a given time and locality would be enhanced.

## **Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations**

In this final chapter, the general summary of findings, conclusions, issues that have policy implication and need recommendations are presented.

### **5.1. Summary of Major Findings**

The research topic is “The impact of gender role socialization on gender inequalities in primary education: case study in Bati *Woreda*.” The researcher’s motivation to focus on this research topic was that the previous research approaches have not touched the primary education problem from gender perspective; particularly boys’ educational problems (due to the existing traditional gender role socialization) have been the missed part of most researches in Ethiopia. The research is designed to be undertaken on primary education at *Woreda* level. This is because, from socialization context, primary school level is a stage where children sense of identity, behaviour and attitude is on the process of development and that would be mostly dominant through out one’s life. Besides that, primary schools reflect norms of behaviours which exist in the given society. In general, gender socialization or the complex social relations can become visible when research is undertaken at the grass root level.

The type of this research is ‘basic research’ that deals mainly with theoretical problems of gender role socialization. Consequently, the general objective of this research is to create understanding on how much the existing traditional gender role socialization become the causes for the existing gender inequality in primary education. Consequently, the researcher tried to answer the ‘what’, ‘why’ and ‘how’ research questions about gender inequality in primary education based on the core issue of gender role socialization in a given time and locality. Accordingly, the researcher employed the ‘abductive’ research strategy to address the two intended research objectives of ‘understanding’ the impact of the existing gender role socialization on gender inequalities in primary education, and ‘changing’ and adjusting the educational approach; and how to transform the existing traditional gender role socialization in a given locality in order not to see the intended impacts of gender inequality in primary education. The ‘inductive’ strategy also employed to address the ‘prediction’ research objective of what would likely to happen if the current approach on education persists with out adjustment.

In order to collect relevant data that would answer the research questions, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were used, mainly the qualitative one. Subsequently, the analysis and interpretation of collected data resulted to achieve the following main findings.

Gender have been constantly constructed and transmitted from generation to generation by different gender socialization institutions that act simultaneously and mutually reinforcing. Hence, children have learnt or nurtured their personal gender behaviour and practices in their locality by different actors (family, community traditional practices, religion, primary schools) that function in different forms.

Religion, as one of the socialization agents the researcher tried to explore the common Religious beliefs of Christian and Muslim religions and come to assert that the origin believes' principles of these Religions are not gender discriminatory; rather the man-made religious institutions' canon that holds inter-gender discriminatory rules.

The education system that is established with the responsibility of cultivating the new generation with modern way of thinking has been practically working in perpetuating the existing unfair gender relation. The finding showed that the education system and the primary school environments worked in perpetuating the existing traditional gender role socialization for the young school children through education policy and curriculum, and by the inter and intra-gender social relations between teachers and students in the school environment. Through these gender socialization means, children learnt their gender identities by observing their role model, studying behaviours and practices in the form of stories, jokes, playing together, music, drama, art, history, pictures, teachers experiences.

The findings in each sample schools also showed that the schools are really working as gender socialization agent in preparing boys and girls by the existing traditional gender role socialization that make them the usual traditional adult men and women of tomorrow. Consequently, the primary school children learning and practising their gender specific socially assigned gender roles makes difference in boys' and girls' primary education performances. For instance, it is common girls to migrate to Jeddah to be domestic servant; and boys migrate locally and to Djibouti in search of seasonal labour, in which the case became one of the major causes for girls and boys school drop out in the research *Woreda*.

Consequently, the researcher argued that in the existing traditional gender role socialization process, boys are also affected in their educational performance; and the research *Woreda* educational statistical indicators revealed this fact. This is because, both the sample schools and the *Woreda* primary schools' five years trends in school enrolment and repetition for girls' and boys' showed almost proportional result. Whereas, the five years trend of primary schools drop out showed that boy students were the most affected than girl students in the research *Woreda*. Hence, in the existing

traditional gender role socialization, it is not only girls, but boys are also affected. So, the under representation of girls in primary education do not work its universal truth in Bati *Woreda* primary education.

From the existing patriarchal social relations the young boy children learnt to act aggressively in their social relations that influence their thinking and behaving patterns that lead for misconduct. The study finding showed that eleven students in Bati primary school were punished by one year forced school drop out because of their misconduct and disturbing the teaching learning process repeatedly that became one of the main causes of drop out for boys in the year 2004/5. Besides, one thing to be noticed is that, misbehaved boys are not good at their educational performance most of the time. Ultimately, the possibility of the future life of these boys to be good citizens is a rare case that has also societal cost. However, in the gender socialization process in patriarchal society, boys are not fully responsible for their misconduct or ill-behaved. This is because, they did or behaved what they have learnt during their nurturing time from the society. So, first the society has to blame itself for its nurturing or socialization.

The other finding is that the school-cultures (teachers' inter-gender division of labour in festivals) signify that the positive role-modelness of female teachers for female students in this regard was seen only in statistical presence. This is because, female teachers did not try to change the existing gender division of labour at least in the school environment.

Currently, increase in enrolment rate, decrease in drop out and repetition rate in the research *Woreda* do not mean that in increase in education quality, performance, and gender equality. The research participants, particularly teachers, asserted that the current trend shifts from 'qualitative' promotion to 'quantitative promotion'. It is student number-oriented, which has a direct effect on the education performance of these students in the following schooling levels too.

Commonly used 'gender parity index' cannot be an appropriate educational indicator to examine gender equality in education. Since gender equality is more than student number representations. This is because, even achieving gender parity, by closing the enrolment rate doesn't indicate the achievement of gender equality in primary education in the research *Woreda*. Hence, unless girls and women are able to enjoy and exercise all fundamental rights, and are free from violence against them, share of domestic roles created, avoiding gender stereotypes and if the school, community and home environments are gender-friendly, gender equality in education cannot be achieved. Subsequently, based on these research findings, the researcher forwards the following conclusions.

## 5.2. Conclusions

Gender roles and relationship keep changing (usually slowly), but they are determined by society and are experienced through cultural traditions, beliefs and norms. The different roles that women and men play in their communities and the unequal inter-gender relation generate different needs and concerns. Hence, from what children have learnt from the existing gender role socialization through socialization agents in their early childhood, girls would be ready to prepare themselves to be 'good' wife and mother, rather than studying well their education and to face hardship and to aspire to be educated, and to have a far sighted vision. Bati *Woreda* girls' working daily in keeping their external beauty is the best example to be mentioned. To accomplish their life dream, girls have to prepare themselves psychologically, to go even beyond their locality, as their brothers have done, are doing and would do. Hence, in order tomorrows children to warrant a better world, today's children should grow in wisdom, in love and justice; for that outcome, it is really this day's men and women strategic duties to be accomplish nowadays!

Girls are really suffering more from the man-made customs, like that of early marriage, polygamy, and excessive traditional festivals that consume their product, labour and time. Hence, men and women have to refuse and avoid all the harmful customs and traditions. Girls should be free particularly from the practise of early marriage that affects their education seriously and be free to choose their partner, to get married with their consent, and even the right not to be married life long. However, in patriarchal society, it is not only girls but also boys suffered from the effects of the existing traditional gender role socialization. Hence, attention needs to be given not only for girls' children education but also for boys' education. In addition, we can also learn that attention needs to be given not only for children school enrolment, but very importantly for children to stay at school and to complete their education qualitatively. Otherwise, it would be wastage of time and resources of children, family, and the nation at large.

As the findings showed the school environment is also a highly gendered place and one of the socializing agents where unequal inter-gender power relations among teachers and students are played out; gender stereotypes are practised; and act as a means in contributing its part in children gender identities' formation; and maintaining, reproducing and perpetuating for future generations. Hence, just getting more girls into school does not guarantee equality of opportunity or outcome. Besides that, the unequal inter-gender relation in primary school is the result of inter-institutional (family, society, government, religion, schools, local language, etc.) inter-action working simultaneously and reinforcing each others to reproduce, maintain and perpetuating the gender inequality for coming generations.

Nevertheless, the above gender socialization agents or institutions can also play in redressing the negatively gendered pattern of inter-gender relations in the school, in the family and in the community as well; if gender awareness training given for these agents in continual basis. Hence, for real change to come in child gender socialization, every socialization agent that contributes in reinforcing and perpetuating the existing traditional gender role socialization in a given time and locality has to be first courageous to start in self-blaming for the existing gender socialization effect, and start self-examining, and contribute its part.

Even though social relations are in dynamic change, changing the gender role, gender division of labour, the traditional beliefs and values of the society is a difficult task, particularly in the traditional society like Ethiopia, where most of the society is illiterate, less communicative, and resistant for new things. Since gender role socialization has been centuries' lesson learnt that passed from generation to generation, so it is not likely to change or to stop by revolutionary measures or through years' campaigns. Subsequently, since the task is to bring behavioural change: changing the human mind, then it is step by step transformation from generation to generations by the continuous works of consequent generations. Likewise, to bring gender equality in education and in the society at large needs inter-generation task than a one generation duty. Therefore, it needs employing strategic and holistic approaches that can be enhanced through education and economic development.

Hence, to speed up the processes of changing the existing traditional gender socialization and to achieve the intended gender equality and social transformation in Ethiopian society in general, proper education and gender education and training for different socialization agents are imperatives. This is because ultimate objective of proper education is after all to bring development or progress in individual and societal attitude, thinking capability, and to generate knowledgeable and responsible citizen that work for and even live for truth, enlighten justice, and believe in gender equality, which is one means of achieving social, economic, and political justices.

Since gender is a relation between men and women and to involve both men and women in the behaviour change is crucial. In other words, to transform the hierarchal nature of gender relations and in order women's gender identities to be changed then men's (the other half) gender identities should be changed too. Hence, it is arguable that the gender inequality problem will never be solved until men are brought into the process of solving it. Therefore, to make a difference in gender relations and on the other hierarchal social relations, and to bring gender transformations or gender equality, participating men for change is imperative and timely.

On top of that, living in a male dominated society will depend on the male approval of interventions directed towards enhancing female education. Consequently, since the ball (power to decide) is mostly in the court of men nowadays, then it is better systematically to employ men at home, office, religious institutions, etc...Most importantly, the level of success is dependant on raising the level of male awareness to the problems that women are facing. For instance, encouraging men to join in 'Gender Studies' is one means that induce gender problems are shameful and really are the men's problems too, and of development issues at large.

In general, the researcher has reached to conclude that the traditional socialization, which is the product of patriarchal social system, is the causes for any social, economic and political injustice in the domestic and public arenas in general. In other words, socialization is the cause for any good or harmful phenomena in individual life and in social relations. Likewise, the unfair gender role socialization is also one of the outputs of patriarchal system that result in inter-gender inequality in education between girls and boys. Hence, since the existing traditional gender role socialization and its' borned HTPs practices affect both the present and future genders, they should get attention of men and women, and changed by the effort of both genders.

Very importantly, to forward the means that bring structural social transformation, and working on gender equality, education is one of the means for this transformation. Therefore, the education system first emancipate itself from the existing traditional gender role socialization; and not to be a means in transforming it to the present young generation; and in reinforcing and perpetuating it for the next generations. Consequently, the primary education stakeholders better to go beyond the traditional approach that was focused on addressing the supply-side of education. Besides, the demand parts of education better to get an attention too; and to examine the issues from gender perspective. Furthermore, in any gender analysis works in education, it is advisable to employ a holistic approach by examining thoroughly the institutions' working culture and practices. Thus, to facilitate the gender mainstreaming process in the education system, primarily, sector specific on going training, (like gender and education), gender awareness training is crucial.

Hence, if the above forwarded efforts addressed accordingly would enable to ensure the education sector to achieve its intended goal: nurturing the new generation with modern way of thinking, a generation that believe in gender equality and that is disobedient to shoulder and challenging the existing inequality in gender and other unfair economic, political and social relations. Subsequently, an attempt to bring gender equality in the education system is an important step in the processes to bring social structural transformation. This is because, in principle, the roles of education is to

provide knowledge, information and skill that increase level of consciousness that spark ideas to think differently, motivate and equip students and the educated to challenge the existing inequitable or hierarchal social relations. That is why gender equality in education system is become a very important outcome by itself; and is also a crucial means for other social changes assumed to achieve in social, economic and political justice in a given locality.

In nutshell, though education is an essential means for achieving sustainable human development in Ethiopia; the quality of education is the timely question of the society. Gender equality is, therefore, an important aspect of 'quality of education'. Besides, gender equality in primary education cannot be assumed without engendering (gender awareness works) first the gender socializing agents in the given locality. Consequently, the education policy environment, school environment, the home, religious, and other societal institutions has to come first gender friendly. In other words, to mainstream gender in the education system and to bring gender equality in the primary education in a given locality in the long-run holistic, strategic and multi-dimensional approaches are imperatives.

### **5.3. Recommendations and Implication**

The following research area specific and general recommendations and policy instruments are proposed to mainstream gender in education system that enable to narrow the existing gender inequality in primary education.

#### **5.3.1. Research area specific recommendations**

Economic development is important for education improvement and vice versa. Consequently, since the *Woreda* is one of drought affected area in the region, alleviating or minimizing the poverty level of the *Woreda*, particularly that addresses the poor households is imperative. Since economic problem of the family is one of the causes that were identified for boys' and girls' school low participation in the research *Woreda* that would have a positive effect in increasing their quantitative and qualitative education performances.

Students' lack of motivation, misconduct and the dissatisfaction of teachers by their teaching outcome (students' poor qualitative performance), the school environment in general has to be studied thoroughly by educational expertise to find corrective measures, by employing qualitative research methods, involving all education stakeholders that make visible the invisible reality behind the common quantitative educational indicators in the research *Woreda*, particularly in Bati primary school.

In addition, for long run solution, the school and teachers have to develop mechanisms to correct the teaching-learning environment by undertaking practical research that can address their school's specific problems. Therefore, a need in encouraging teachers to undertake practical research that can able to address their school's specific problems and the school implementing the recommended study report. Besides, awareness creation activities are necessary for the communities to realize that educating girls are important and reducing their heavy workload could be beneficial for girls' good educational achievements; for instance, decreasing the amount of traditional fests, festivals in rural locality enable girls to have additional time for study.

### 5.3.2. General Recommendations

Proper (gender friendly) education and training that increase children's compromising capability and gender sensitiveness is the prime means to aware and emancipate children particularly girls that are the most vulnerable from harmful traditional practices.

**In the policy environment:** To understand the causes of the low quantitative and qualitative school performance of girls and boys undertaking a continuous multi-dimensional gender analysis study is vital and timely in order to create gender friendly primary school environment. In other words, the 'Gender Equality or 'parity' in Education' statement to be practical, needs a continuous gender analysis study, based on in-depth qualitative data collection method and involving both education stakeholders. Consequently, implementation of the study recommendations and continuous impact assessment works are essential at policy level for successful gender equality in primary education.

Primary school curriculum' also needs to be engaged in a systematic gender analysis and revision of all primary school textbooks for further improvement; since it reflects the existing gender stereotypes. Besides, the stories in the evaluated English textbooks do not reflect the Amhara Region's situations as it is recommended at primary school level. Hence, it is advisable the Region better to develop its primary school text books.

The primary education level is extremely becomes influential period for children socialization process. Hence, children at primary school age levels are in the critical period where their basic children's identity and behaviour formation is in the process of development. Furthermore, the individual child talent is identified in this early period. Hence, every individual family and national efforts and resources have to be invested in the pre-school and primary education levels. Besides, family life education, as a course, is imperative at these education levels, before children started sense of social interaction between the two sexes; or before they begin developing their individual gender identity formations.

**Local Government and NGOs partnership:** To narrow the gender inequality in primary education, and to bring equality, there is a need to do much more to change the traditional gender role socialization in the given locality. Hence, strengthening partnership and collective efforts of the local government, the community, CBOs and NGOs have a major role, to facilitate and organize gender awareness training for the community, workshops on gender and HTPs. Furthermore, community awareness creation works on the importance of girls' education for the community at grassroot level; and establishment of 'Functional Adult Women Literacy Programme, contribute in enhancing the effort for girls' education. Most importantly, since the local community and religious leaders have influential role (for good or harmful action to be taken) in the given community, gender awareness creation is crucial for them accordingly.

In addition, mechanisms of introducing appropriate technology to rural families would decrease workload so that parents can send their children particularly girls to schools. Hence, parents should get gender awareness training. Therefore, the Local kebele administration has to organize continuous gender awareness tasks to mothers and fathers in the community to increase their awareness about how important attending school for their daughters and sons livelihood.

**Religious Institutions:** Since the principle or the main domains of beliefs are not gender discriminatory, rather it is the canon of Muslim and Christianity institutions. Hence, it is preferable the leaders of these religion institutions to be courageous to modify or improve their canon that fits to the current consciousness level of their respective followers.

**School Environment:** In this institution the researcher proposed teachers and the school administrators first to make free themselves from practising and perpetuating harmful cultural codes and social beliefs. For this purpose, teachers should be gender aware and be a good gender role model for their students in the school environment. Furthermore, primary school teachers stand to make equality and fairness their lifelong commitment for the formation of a gender sensitive generation that believe in gender equality. Of course, that comes real through continuous gender awareness training for teachers and checking one's individual commitment to be gender friendly and to become changing agent.

In addition, Schools have to practise in promoting an equitable incorporation of the two genders in the different types of work, without reproducing traditional roles. Hence, a need for the formation of 'gender club' in the schools, in stead of the existing 'Girls' club'; which have negative connotation and practically undertaking the usual gender stereotypes. Besides, the newly established 'gender club' should also hold both boys and girls as a member and working both boys and girls to

participate in practising non-traditional gender roles in the school environment. Furthermore, strengthening Parent-Teacher Associations (like making women members of the local/kebele PTA) is essential for parents to develop a positive attitude towards education for their daughters and the benefits of education for girls in particular; and parents to be school friendly in general.

In general, to create gender friendly school environment, teachers to give due consideration for the inter and intra-gender interaction between teachers, students and among teachers and students in the school compound and in the classroom in particular, organizing gender training for teachers and *Woreda* Education Office staffs, gender exposure visiting programme for both students and teachers is very important; for instance, gender exposure visiting of Awra-Amba Community. These activities can be organized by either of *Woreda* Education Office, Women's Affairs office, local NGOs, etc...

Finally, to see real change in child gender role socialization, every socialization agent that contributes in and perpetuating the existing traditional gender role socialization in a given locality has to be first courageous to start in self-blaming for its contribution to the effect the existing traditional gender role socialization on children education and future life; and initiated to take its share to contribute its part for the solution. Thus, gender equality in primary education can be achieved only if the education stakeholders work mutually in holistic and strategic manner on gender matters in a given locality.

**Implications:** One of the objectives of the research has been that boys also encountered education problems due to the existing traditional gender role socialization. Hence, the researcher proposes two issues that other interested researchers to look into children primary schooling from gender perspective (both girls and boys). Consequently, the researcher hypothesises the following that need further research to be undertaken by other motivated researchers. These are:

1. Boys' education and future life is also affected as that of girls' in given gender role socialization.
2. 'Gender parity' should not be employed as educational indicator in gender matter. Thus, there is a need to move from 'gender parity' to 'gender equality' in analyzing girls' and boys' quantitative and qualitative educational participation.

### **Findings beyond objective**

Since research is always in dynamic process, usually one research, beside its trial to resolve one research problem; it becomes a cause for some issues to be topic for further research. Hence, the tentative hypothesis derived a new issue by the researcher that needs to be researched are the

following:

1. Poverty (of family and nation) by itself is also emanated from the wrong socialization about work and its inputs, like, time value. That is, the working-culture of a given society determines its level of development. The society does not offer value for time, and equal value for the importance of any types of works, individuals or communal traditional knowledge for development, in associating with the existing unequal social relations. Hence, the researcher proposes, 'The impact of socialization on working-culture on local development' should be studied by researchers.

2. The researcher observed one important issue during discussion with parent and student research participants in rural localities, in the discussion point that dealt with the 'purpose of education' for students themselves and their children respectively; the common answer is often spinning round to be a 'doctor, teacher, nurse', pilot, etc... Unfortunately, the researcher did not come across any student or parent participant aspire that 'learning to be a professional farmer.' Hence, from this fact and from the researcher past experiences in other similar rural locality, what the researcher realized is that the purpose of education for rural community and to their children is to 'escape from being farmer' or from 'rural livelihood'; assumed to be backward to be a farmer in profession, and they didn't aspire to be a professional farmer after completing the appropriate education levels.

Actually, this assumption of the local community is derived from wrong perception. For instance, to be farmer in well developed countries, demands expertise in agricultural fields. The profession is also honourable one and farmers are relatively better living society in dwelling relatively in non-polluted environment and admiring nature. And this is the researcher's observation beyond the research's objective, and interested to initiate other researchers to examine these issues further more; and to create understanding that the rural communities' perception on the purpose of education is to be corrected.

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## Annexes

### Annexes 1: Research Tools

#### 1. Semi structured Questions deployed for FGD discussion with student Participants

1. Why do you want to learn?
2. Who is your role model for your aspiration for schooling?
3. What is your parents' education status?
4. Do you have studying program? Who supports and against to your study program?
5. Describe any cultural practices which interfere with access, and/or participation of female and male students at primary level?
6. What activities you undertake in the home after/before schooling? Do you like the existing gender role socialization?
7. Do you like the school environment?
8. Tell me the local barriers and challenges for boys and girls education
9. What are the causes for drop out and repetition for boys and girls?
10. List co-curricular activities which exist for girls and boys students?
11. Does a sex-based harassment occur within the school environment/? If any who do that often, and how are complaints of sex-based harassment dealt with?
12. Does corporal punishment practised upon students? If there is what types for girls and boys? Personal observation would also be carried out.

#### 2. Semi structure Questions deployed for FGD discussion with teacher Participants

1. What do you expect from male and female students?
2. What is your teaching mechanism? How do treat boys and girls in the classroom?
3. How do you reward or punish students in the classroom
4. Do have you got your expectations from femal and male students? Discuss
5. Does corporal punishment practised upon students? If there is what types for girls and boys? Personal observation would also be carried out.
6. List co-curricular activities which exist for girls and boys students?
7. Does a sex-based harassment occur within the school environment/? If any who do that often, and how are complaints of sex-based harassment dealt with?
8. List all gender exclusive co-curricular activities e.g. sports, clubs, activities in the school?
9. What is the female and male composition of the management and membership of student-run clubs, Parent-Teachers Associations/PTA.
10. Do you have get gender training? For how many days, Does that brought a behavioural change upon you? Are you practicing it in the school, in the home? What are the indicators?
11. What are the possible factors accounting for gender gaps in drop out and repetition rates?
12. To what extent are there female/male differences in the development of social attitudes and values?

#### 3. Semi structure Questions deployed for KII with Sample School director

1. What is the male/female representation in school decision-making: school board, unit leader, PTA, director, senior teachers?
2. What are the gender differentials in salaries and benefits: at different salary scale?
3. Who recruits, rewards, disciplines and manages staff?
4. Does corporal punishment exercised upon students? If there is what types for girls and boys? Personal observation would be carried out.
5. Does a sexual harassment occur within the learning school environment/? If any who do that often, and how are complaints of sexual harassment dealt with?
6. List all gender exclusive co-curricular activities e.g. sports, clubs, activities in the school?
7. What is the female and male composition of the management and membership of student-

- run clubs, Parent-Teachers Associations?
8. What are the possible factors accounting for gender gaps in drop out and repetition rates?
  9. Do teachers get gender training? For how many days? Did that brought a behavioral change? What are the indicators?
  10. To what extent are there female/male differences in the development of social attitudes and values?

**4. Semi structure Questions deployed for FGD discussion with parent participants**

1. Tell me about your education history, status and attitude?
2. Tell me about the history of your children schooling?
3. How do you see your children education?
4. Do you believe in educating in your children?
5. What is the purpose of children schooling? What do you benefit as parent in children schooling, in particular your daughter?
6. What is your aim and dream for your child future life?
7. What motivate you to your children schooling?
8. Who initiate and determine children schooling? To whom you favour in case of choice for schooling either boys or girls, and to stop, to continue and finish their education?
9. Tell me about the local challenges and obstacles for girls and boys educations?
10. Tell me about the local main causes for girls and boys school drop out and repetitions?
11. Up to what education level you believe girls and boys to attend or complete?
12. What do you expect from your children education
13. What do you think about your daughter and son future marriage?
14. What do you want the boy and the girl child to behave? What is the locality system of child nurturing, the gender role socialization system?
15. Gender division of labour, the role of men, women, boys and girls?
16. What are the local Harmful Traditional Practices
17. What should I know about your children to better understand what is happening for him or her in school and after schooling?

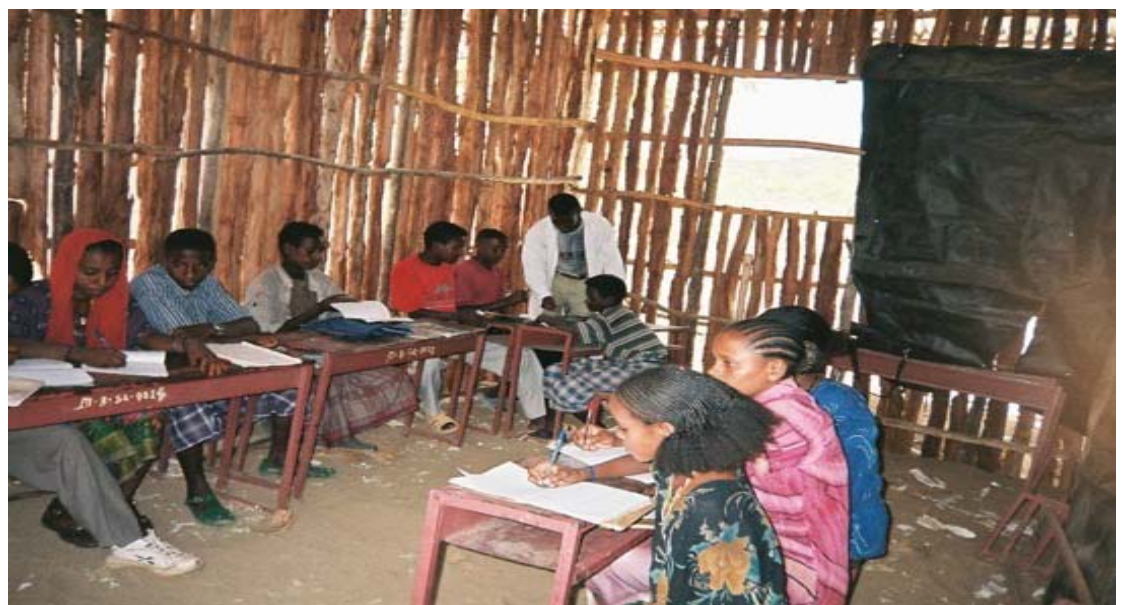
## Annex 2: Plates/Pictures



*Picture taken during FGD with student research participants in Selewa primary school, May 2007.*



*Picture taken during FGD with parents research participants in Selewa (Hato) Kebele, May 2007*



*Picture taken when 6<sup>th</sup> grade student learning English subject in Selewa primary school, May 2007*

### Annex 3: Tables/ Statistical figure

**Table.1. Educational Indicators for Selected Schools at Primary Level in 2005/6**

Schools	Enrolment		Drop out		Repeaters		Teachers		PTR	PSR	Remarks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	girls	boys	Girls	boys	girls				
Bati-PU	1717	1524	115	90	115	90	41	16	32	57	101	Urban
Selewa	296	236	11	8	1	0	7	7	12	38	44	Rural/low land
Mamed	433	375	35	11	1	3	14	10	25	34	32	Rural/high land

Source: organized from Sample primary schools unpublished documents, 2005/6

**Table 2: Research Sample Primary Schools Background Information**

1	School name	Bati Comp.	Mamed	Selewa
2	School location	Bati Town	Mamed kebele	Hato kebel
3	Year of establishment	1950	1998	
4	Altitude/Temp		2800mt, Dry high land	Low land
5	School level/cycle	Full cycle	Full cycle	Full cycle
6	Building status	Block	2block+4korkoro+2 mud	Block & mud
7	Shifting practice	Two shift	Two shift	Two shift
8	Classroom floor	Cemented	Cemented	Cemented& dust
9	No of classroom	32	12	
10	No of teachers' room	1	2	
11	No of Adm. Room	3	2	
12	Workshop	Available	Not Available	Not Available
13	Laboratory	Available	Not Available	Not Available
14	Library	Available	Not Available	Not Available
15	Latrine	Non-gendered	Non-gendered	Non-gendered
		Not cleaned	Cleaned	Cleaned
16	Sport yard	Available	Not Available	Available
17	Agricultural field	Available	Available	Available
18	School clinic	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available
19	water for drink	Pipe, not func.	Well	Hand pump pipe
20	Electric power	24 Hrs	None	None
21	Telephone	Automatic	None, mobile work	None, mobile work
22	Kebele population. use school	40,000		
23	Learning language	Amharic & Oromiffa	Amharic & Oromiffa	Oromiffa
24	Av. distance b/n school to centre of town/kebele	Half Km	8Km round trip	
25	Distance to go after 8 <sup>th</sup> grade	1Km	7Km	9Km
26	Types of school	government	Government	Government

Source: organized from Sample Primary Schools Interviews and personal observations,

**Table 3: Bati primary schools' drop out Five years trends**

Education Year	Enrolment			Drop out				Drop out Rate		
	Boys	girls	Total	boys	girls	Total	Girls' %	Boys	girls	Total
2001/2	1623	1519	3142	132	95	227	41.9	8.1	6.3	7.2
2002/3	1735	1610	3345	159	145	304	47.7	9.2	9.0	9.1
2003/4	1758	1603	3361	152	130	282	46.1	8.6	8.1	8.4
2004/5	1690	1493	3183	158	123	281	43.8	9.3	8.2	8.8
2005/6	1717	1524	3241	115	90	205	43.9	6.7	5.9	6.3

Source: organized from Bati *Woreda* Education Office unpublished documents

**Table 4: Bati primary schools' repetition 5 years trends**

Edu. Year	Seat for exam				Repetition				Repetition Rate		
	Boys	Girls	Total	girls' %	Boys	girls	Total	girls' %	boys	girls	Total
2001/2	1491	1424	2915	48.9	331	363	694	52.3	22.2	25.5	23.8
2002/3	1576	1465	3041	48.2					0	0	0
2003/4	1606	1473	3079	47.8	156	162	318	50.9	9.7	11	10.3
2004/5	1532	1370	2902	47.2	61	100	161	62.1	4.0	7.3	5.5
2005/6	1602	1434	3036	47.2	115	90	346	26.0	7.18	6.28	11.4

Source: organized from Bati *Woreda* Education Office unpublished documents

**Table 5: Selewa primary school Drop out trend**

School Year	Enrolment			Drop out			Drop out rate %		
	Boy	girl	total	boy	Girl	Total	boy	girl	total
2001/2	140	145	285	29	27	56	20.7	18.6	19.6
2002/3	123	134	257	9	7	16	7.3	5.2	6.2
2003/4	173	163	336	17	13	30	9.8	8.0	8.9
2004/5	245	238	483	28	20	48	11.4	8.4	9.9
2005/6	296	236	532	11	8	19	3.7	3.4	3.6

Source: organized from Selewa Primary School unpublished documents

**Table 6: Selewa primary school Repetition trend**

School Year	Seat for exam			Repetition			Repetition rate %		
	Boy	girl	total	boy	Girl	Total	boy	girl	total
2001/2	111	118	229	22	38	60	19.8	32.2	26.2
2002/3	114	127	241	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2003/4	156	150	306	6	0	6	3.8	0.0	2.0
2004/5	217	218	435	2	3	5	0.9	1.4	1.1
2005/6	285	228	513	1	0	1	0.4	0.0	0.2

Source: organized from Selewa Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 7: Bati Woreda Five years Education Coverage Comparison: 2001/2-2005/6**

Educ. Year	School Age			Yearly Enrolment			Education Coverage			Coverage Growth rate		
	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	girl	Total	boy	girl	Total	boy	girl	Total
2001/2	11623	11566	23189	4842	4811	9653	41.7	41.6	41.6			
2002/3	11886	11828	23714	4815	4850	9665	40.5	41.0	40.8	-1.1	-0.6	-0.9
2003/4	12155	12096	24251	5757	5731	11488	47.4	47.4	47.4	6.9	6.4	6.6
2004/5	12508	12293	24801	8043	7869	15912	64.3	64.0	64.2	16.9	16.6	16.8
2005/6	13306	13368	26674	9349	8837	18186	70.3	66.1	68.2	6.0	2.1	4.0

Source: organized from Bati *Woreda* Education Office unpublished documents

Years	2001/02				2002/03				2003/04				2004/05				2005/06			
Grade	M	F	T	F%	M	F	T	F%	M	F	T	F%	M	F	T	F%	M	F	T	F%
1	13	11	24	45.8	3	0	3	0	5	2	7	29	5	7	12	58.3	3	3	6	50
2	7	7	14	50	1	1	2	50	4	2	6	33	6	5	11	45.5	0	0	0	
3	8	9	17	52.9	5	4	9	44	7	3	10	30	3	1	4	25	2	3	5	60
4	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	100	0	4	4	100	3	5	8	62.5	2	0	2	0
5	0	0	0		0	0	0		1	2	3	67	11	2	13	15.4	1	2	3	66.7
6	0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0		3	0	3	0
7	0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0	
8	0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0		0	0	0	
1 to 8	29	27	56	48.2	9	7	16	44	17	13	30	43	28	20	48	41.7	11	8	19	42.1

Source: organized from Selewa Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 9: Division of labour/participation of Students in Sample Primary schools , 2006/07**

Schools Name	Section No	Class monitors				Participation in Class	Participation in Flaging	participation in		Girls' Club	HIV/AIDS' Club
		Main		Deputy				Volleyball	Football		
		Male	Fem	Male	Fem	Cleaning					
Bati	32					Hired labourer	mostly boy	boys	Boys	gils	Both
Selewa	13	10	3	No	No	Both bring water & girls cleaning	boys by tradition	both	Boys	female only	Yes
Mamed	25	23	2	24	1	Boys bring water & girls cleaning					

Source: organized from Sample Primary Schools Interviews and personal observations, May 2007

**Table. 10: Bati full cycle primary school drop out by grade, case and sex, 2005/06 Both Language**

Grade	Causes of Drop out																								Total drop out					
	lose of interest			Health			local emigration			Abroademigration			Family Influence			Marriage			Discipline			unstated			Others			M	F	T
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T			
1			0		2	2	5	2	7	2		2	3	1	4			0			0	2		2	7	5	12	19	10	29
2			0			0	1	1	2		1	1		1	1			0			0	3		3	1	1	2	5	4	9
3			0	1		1			0			0	3		3			0			0	3	2	5	3	4	7	10	6	16
4			0		2	2	1		1			0	1	1	2			0			0	5	1	6			0	7	4	11
5		1	1		3	3	1	2	3	4	2	6	3	4	7			0			0			0	4	3	7	12	15	27
6		2	2			0		1	1	2		2	2	4	6			0			0	2	2	4	3	2	5	9	11	20
7			0	5		5		1	1	2		2	4	3	7		5	5	2		2	4	2	6	3	2	5	20	13	33
8			0	3	2	5			0			0	5	9	14		5	5	9		9	13	6	19	3	5	8	33	27	60
1-8	0	3	3	9	9	18	8	7	15	10	3	13	21	23	44	0	10	10	11	0	11	32	13	45	24	22	46	115	90	205
	0	3.3	1.5	8	10	9	7	7.8	7.3	8.7	3.3	6.3	18	25.6	22	0	11	4.9	10	0	5.4	28	14	22	21	24	22.4	drop out % by case		

Source: organized from Bati Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 11: Selewa full cycle primary school drop out by grade, case and Sex, 2005/06 Oromiffa language**

Grade	Causes of Drop out																					Total
	Lose of interest			Health			Local emigration			Abroad emigration			Family influence			Marriage			Total			
	Boy	girl	T	Boy	girl	T	Boy	girl	T	Boy	girl	T	Boy	Girl	T	Boy	girl	T	Boy	girl	T	
1			0		2	2	2	2	4			0			0			0	2	4	6	
2			0			0			0			0			0			0	0	0	0	
3			0			0		2	2			0			0		3	3	2	3	5	
4	1		1			0	1		1			0			0			0	2	0	2	
5			0			0	1		1			0			0		2	2	1	2	3	
6			0			0	3		3			0			0			0	3	0	3	
7			0			0			0			0			0			0	0	0	0	
8			0			0			0			0			0			0	0	0	0	
1-8th	1	0	1	0	2	2	9	2	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	10	9	19	
	10	0	5.3	0	22	11	90	22	57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	55	26	drop out % by case			

Source: organized from Selewa Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 12: Mamed full cycle primary school drop out by grade, case and gender, 2005/06 Both Shift**

Grade	Causes of Drop out																				
	Lose of Interest			Health			local emigration			Abroad emigration			Family influence			Marriage			Total		
	boy	Girl	total	boy	Girl	total	boy	girl	total	boy	girl	total	boy	girl	total	boy	girl	total	boy	Girl	total
1			0			0			0			0		2	2			0	0	2	2
2			0			0			0			0			0			0	0	0	0
3			0			0			0			0		1	1			0	0	1	1
4			0			0			0			0		1	1		3	3	0	4	4
5			0			0	3	1	4			0	2		2		1	1	5	2	7
6			0			0	2		2			0			0			0	2	0	2
7			0			0			0			0			0			0	0	0	0
8			0			0			0			0			0			0	0	0	0
1-8th	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	6	0	0	0	2	4	6	0	4	4	7	9	16
	0	0	0	0	0	0	71.4	11.1	37.5	0	0	0	28.6	44	38	0	44	25	drop out % by case		

Source: organized from Mmed Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 13: Bati primary school five years drop out trend by grade**

E. years	2001/02			2002/03			2003/04			2004/05			2005/06		
Grade	Boys	Girls	total	Boys	girls	total	boys	girls	total	Boys	Girls	total	boys	girls	Total
1	25	21	46	25	20	45	20	16	36	21	22	43	19	10	29
2	11	5	16	14	17	31	12	12	24	9	10	19	5	4	9
3	9	9	18	15	10	25	9	11	20	6	2	8	10	6	16
4	3	5	8	10	10	20	11	12	23	8	8	16	7	4	11
5	44	27	71	36	33	69	22	12	34	26	16	42	12	15	27
6	9	4	13	12	18	30	12	14	26	25	19	44	9	11	20
7	21	14	35	34	22	56	24	22	46	37	31	68	20	13	33
8	10	10	20	13	15	28	42	31	73	26	15	41	33	27	60
<b>1 to 8</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>304</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>205</b>

Source: organized from Bati Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 14: Bati primary school five years Repetition trend by grade**

E. years Grade	2001/02			2002/03			2003/04			2004/05			2005/06		
	Boys	girls	Total	Boys	girls	total	boys	girls	total	boys	Girls	total	boys	girls	Total
1	28	26	54				18	14	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	25	20	45				16	26	42	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	14	10	24				21	21	42	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	10	12	22				23	14	37	5	6	11	5	7	12
5	68	101	169				26	39	65	0	0	0	16	16	32
6	36	49	85				4	4	8	0	2	2	5	4	9
7	40	48	88				6	4	10	1	3	4	28	33	61
8	110	97	207				42	40	82	55	89	144	121	111	232
<b>1 to 8</b>	<b>331</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>694</b>				<b>156</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>346</b>

Source: organized from Bati Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 15: Bati primary school five years Enrolment by grade**

E. years Grade	2001/02			2002/03			2003/04			2004/05			2005/06		
	Boys	Girls	total	Boys	Girls	total	boys	girls	total	boys	girls	total	boys	girls	Total
1	216	216	432	161	157	318	181	151	332	165	163	328	128	132	260
2	155	167	322	200	202	402	133	149	282	149	134	283	137	136	273
3	235	230	465	151	170	321	196	187	383	147	140	287	156	132	288
4	188	205	393	220	224	444	139	168	307	178	181	359	147	143	290
5	294	277	571	316	316	632	273	284	557	190	193	383	247	214	461
6	186	159	345	228	199	427	263	242	505	243	243	486	171	185	356
7	184	146	330	252	185	437	281	203	484	353	262	615	322	259	581
8	165	119	284	207	157	364	292	219	511	265	177	442	409	323	732
<b>1 to 8</b>	<b>1623</b>	<b>1519</b>	<b>3142</b>	<b>1735</b>	<b>1610</b>	<b>3345</b>	<b>1758</b>	<b>1603</b>	<b>3361</b>	<b>1690</b>	<b>1493</b>	<b>3183</b>	<b>1717</b>	<b>1524</b>	<b>3241</b>

Source: organized from Bati Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 16: Mamed primary school three years drop out trend by grade and gender**

Grade	2002/03				2003/04				2004/05				2005/06			
	boy	girl	Total	F%	boys	girls	total	girls'	Boys	girls	total	girls'	boys	Girls	total	girls'
1					19	8	27	29.6	16	3	19	15.8	10	2	12	16.7
2					2	3	5	60	9	20	29	69.0	4	4	8	50
3					0	3	3	100	5	5	10	50	3	0	3	0
4					2	4	6	66.67	0	6	6	100	3	3	6	50
5					10	2	12	16.67	7	2	9	22.2	10	0	10	0
6							0		3	5	8	62.5	3	0	3	0
7							0				0		2	2	4	50
8							0				0		0	0	0	
1 to 8					<b>33</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>37.7</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>23.9</b>

Source: organized from Mamed Primary School unpublished documents

**Table. 17: Research participant Students' supporters or initiators for their schooling by school and sex**

Initiators	Bati Primary school				Selewa primary				Mamed				both sample schools			
	girl	girl %	boy	Boy %	girl	girl %	boy	Boy %	girl	Girl %	boy	Boy %	Girl	girl %	boys	Boy%
Mother	1		0		0		1		1		0		2	18.2	1	8.3
Father	0		1		3		4		2		0		5	45.5	5	41.7
Both/M+F/	3		1		0		1		0		2		3	27.3	4	33.3
Uncle	0		0		1		0		0		0		1	9.1	0	0
Kebele.adm	0		1		0		0		0		0		0	0	1	8.3
None	0		0		0		1		0		0		0	0	1	8.3
Total	4		3		4		7		3		2		11	100	12	100

Source: Organized from Sample school student FGD student participants' Personal profile, May 2007