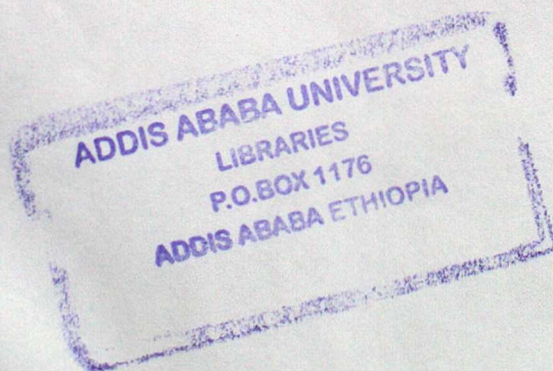


**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**THE EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES OF MUSLIM-KARAYU
SCHOOL ADOLESCENTS: A SOCIOCULTURAL
DEVELOPMENTAL SURVEY**

AYELE KEBEDE

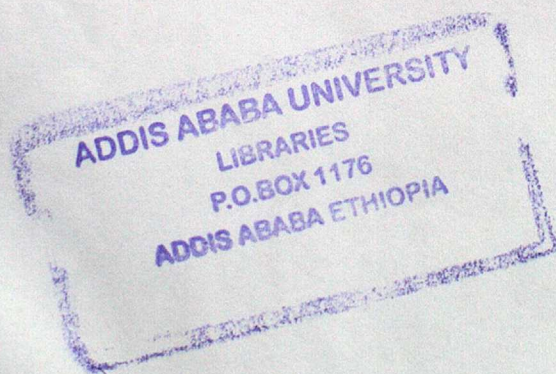
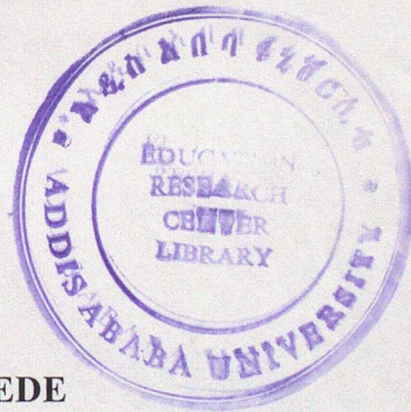


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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis
Ababa University

In partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Developmental Psychology



By
Ayele kebede

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Acronyms

ILO- International Labor Organization

UNESCO- United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

Abstract

The everyday activities of Muslim-Karayu school adolescents were studied. Spot observations were conducted to observe school adolescents' cultural everyday activities in different contexts (home, workplace, with peers, with siblings, etc.) and at different times of the day (in the morning, at noon, in the afternoon, and at evening). The adolescents, their same sex parents and sampled teachers were interviewed. The everyday activities of Muslim-Karayu school adolescents were predicted to be the same as unschooled Muslim-Karayu adolescents' everyday activities and, their activity orientation value with their same sex parents' activity orientation value respectively. Compared to the unschooled ones, school adolescent boys' everyday activities were significantly improved to take roles assigned for girls. But, from among school adolescent girls, no one took any role assigned for boys though they preferred changing to preserving gender specific everyday activities. It was concluded that school significantly influence Karayu school adolescent boys to take roles assigned for girls. It also influenced activity orientation value of both sampled school adolescent boys and girls. On the contrary, the everyday activities in general and gender specific everyday activities in particular influence school enrolment and retention.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

From the life-span perspective, development is contextual, and in contextual view the individual is considered to be a changing being in a changing world. He/she responds to and acts on contexts, which include a person's biological make up, physical environment, cognitive process, and sociocultural contexts (Santrock, 2002). However, some developmental psychologists emphasize only inner biological factor while others ignore it.

Among those who emphasize inner biological factors, Arnold Gesell (1929 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002) did not pay attention to the cultural context of development. He emphasized internal biological factor (a process he termed maturation-children progress when they are ready), arguing that the role of the environment is simply to support and nurture children's natural tendencies in development. On the contrary, the American behaviorists see no limits to the trainability of human beings. For instance, the famous boast of Watson (1924 cited in Myers, 1998:252), "Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I will guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist, I might select-doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief, and, yes, even beggar-man, and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors".

The ecological system approach of Bronfenbrenner (1993 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) emphasizes the reciprocal relationships between or among children, their parents, other family members, larger social and cultural traditions as well as the interaction among biological, sociocultural and psychological

factors in human development. The significant contributions of his view of culture and environment to one's development are better understood through the developmental niche of Super and Harkness (1994 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) that different components of culture work together as a system and how parents and children behave within normal everyday activities.

Miller (1993) stated that social and cultural contexts define and shape any particular child experience. Accordingly, social practices relate child's needs and goals to the environment and define what environment means to the child. Children behave in certain ways because they have needs and goals that involve the environment. Thus, current contextualists view a child in a context participating in some event as the smallest meaningful unit of study. They believe that separation of a child from his/her environment is artificial and distorting. Dybdahl (1998 cited in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002: 28) says, "Children must be studied in the context and culture in which they live and of which they are a part."

1.1. Framework

Some contextualists' approaches are very useful for better understanding of how a child is socialized and is shaped by context or ecology.

The ecological system approach composed of four interrelated systems (microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem) and the fifth one chronosystem allows one to look at human development, and socialization as they occur in their real world settings or ecology. This approach, combined with certain elements of developmental niche (a theoretical framework for looking at how a child's daily life is culturally shaped and how various aspects of a factor guide the developmental process by focusing on a child as the unit of analysis within his/her sociocultural settings or context) helps for better understanding of socialization and its effect on human development ([Bronfenbrenner, 1979 ; Super and Harkness, 1986, 1994, 1989] in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002; Santrck, 2002).

As Muuss (1996 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) points out, healthy microsystem is one based on reciprocity, especially in the relationships between parents and adolescents. In the ecology of mesosystem, which links the adolescent's various microsystems such as family, school and peers, conflicts exist between the parents' values and peer group's values. An adolescent may not actively participate in the third ecological level-exosystem, much of what goes on there; for instance, local government meetings, in parents' workplace and the like indirectly affect them. The final system, adolescent's macrosystem includes culture, political, legal, social, religious, economic, educational values and so on.

In many cultures, boys and girls are rewarded and praised for behaving according to the cultural gender specific behaviors. They are socialized in their particular culture and take part in everyday activities permit them to be successfully functioning within it. Children learn to conform to the roles that culture considers consistent with their biological sex (Gardiner & Kosmitzki, 2002).

Researches show that in many societies children learn cultural everyday activities from their parents, elder siblings, peers, and others in workplaces.

Applying Developmental Niche model, Dybdahl (1996 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) studied Somali children in Mogadishu. She interviewed twenty mothers (mean age thirty) and twenty-three children (mean age ten). She emphasized on normative childcare, and the roles played by parents and children in Somali culture. Her first component of developmental niche is characterized by the pastoralist life-style, which emphasizes on the extended family and clan, work and household chores, particularly, care for younger siblings, and other activities. The second component is characterized by socialization practices of learning in formal school; and informal learning (which is very much important means of learning by which children are taught everyday activities as household chores). Based on her finding from interviews and observations, she argues that Somali societies represent a mix of "traditionalism" and "modernism", and "individualism and "collectivism". Finally, she concluded that children must be studied in the context and cultures they live in.

As socializing agents parents, siblings, peers, culture and school play roles. In traditional societies, boys and girls learn gender roles

from same sex parents, siblings or others in a workplace. Rogoff (1990 in Miller, 1993) illustrated a cultural apprenticeship; the way by which Mayan girls learn weaving on a loom-an important cultural skill through active verbal or nonverbal participation in real settings with more skilled persons. Very young girls watch their mothers and other adult women weave. By age five, they are plaiting long leaves on a play loom fashioned from pieces of thread they find. By age seven, they weave with help on a real loom and by age nine, weave simple items independently.

In unrestricted household, especially father's role in gender socialization seems important (Fagot and Leinbach, 1995 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002). In an observational study of 4-year olds in Cambridge, England, and Budapest, Hungary, boys and girls whose fathers did more household and childcare were less aware of gender stereotypes and engaged in less gender typed activities (Turner and Gervai, 1995 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002).

Siblings play a significant role in the socialization of children as their parents do. For instance, in some east African cultures, the sibling is the primary socialization agent for the infant and toddler; where as mother's role is to watch, to nurture and to protect (Edwards and Whiting in Hughes, Noppe and Noppe, 1996).

Peers begin to reinforce gender typed behavior by age 3. They show disapproval of boys who act "like girls" than of girls who act "like boys" (Ruble and Martin, 1998 in Papalia, Olds, and Feldman, 2002). By age 4, they know more which behaviors peers consider gender appropriate (Bussey and Bandura, 1992 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002). Study conducted on 4- year olds British and

Hungarian children supported this. Children were less affected by parents' gender typing than peers' and at this age, such choices may be more strongly influenced by peers and the media than the models children see at home (Turner and Gervai, 1995 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002).

Indeed, culture influences children's development. The study of how cultural practices affect the development of Hindu girls in a village in Nepal shows that if they touched the plow their brothers were using, they were severely rebuked. In this way they learned that as females they were restricted from acts their brothers were expected to perform (Skinner, 1998 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002).

Harkness and Super (1985 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) reported that rural Kenyan children are segregated by gender starting at about age six years due to gender specific duties expected from boys and girls. Children actively define and explore gender relations within the parameters set by cultural expectations.

Schools provide education which usually affects society by socializing individuals. They organize networks of socializing experiences, which prepare individuals to act in society. Such institution clearly has impact on society over and above the immediate socializing experiences it offers the young (Meyers, 1979).

All the above research results show that culture, contexts (e.g. family, peers, school, etc...) and gender influence children's socialization and development.

In pastoralist people, particularly the Karayu, girls and boys act according to the roles assigned to them. For instance, girls learn important gender specific activities and take part in everyday activities like cooking, caring for younger siblings and the like. Boys' everyday activities include herding camel, milking camel and building animals' shelter.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Pastoralists differ in their life-style from the dominant sedentary societies. The Karayu pastoralists move with their herds from place to place in search of pasture and water. They are among the underprivileged group of people due to their pastoralist life-style, which involve seasonal movement (Lensa Gudina and Carol Yohannes, 2001).

The Karayu have been suffering from drought. They were fighting with the neighboring pastoralists on the use of pasture and water. Shortage of water in the area had served as cause of conflict between the Karayu and their neighboring people. These problems, culture and belief result in unschooled majority of Karayu's school age children, particularly in unschooled girls (Lensa Gudina and Carol Yohannes, 2001; Piguet, 2002). Denebo Dekeba (2005) concluded that besides the majority being unschooled, Karayu's conflict with the neighboring people made the number of dropouts notably high in 2004/5 because many Karayu adolescent boys left the school during the conflict and joined the fight. Denebo recommended on the actions to be taken that the government should agree to the request made by the UN Special Rapporteur to visit Ethiopia on the "Right to Education" paying particular attention to the situation of pastoralists during the visit.

One of the main root causes of Karayu's impoverishment is the lack of education. Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF), founded in 1992 mainly works on education in Karayu area has built the school named Dandi Gudina in a place called Dhebiti (a place of thirst) and it has been viewed as "saaqaa dukkanaa" which means a sparkle in the dark. Karayu children for the first time in their history began to attend modern education joining the school in October 1995. Herding of sheep and goats gave way to defined curriculum to some children (Lensa Gudina and Carol Yohannes, 2001). The number of children receiving modern education through Dandi Gudina exceeded five hundred in 2002 (GTF Women's Center Reports, April, 2003). Even so, the number of Karayu girls attending this education is every small as compared to that of the boys.

The Karayu mothers along with their daughters spend the day together on household and other everyday activities like cooking, churning milk, gathering firewood, fetching water from a river, childcare, and milking cow and goats. A Karayu girl looks after her younger siblings and watches her family's animals and a young girl carries baby (Christian-Aid UK, 2001). The community and parents emphasize females' roles in such activities as childcare and cooking. A poem by Alia Hawas (a Dandi Gudina 8th grade student in 2002/2003) shows the adolescents' strong complaint and challenge of these traditional beliefs. This read as follows: "Do You Understand Me?" "---Don't oppress me because of my biological sex; don't damage my feelings using slanderous words. Don't say 'girls are useless!' Treat me as equal because I'm equal. --Who will understand my pains? I'm part of you; don't hurt me! --- Leave your old way; let's grow together out of ignorance---. Educate me, I will help you tomorrow" (GTF Women's Center Report, 2003:5).

Adolescent boys and adult men take the responsibilities for the camels. In addition, when there are conflicts with the neighboring people, they take part in fighting.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objectives

- To find out the influence of school (education) on Karayu adolescents' everyday activities.
- To identify the influences of cultural activities on school enrolment and retention.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To examine how the Karayu adolescent girls and boys learn important cultural and practical activities necessary for living among Karayu pastoralists from the daily guidance provided by their parents (caregivers) and others.
- To identify the influences of gender socialization on sharing tasks and responsibilities of adolescent boys and girls.
- To identify the difference between Karayu school and unschooled adolescents in performing roles assigned for girls.
- To identify the difference between activity orientation value of school adolescents and same sex parents.
- To suggest the problem for further studies.

1.3.3 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were set to see the influences of school on Karayu adolescents' gender specific everyday activities and activity orientation values.

1. Education and relations with school adolescents from other cultures equally influence Muslim-Karayu school adolescents' gender specific everyday activities and activity orientation value.
2. Selected school adolescents of Muslim-Karayu gender specific everyday activities are the same with the unschooled ones.
3. The relative proportion of Muslim-Karayu school adolescents' activity orientation value is the same as their same sex parents.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study tries to find out the everyday activities of Karayu boys and girls, and how they learn these activities. In addition, it tries to identify the unequal sharing of tasks and responsibilities of boys and girls. Moreover, it tries to identify the differences or similarities between the everyday activities of school adolescents and unschooled ones; and activity orientation value of school adolescents and same sex parents.

1.4. Operational Definitions

For the purpose of clarity and understanding, the following definitions of terms are used.

Activity Orientation Value: Preferences for changing or preserving cultural gender specific everyday activities.

Adolescent: Unmarried boy or girl who performs partly or fully same sex parent's everyday activities independently.

Context: Family members, peers, workplace, community, school and others surrounding and influence one's socialization in everyday activities and activity orientation values.

Culture: People's learned behavior or everyday activities passed on from parents to children.

Gender: Culturally determined and accepted everyday activities only restricted to either male or female.

Gender Roles: Everyday activities particular people considers appropriate to boys or girls in the particular culture.

Guided Participation: Way of learning the everyday activities through participation in others activities.

Informal Learning: A means by which children learn such everyday activities as household chores, childcare techniques and so on from the surrounding settings.

Socialization: The process by which children are taught the particular cultural gender and age appropriate everyday activities from the surrounding contexts.

1.5. Delimitation of the Study

Children of indigenous societies are socialized mostly in a stereotyped way to perform activities according to their age and culture gender roles. As one develops from early childhood through

adolescence, influences of peers, community and religion become intense. Through informal education, skills in cultural activities such as household chores and childcare techniques improve. For instance, Karayu adolescents master or independently perform almost all gender appropriate everyday activities. On the other hand, school may offer fair education; for instance, gender analysis and values like justice, equality and freedom to eliminate stereotyped beliefs on the boys and girls gender roles. This study is delimited to the everyday activities of 30 (10 school girls, 10 school boys and 10 unschooled boys) Muslim-Karayu adolescents.

Muslim-Karayu adolescents who attended the public second cycle primary schools were included in the study as it was not possible to include Christians and traditional religion followers who attended Dandi Gudina boarding school.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Literature

The major topics covered in this chapter are: contextualists approach to development, ecological system approach and developmental niche, socialization, sociocultural gender role description, gender typing and values.

2.1. Contextualists' Approach to Development

Human beings develop within a social and historical context. Vygotsky's (1978 in Valsiner, 2000) theory of sociocultural development, Bronfenbrenner (1979 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) ecological system approach, and Super and Harkness (1986, 1994, 1995 and 1999, in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) developmental niche help to understand the role contexts and cultural practices play on individual development. This is to suggest that all activities are inextricably bound up with context. Children learn their culturally acceptable everyday activities through the social situation in which they engage in activities with families, peers and others.

Children learn their culture everyday activities doing things with the social contexts; for instance, they learn societal and cultural gender specific roles interacting with parents, siblings and peers (Zarbatany, Hartaman, and Rankin, 1990 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002).

Cole (1992_b in Miller, 1993), however, argues that though cultural social functions and socialization processes play roles on

individual development, the culturally different approach should not ignore the fact that the ability to construct and operate in a culturally-organized environment is a universal, species specific characteristic. Buss (1991 in Myers, 1998) points out that our important universal species characteristic is our capacity to learn and adapt. Ironically, this fundamental likeness enables human diversity. Myers (1998:32) says, "It is truly said that we are each in certain respects like all others, like some others and like no others."

2.2. Ecological System Approach and Developmental Niche

Ecological systems approach in combination with some elements of developmental niche helps for better understanding the bidirectional nature of socialization. The ecological systems approach consists of four nested systems: microsystem (e.g., family, school, etc...), mesosystem (e.g., interpersonal relationship of home, church, school, etc...), exosystem (e.g., parents' workplace, etc...), macrosystem (e.g., attitudes and ideologies of the culture, etc), and fifth system, chronosystem -time dimension or transitions over life courses or sociohistorical conditions (e.g., war, famine, divorce and the like)(Bronfenbrenner, 1993, in Santrock, 2002).

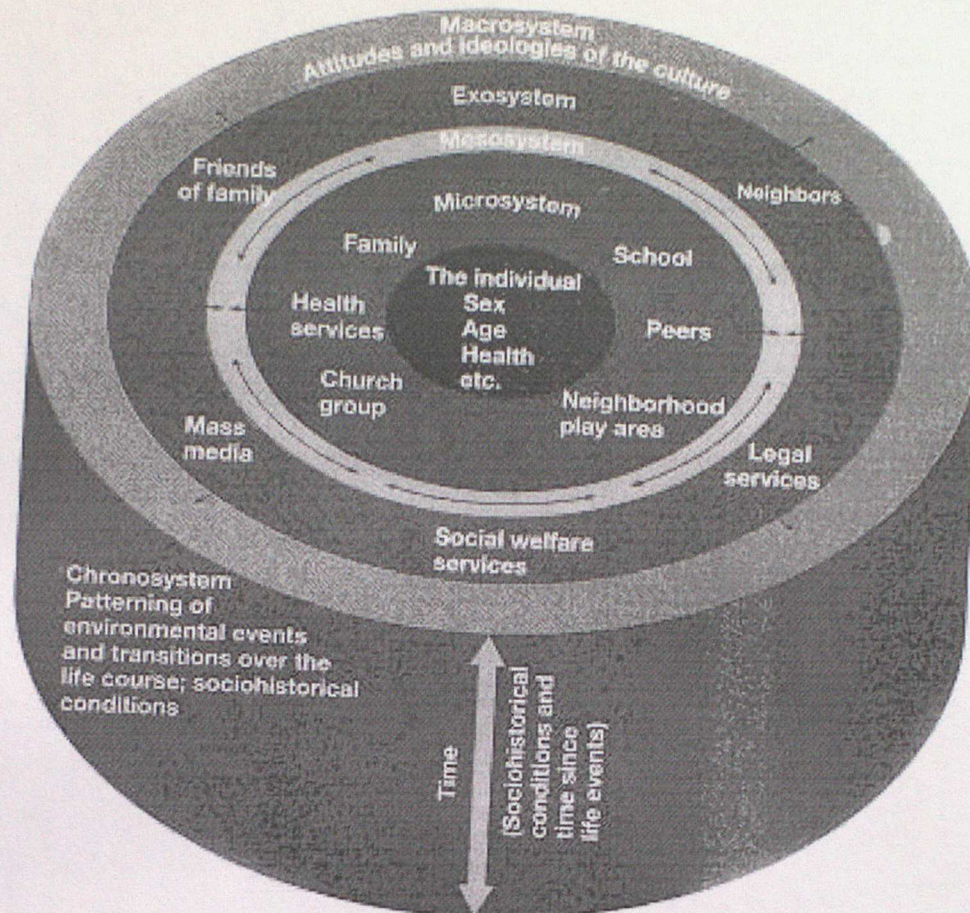


Figure 2.1 Ecological Model of Human Development

Source: U. Bronfenbrenner, 2000 in Santrock, 2002:44.

Super and Harkness (1994 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) points out that the concept of developmental niche emerged from cross-cultural research conducted in Kenya. This concept shows how different components of culture work together as a system and how children act in everyday settings. There are three major components of the developmental niche: physical and social settings of daily life in which a child lives (e.g., family structure such as nuclear, extended, single parent, etc...), culturally regulated customs of childcare and childrearing practices (e.g., work patterns, formal versus informal learning, etc...), and psychology of caretakers or psychological characteristics of child's parents (e.g., parental cultural beliefs).

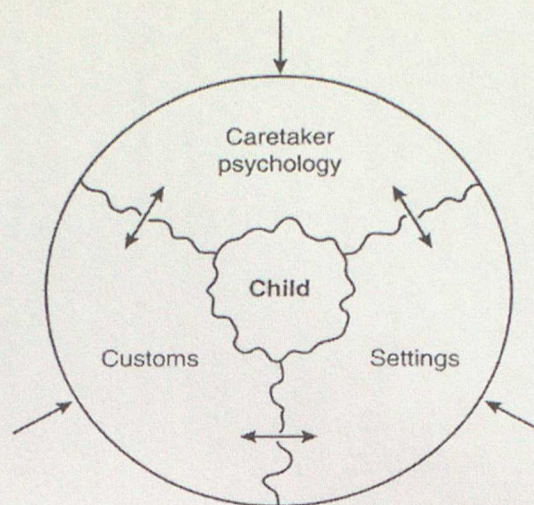


Figure 2.2 Model of Developmental Niche

Source: Super and Harkness (1997 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002: 26)

Applying developmental niche to psychology, Super and Harkness (1999 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002) stated that at the center of developmental niche, there is a particular child of certain age, sex, and with certain psychological disposition. The three components (physical settings, customs, and the psychology of the caretakers) interact and function as a dynamic but not always completely coordinated system in which the individual niche adapts and mutually influential. They point out that this framework can be equally applied to adult development by extending the third component (psychology of the caretakers) to include the psychology of others; for instance, mates and coworkers.

2.3. Socialization

Through the process of socialization, children develop habits, skills, values and motives that make them responsible and productive members of society (Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002).

Society teaches desirable behavior (culturally important traditions) while inhibiting "undesirable behavior", and prepares individuals to become successfully functioning members. This process is through principal socialization agents (family, peers, school, community and so on). Most of the children's socialization experiences in many societies take place in informal settings (e.g., with the family, among peers, and community members) and are a fundamental part of one's daily activities. Socialization is a process of initiating a child into a system of reciprocity, which begins with the parents and extends to peers, community and school (Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002; Marccoby, 1992 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002).

The interaction between the parent and the child is reciprocal or bidirectional, which means that children socialize parents just as parents socialize children (Rogoff, 1990 in Gardiner and Kosmitzki, 2002). In one study, looking at each other, the mother and infant engaged in a variety of behavior. However, the rate of such behavior dropped significantly when they looked away from each other (Stern and Others, 1977 in Santrock, 2002).

As socializing agents, parents and other family members play roles during early years. Peers, community, culture, school, media and other social contexts also significantly influence gender role development. When a child enters middle childhood years, peers influences become stronger. Especially, peer demands for conformity to gender roles become intense during adolescence (Santrock, 2002).

Cultural values, skills, beliefs, motives (and so forth) are transmitted from parents to offspring (known as vertical cultural

transmission) and one learns from one's peers (known as horizontal cultural transmission) during the course of development from birth to adulthood. For the process that takes place entirely within one's own culture, the terms enculturation and socialization are employed while for the process derives from contact with another culture, the terms acculturation and resocialization are used (Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen, 1992).

2.3.1 Cultural Transmission

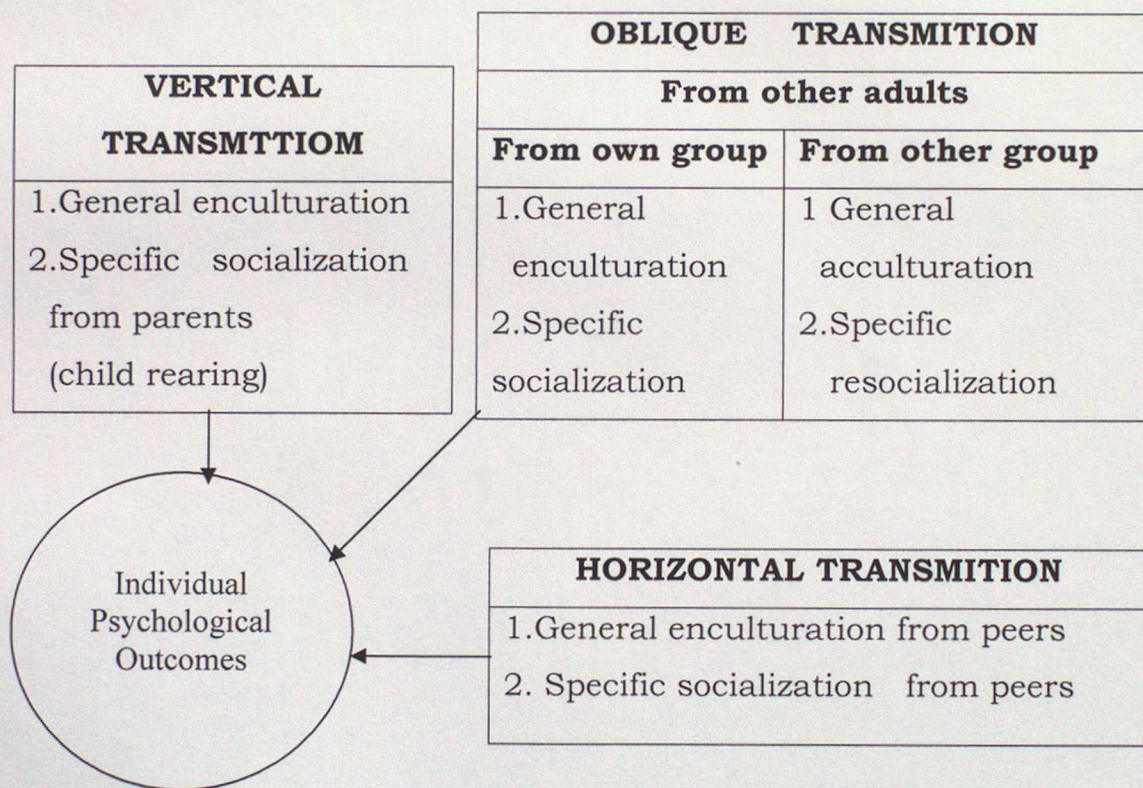


Figure 2.3 Vertical, horizontal and oblique from of cultural transformation
Source: Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen, 1992:18.

Children learn their society's 'cognitive apprenticeship' probably working with a master craftsperson in traditional societies according to their cultural gender role. The cognitive apprenticeship approach proposes that learners should engage in meaningful learning and problem solving whilst working with

authentic problems ([Collins, 1991, 1998; Rogoff and Lave, 1994] in Daniels, 2002). Arguing from a perspective that is influenced by sociocultural theory, Rogoff (1995 in Daniels, 2002) suggests that there are three inseparable, mutually constituting planes of analysis each of which is associated with specific forms of developmental processes.

2.3.2 Plane of Analysis of developmental Processes

Planes of analysis	Developmental Processes
Personal	Participatory appropriation
Interpersonal	Guided participation
Community processes	Apprenticeship

Figure 2.4 Source: Adapted from Daniels, 2002: 88

Rogoff and others (1993 in Daniels, 2002) recognize the careful analysis of participation structures in their study of guided participation. They view individual development on interactions with other people in which societal values, intellectual tools and cultural institutions (family, peers, community and the like) function as mediating artifacts. Guided participation often occurs in a shared play and activities to socialize children culturally.

2.4 Sociocultural Gender Role Socialization

Gender role should be described depending on the context; settings involve in the appropriateness of gender role socialization. Males and females might be socialized according to their religion

and culture predominates. For instance, Egyptian males are socialized to work in the public sphere, while females in the private world of home, child rearing and household because the Islamic religion predominates in Egypt dictates that the man's duty is to provide for his family and the women's to care for her family and household. Activity or behaviors of male or female out of these traditionally masculine and feminine gender roles are severely disapproved (Santrock, 2002).

2.5 Gender Typing

Social and cultural influences create gender differences in gender typing. In many societies, girls and women accept unequal distribution of housework and childcare responsibility due to strong support of traditional societal standards and values (Major, 1993 in Feldman, 1997). The illiterate society's girls spend more time on household chores (Larson and Verma, 1996 in Papalia, Olds and Feldman, 2002).

CHAPTER THREE

Method

The major components of this chapter include: sample, study area, tools of data collection, procedure of data collection and method of data analysis.

3.1 Sample

Grade five to eight, Karayu adolescent boys and girls, parents, unschooled adolescents and teachers were included in the sample as summarized below:

Table I: Sample Members

Adolescents			Parents		Teachers	
Boys		Girls	Fathers	Mothers	Males	Females
School	Unschooled					
10	10	10	10	10	5	5

School adolescents and teachers were selected by probability sampling method. Only ten school boys and ten school girls, same sex parents, and five male and five female teachers were included in the study because it was difficult to observe more than this number of people (ten boys and ten girls) in different contexts at different times of the day. Ten unschooled adolescent boys were selected by incidental sapling method because they can be far away from house.

3.2. Study Area

The Karayu pastoralists belong to the Oromo are indigenous people. They inhabit Fantale district of Oromia and to a lesser extent Boset district within the Great Rift Valley in the Awash River basin, about 200km east of Addis Ababa. They are structurally organized into two major socio-economic and cultural units of Gada Groups namely Basso and Dulacha (Denebo, 2005). Few of the Karayu are Christians, a few are Islam, and others follow indigenous Oromo religion (Les Thorne, 2003). The Karayu have been compelled to move farther north to the River Bulga due to the establishment of the Awash National Park, the Upper Awash Agro Industry and the Metahara Sugar Factory (Denebo, 2005). Muslim Karayu live at Galcha-Ajotar pastoralist kebele and to a lesser extent at neighboring kebeles. Ittu Oromo, live among them.

The Karayu pastoralists live in Fantale district, which is composed of 18 rural and two urban kebeles. The 18 rural kebeles are subdivided into eight pastoralist kebeles (Fantale Debit, Haro-Karsa, Ilala-Karari, Tututi, Daga-Du, Kobo, Banti Mogasa, and Galcha-Ajotar), seven agro-pastoralist kebeles (Kanifa, Fate Ledi, Sara-Waba, Gidara-Kubi, Diresadan, Godo-Fafate, and Turo-Badanota) and three settled agro-pastoralist kebeles (Gara-Dima, Golala, and Algea). The two urban kebeles are Matahara and Haro Adi (Piguet, 2002).

According to the central statistical agency (CSA) 1994 population census, the total population of Karayu was 60048 of which 31638 were males and 28410 females. The urban and rural population was about 11934 and 48114 respectively. Based on the 1994 population census and the agency (CSA), 3 percent annual growth, the reasonable population of Karayu estimates 88179 consisting of 46460 (52.6%) males and 41719 (47.4%) females.

3.3 Tools of Data Collection

Spot observations along with open-ended interviews and scales were used. Spot observations were used to identify the cultural everyday activities of sampled adolescents and parents. In addition, photographs were taken while observing the subjects. Each school adolescent was observed four times on various settings (performing activities independently, assisting parents or elder siblings, and working with peers) from 30 minutes to one hour at different times of the day (before noon, at noon, in the afternoon, evening). The observations were conducted with the help of Ali Fantale (a grade eleven student not included in the sample), Mohammed Waday and Roba Bulga.

Sample members were interviewed. Interviews conducted with some sample members were recorded on a tape recorder. To measure the perception of the selected school adolescents about the influence of education and school peers on their gender specific everyday activities and activity orientation value, scales from 1 to 7, 1 being "no effect" and 7 being "large effect" were used.

3.4 Procedure of Data Collection

Sampled school adolescents were observed in different settings (at home, workplace, working with peers, siblings, etc...) and at different times of the day (before noon, at noon, in the afternoon, at evening). They were given a pair of questions that measured effect of education and relations with children from other cultures on their gender specific everyday activities and activity orientation value. Two questions (the first question asked the effect of education and the second question asked the effect of relations) on

scales from 1 to 7, 1 being "no effect" and 7 being "large effect" were asked. School adolescent boys and girls, their parents and teachers were interviewed. Activity orientation value was measured through the use of individual responses. Ten unschooled adolescent boys were simply interviewed to serve as a control group to see the influence of school on school adolescent boys who are involved in roles assigned for girls.

3.5 Methods of Data Analysis

The data analysis was both qualitative and quantitative. Gender and age appropriate everyday activities and socialization practices were qualitatively described. Answers of the respondents to interviews and the results of observations were analyzed in terms of meanings of the culture of the people.

The effect of education and relations with school peers on sampled Karayu school adolescents' gender specific everyday activities and activity orientation value were compared by mean responses (mean rating). The improvement shown by school adolescent boys to take part in roles that are assigned for girls was compared with the improvement shown by the unschooled ones.

To see the difference between school adolescents and same sex parents' activity orientation value, Chi-square 2x2 contingency table was applied. Since frequency (count) data are involved and each sample preferrer can fall into only one cell of the resulting contingency table, Chi-square is the most appropriate statistical procedure.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results, Discussion and Major Findings

4.1 Results

The data collected from the respondents through spot observations, open-ended interviews and scales were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. Mean responses (mean ratings) comparison and 2x2 contingency Chi-square tables were applied for the quantitative analysis. Twenty school adolescents (ten boys, mean age fifteen, and ten girls, mean age fourteen) were observed. They also rated scales. These adolescents, twenty parents (ten fathers, mean age forty-four, and ten mothers, mean age thirty-five), and ten teachers (five males, mean age twenty-five, and five females, mean age twenty-four) were interviewed. In addition, ten unschooled adolescent boys were interviewed to serve as a control group.

Table II: Age and Educational Status of Respondents

Age and Educational Level		Respondents						
		Adolescents		Parents		Teachers		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	
Age	12-15years	8	8	-	-	-	-	16
	16-17years	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
	20-35years	-	-	2	6	5	5	18
	35-55years	-	-	7	4	-	-	11
	>55years	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Level of Education	Unschooled	10	-	10	10	-	-	30
	5-8	10	10	-	-	-	-	20
	12(10) +TTI	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
	Diploma	-	-	-	-	3	3	6

4.1.1 Gender Specific and Gender Free Activities

In Karayu, most of the everyday activities are gender specific while some are not. For instance, fetching water from a river, gathering firewood, caring for babies, cooking, milking cow and goats, grinding grains, churning milk, selling animal products, and shelter building (occasional) are females' culturally defined everyday activities. Males look after camels, milk camels, sell animals, and build animals' shelters. Herding calves, cattle, goats and sheep are gender free activities.

Children learn gender specific and gender free activities through guided participation (for instance, cooking, churning milk, herding animals, etc.) informally working with skilled people usually same sex parent or elder siblings.

4.1.1.1 Gender Free Everyday Activities

Few activities are gender free. All sampled adolescents, mothers and fathers reported that from age five to six, both boys and girls look after goats and sheep. They look after kids before they come to look after goats and sheep at age about four. The observations conducted support this. The activity is gender free and children learn it through guided participation assisting their elder siblings, or parents and working with peers. From age seven to eight, they can perform by their own. Skilled people guide them verbally how and where to graze, and how to protect their sheep and goats falling preys to fox.

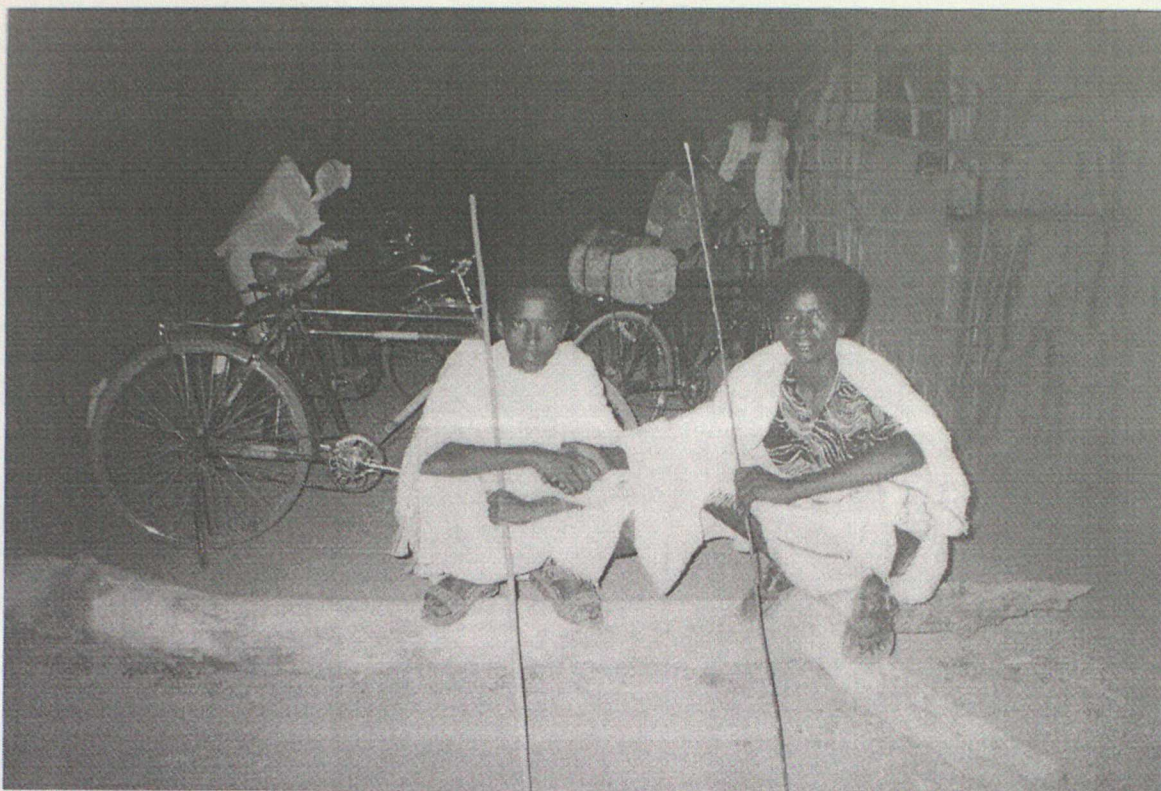
Male and female children herd calves. They perform the activity at about age five or six with peers, or elder siblings or by their own. Herding calves is usually performed in areas not far from village.

Boys and girls herd cattle. The activity is not gender specific. Children may herd cattle at about age five or six assisting their parents, elder siblings or working with peers. All sample members, except teachers reported that girls/women did not herd cattle around the boundaries of Karayu and their neighboring pastoralists due to conflict on the use of pasture and water. Carrying their guns, adolescent boys or fathers herd in the areas of the boundaries and protect their cattle and camels from armed robbery. During the winter (beginning from the end of November), cattle are simply driven into pasture but stay the whole day with no need to be looked after.

4.1.1.2 Gender Specific Everyday Activities

Gender discrimination starts at about age three to four between boys and girls of Karayu. At this age, if girls gathered firewood from the surrounding, their family members and others would reward them. However, if a male did it, his work would be disapproved.

From the results of observations and interviews conducted with parents and adolescents, fetching water is culturally females' responsibility. A girl may help her mother through guided participation at about age five with little container of about three liters. From age thirteen to fourteen, she can perform on her own. But, some school adolescent boys fetch water riding on bicycle.



A School Adolescent, Mohammed Waday (Right) with His Unschooled Friend (Left) on His way to Fetch Water on His Bicycle

Likewise, from age five to six, a girl gathers firewood from the surrounding and at about thirteen to fourteen, she may gather from distant places with peers, or mother or other women.



Eight Years Old Girl Walks Home Carrying Firewood on Her Back

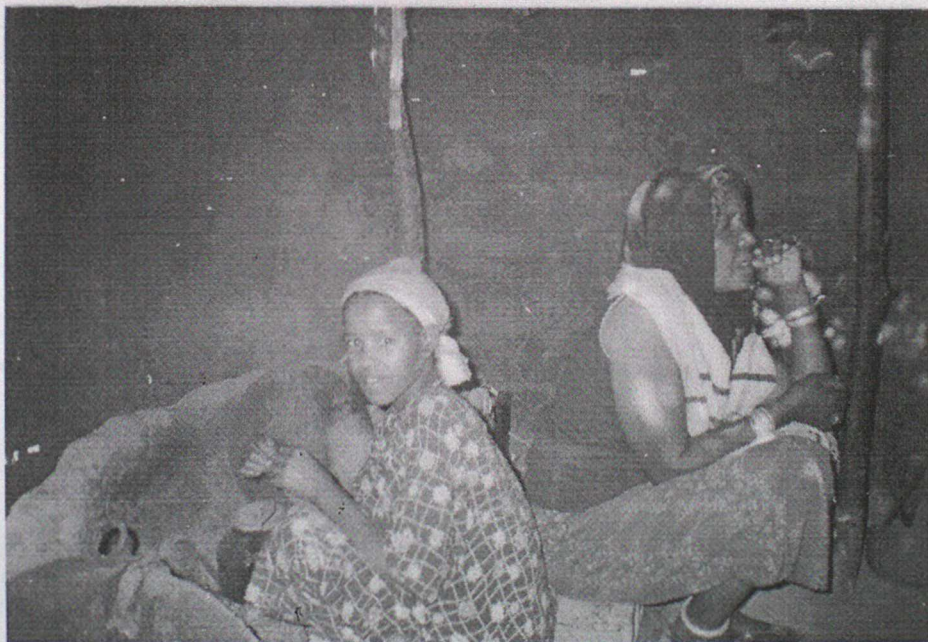
Sampled parents and adolescents reported that girls of four to five years begin to care for their younger siblings. Mothers give protection while performing their usual household chores; for instance, cooking.

From the results of observations and interviews conducted, cooking is an everyday activity of females. At about age six, girls assist their mothers or elder sisters. Guided participation is usual ways of learning the activity. Sometimes, more skilled people

(mothers or elder sisters) may teach verbally the procedure or the roles novices play to give assistance. From age thirteen to fourteen, girls may cook all cultural food on their own.



Fourteen Years Old, Grade Five Eleemo Kasaru Baking Bread



Twelve Years Old, Grade Five, Iftu Basha Preparing Drink from Milk and Coffee

Girls assist their mothers milking goat and cow from age seven to eight. They may milk goats at age nine and milk cow at age fourteen on their own. They learn the activity through guided

participation. Males do not milk both goats and cows. The Karayu adage is, "Dhiirri re'ee hin elmitu, haga baatu garuu hin wallaaltu"-which means a male does not milk goat, but not ignorant of the amount she gives. However, some school adolescents reported that they performed or at least assisted as shown in the following photo.



Grade eleven; Abdo (his younger brother, Fantalle Mieso included in the sample) assisted His Mother in Milking the Cow

Mothers or adolescent girls churn milk. Churning is gender specific everyday activity. Girls can assist their mothers at age eight and perform on their own from age thirteen to fourteen.



Thirteen Years old, Grade 7, Hawa Hawas Churning Milk

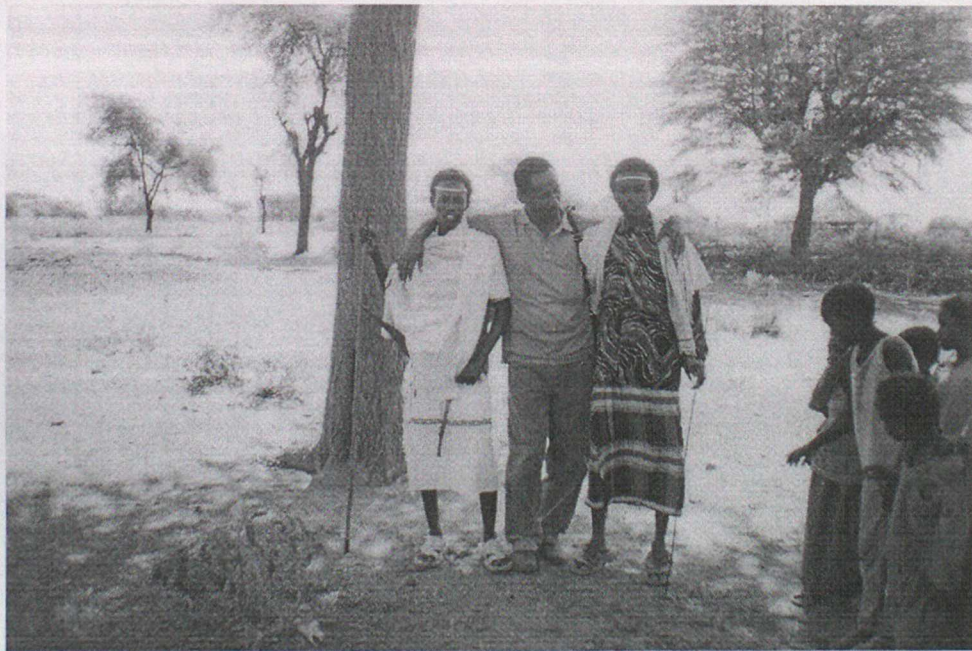
All sampled parents and school adolescents reported that shelter building is an important females' occasional activity. All mothers and adolescent girls performed the activity in-group. Girls might be able to assist at age eight and fully participate from age thirteen and above.

Parents and adolescents sampled reported that herding camels is particular a fathers'/adolescent boys' everyday activity. They move with their camels some kilometers from home for weeks, a month or even months. They never get any food other than camels' milk. A five years old boy moves with his father sitting on the back of camel. From age fourteen to fifteen, he may move on his own, carrying his father's or his own gun. The activity is males' group work.

It is male who milks camel in the field, but very rarely around the house. A boy assists his father milking when he is seven or eight years old. From age thirteen to fourteen he may milk on his own.

4.1.2 Some Markers of the Period of the Adolescence

One has to master gender specific activities before his/her marriage. Age thirteen- to- fifteen is a time for both boys and girls to master gender specific activities. Socially, from age twelve to fifteen, both girls and boys are considered adolescent due to some markers. Hairstyle, physical changes and rarely raises conflicts between adolescents and parents' values (e.g. disobey) may use as markers of their developmental period. Adolescent boys develop Afro hairstyle. They use their own or their fathers' "billaa" (knife) and gun, and wear clothes they name "marto". These materials are restricted to be used by males. The adolescent girls use ornaments on their hands and neck.



Mohammed Waday Right and Ali Fantalle Left Wearing "marto" and Ali Armed "Billa" (knife)

4.1.3 The End of Period of the Adolescence

The typical marker of change from adolescence period to adulthood is marriage rather than chronological age. A boy or girl marries at any age (even age ten) is accepted as an adult. On the contrary, one could not be accepted socially as an adult whatever his/her age is chronologically unless he/she is married. The only child and one whose father has relatively many camels (for instance, more than fifteen camels) may take wife from age ten to twelve and socially experience adult life. In short, marriage is socially the end of adolescence and the beginning adult life.

4.1.4 Culture Influences on Everyday Activities

People perform gender specific activities, and males were restricted from performing females' socially accepted everyday activities. In case one performed them, his act was announced among members of his Gada system. No body would respect him including children. He might face problem to take wife from that people. Even, people might dare call him "manduusa, beera" which mean (female). In case female took the role assigned for male, she would be rebuked, but nobody calls her "dhiira" (male).

Some Karayu fathers and mothers sample believed that the act of gender specific activities should be challenged and changed. Forty-nine years old, Jilo Hawas worked in Matahara Sugar Factory and had property (e.g. camel, cattle, and goats) among Karayu people reported that he gathered firewood, milked cows and assisted his wife performing some roles assigned to females. On the contrary, the Gada leader Muctar (Roba) Fantalle argued that gender specific everyday activities should be respected and preserved. Sobe

Dhdacha (sampled mother) indignantly complained that gender specific everyday activities reflected the tradition that favors males, but oppresses females because women are hard workers who performed most of the everyday activities did not have any property. The women built the shelters, but left it in case of divorce without question of sharing any property.

4.1.5 The Influences of Culture on School Attendance

Most of Karayu children are out of school. All sample members reported that most parents have not been convinced of the school's role in changing people's life and as a result they have given priority to the everyday activities. For this reason, most children have not been sent to school.

4.1.6 Schools and Rural Community

As far as teachers' effort is concerned, all sampled teachers reported that almost there was no direct relation between the schools (teachers) and rural children's parents. None of them had visited at least once Karayu's rural villages and parents.

4.1.7 The Influence of Education and Relations on Gender Specific Everyday Activities

Analysis of data from the two questions which asked for the ratings of effect of education and effect of relations with peers from other cultures produced significant result.

As far as the responses to first question (question on the effect of education) is concerned, from among 20 school adolescents rated

on the scale, three respondents rated 7, seven respondents rated 6, five respondents rated 5, one respondent rated 4, three respondents rated 3, and one respondent rated 2.

Concerning the responses to second question (question on effect of relations), from the 20 school adolescents rated on scale, one respondent rated 5, two respondents rated 4, four respondents rated 3, eight respondents rated 2, and five respondents rated 1.

Mean rating for the effect of education and the effect of relations were 5.15 and 2.3 respectively. Mean responses was on the positive side for the effect of education, but negative side for the effect of relations. However, the two variables were positively correlated ($r=.32242$).

4.1.8 The Effect of School on Gender Specific Everyday Activities

To see the effect of school on school adolescent boys' practical everyday activities, the improvements shown by school adolescent boys and unschooled adolescent boys in taking roles assigned for females were compared. Nine typical roles assigned for females: (1) fetching water, (2) gathering wood for fire, (3) cooking, (4) caring for babies or younger children, (5) milking cow and goats, (6) building house, (7) grinding crops (e.g., maize), (8) churning milk and (9) selling animal products like milk and butter were selected for the comparison.

From among ten school adolescent boys, eight fetch water, five milked cow and goats, five participated in shelter building, two cared for younger siblings, one gathered firewood, and one ground grains. Two school adolescent boys did not take any role assigned for girls.

From among ten selected unschooled adolescent boys, four reported that they fetch water, one gathered firewood, and two took part in shelter building, and one cared for younger siblings. Four unschooled boys did not totally take any role assigned for girls.

One can simply compare the two sample groups that significant improvement is shown by school adolescent boys to take roles assigned for girls.

As far as school adolescent girls are concerned, there was not any girl who practically took roles assigned for boys such as herding camels, milking camels, building animals' shelter and selling animals. However, this doesn't mean that they preferred preserving to changing gender specific everyday activities.

4.1.9 The Influences of School on Activity Orientation Value

Chi-square was used to see the differences or similarities between the selected Muslim-Karayu school adolescents' and their same sex parents activity orientation value of gender specific everyday activities.

They hypotheses translate into the relative proportion of preserving and changing gender specific everyday activities are similar for the sampled school adolescents and their same sex parents. In this case, the relative proportions of preferrers preferring preserving and changing gender specific everyday activities are significantly different for the school adolescent boys and their fathers (the computed $\chi^2=5.05$, which is greater than critical value of $\chi^2=3.841$, at .05 α level and $df=1$), but not different for sampled school adolescent girls and their mothers.

In the case of sampled school adolescent boys and their fathers, school and activity orientation value are related; however, not related for the sampled school adolescent girls and their mothers.

4.2 Discussion

Children learn the everyday activities through guided participation from the surrounding contexts. Knudson (1990) stated that children learn routine activities available to them from cultural contexts. Morris (2004) points out that informal educational institutions such as family, peers, and community represent the best socialization agents to learn the everyday activities. Consistently, Karayu boys and girls learn gender and age appropriate everyday activities from their same sex parents, elder siblings, peers, and others.

Theories and researches have supported that fair education helps not only in the search for and acquisition of new skills and knowledge, but also helps the participants to acquire and strengthen values like justice, equality, honesty, fruitfulness, and solidarity amongst the oppressed groups (Bhasin, 1996). However, school and teachers might offer an education that is not fair; for instance, they give more attention to boys and put pressure on them than girls to achieve (Sadker and Sadker, 1994 in Santrock, 2002). Similarly, sampled teachers from the two schools (Matahara and Haro Adi Primary Schools) believed that teachers' attitudes may influence boys and/or girls development negatively or positively.

Schools significantly influenced the selected Muslim-Karayü school adolescents' gender specific everyday activities and activity

orientation value. Most sampled school adolescent boys took part in some roles assigned for girls; for instance, fetching water, milking cow and goats, and shelter building. The improvement shown by these sampled school adolescent boys is significant compared to the improvement shown by sampled unschooled adolescent boys.

The big problem is most of Karayu boys and girls are not attending defined curriculum. Though the right to education is a universal right to all people, the reality is that most Karayu pastoralist children are still excluded. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Article 26.2 and the convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 29(1) b, c, and d describe that adulthood and childhood education are the right of adults and children. Six Articles (Article 6-11) of ILO Convention 1969 refer to education and various others to training (21-23) emphasize on the peoples' participation in the design of a system appropriate to their needs, traditions, and cultures.

People's and individual's right to education need not be denied. On the other hand, people's culture and right to be different need to be respected. UNESCO's 1974 recommendation on education, reviewed and confirmed by education ministers at 1995 International Conference on Education adapted principles include understanding and respect for all peoples; their culture, civilization, values and ways of life. The organization believes and stresses that it is in danger of going against the traditional cultural context of everyday, even of overturning it (Hazoume, 1997).

Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961 in Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen, 1992) presented a general statement of activity orientation

value in particular cultural groups from the result of their study on samples of individuals selected from rural communities in the southeast U.S. representing five different cultures: Texas, Mormon, Hispanic, Zuni, and Nova. Among their general statements, "activity orientation value" is one. They concluded that activity orientation value could be measured through the use of individual responses. The finding shows that Mormons, Texans and Zuni preferred doing (preserving) to changing (a new existence).

In this study, eight from the 10 sampled Muslim-Karayu school adolescent boys, seven from the 10 mothers, and all sampled school adolescent girls preferred changing to preserving gender specific everyday activities. But, only three from the 10 fathers included in the sample preferred changing to preserving gender specific everyday activities. The reason why mothers included in the sample differ in their preferences from the fathers might be because of unequal distribution of inside and outside home jobs that is mothers spend much more time on compound household and other daily activities.

Inside and outside jobs, child rearing and other works were the maximum of Karayu females located in roles. However, though they participated more than males in different roles, they lack control over property. They shared nothing in case of divorce. Husbands have right to be wherever they wanted overnights without disclosing the reason to their wives. However, wives did not have such right. Some mothers (three out 10) included in the sample accepted unequal distribution of work either due to traditional societal standards or lack of education, which helps to strengthen values like justice and equality. The culture defined masculinity and femininity (status, roles and responsibilities of males and females) in a stereotyped way.

4.3 Major Findings

- ♥ Schools significantly influence gender specific everyday activities and activity orientation value.
- ♥ Karayu boys and girls usually learn gender specific and gender free activities from same sex parents, and also learn from older siblings, peers and others.
- ♥ Most sampled school adolescent boys, mothers and all sampled school adolescent girls preferred changing to preserving gender specific everyday activities.
- ♥ The culture defined masculinity and femininity (status, roles, responsibilities of males and females) in stereotyped way.
- ♥ Most of Karayu school age boys and girls were not attending defined curriculum.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions and Suggestions

5.1 Conclusions

- Karayu children learn the everyday activities mostly through guided participation usually assisting same sex parents, same sex elder siblings or working with peers.
- In Karayu, adolescence is usually a period when one masters (able to perform on his/her own) same sex adult's gender specific everyday activities. One who marries entered socially adult life for whatever his/her chronological age is.
- School significantly influences sampled Muslim-Karayu school adolescent boys' gender specific everyday activities.
- Sampled Muslim-Karayu school adolescents and mothers preferred changing to preserving gender specific everyday activities.
- Most parents prefer their children perform everyday activities to attend school unless they are convinced and see the result or change.

5.2 Suggestions

- Gender sensitive participatory pedagogy, which acknowledges the daily life experience of Karayu girls and women need to be promoted through both public and local NGO schools' collaboration.
- Karayu women and girls' self-confidence and self esteem need to be increased through formal and nonformal education not to simply accept unequal distribution of household and other activities. For the practicality of this, formal and nonformal schools need to design relevant curriculum with the participation of the community members.
- Emphasizing on the roles education plays to improve individual and community life, schools need to make each Karayu Oromo aware to promote school enrolment. Besides, access to schooling, literacy and other educational opportunities need to be emphasized. This can be put in to practice only when the schools' relation with the community is strengthened.
- To intervene the stereotyped cultural definition of status, roles and responsibilities of females and males, cognitive moral development education which both its contents and methods help females acquire values like justice, equality and realizes their full potential and enable them to build confidence and self respect need to be emphasized by all schools. Establishing problem-oriented type of schooling is more appropriate to focus on such compensatory programs.

- Schools need to have linkage (interaction) with the rural children's parents and community. Among Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems, the second level (mesosystem) that is the interaction (linkage) between two or more microsystems most probably the school and parents may have positive effect on children development and make education effective.
- The problem needs further study. Gender specialists, developmental psychologists and others are invited to conduct more intense research on this issue.

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Appendices

Appendix One

A. Observer's Guide to Spot Observations to Study the Everyday Activities of Muslim-Karayu School Adolescents

Conducting Observations in Different Contexts at Different Times of the Day, List Down and Take Photographs (when needed), While an Adolescent Boy or Girl is Performing the Everyday Activity Participating in Others' Activities or Guiding Others or Independently.

Adolescent's Name _____ Age _____

Observer's Name _____

No	Everyday Activities in Different Contexts	Different Times of the Day			
		Before noon Date _____ Hour _____ Place _____	At noon Date _____ Hour _____ Place _____	In the Afternoon Date _____ Hour _____ Place _____	At evening Date _____ Hour _____ Place _____
1	Everyday activities he/she performs independently				
2	Everyday activities he/she performs under the guidance or assisting his/her parents				

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Adolescent's Name _____ Age _____

Observer's Name _____

No	Everyday Activities in Different Contexts	Different Times of the Day			
		Before noon Date _____ Hour _____ Place _____	At noon Date _____ Hour _____ Place _____	In the Afternoon Date _____ Hour _____ Place _____	At evening Date _____ Hour _____ Place _____
1	Everyday activities he/she performs independently				
2	Everyday activities he/she performs under the guidance or assisting his/her parents				

3	Everyday activities he/she performs while working with peers				
4	Everyday activities he/she performs guiding his/her younger siblings				
5	Everyday activities he/she performs under the guidance of others rather than his/her parents and peers				
6	Everyday activities he/she performs guiding others rather than his/her family members (younger siblings) and peers				

Appendix Two

B. Interview Questions to Study the Everyday Activities of Muslim-Karayu School Adolescents

I. Select and Interview Parents of School Adolescents Included in the Study to Study the Everyday Activities of School Adolescents

Parent's Name _____ Age _____ Date _____ Relation _____ Religion _____

No	Everyday Activities	Learner (male or Female)	Model/trainer e.g. mother,/father, siblings, peers, others	Appropriate age to perform assisting model/trainer	Appropriate age to master and perform independently	Ways of learning e.g. observation and imitation, verbally interacting
1	Who perform the following everyday activities? -Grazing sheep and goats -Drawing water -Gathering wood for fire -Care for the younger siblings -Cooking -Milking cow and goats -Building house -Grazing cattle -Grazing calves -Grazing camels -Milking camels					

2	What are the everyday activities other than the above mentioned girls and boys should be able to perform before they marry?					
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	Gender Specific Everyday Activities	Parents	Before noon	At noon	After noon	Evening
3	What are activities (roles) daily performed by parents at different times of the day?	Father				
		Mother				

	Change	Sex	Age	Marker	Ceremony
4	At what age girls and boys childhood years end (adolescence period begins)	Male			
		Female			

5	At what age adolescence girls and boys years end (begins adult life) or at what age boys and girls marry?	Male			
		Female			

6. Culturally, what are acts restricted to be performed only by females but not males? _____
7. If male performs acts restricted to be performed by females, what will be the consequence, if any, how? _____
8. What are materials restricted to be used by only males? Why and if female uses what is the consequences? _____
9. Are you in a position to change or preserve gender specific everyday activities? Why? _____

II. Select and Interview School Adolescents to Study their Everyday Activities

Name _____ Age _____ Date _____ Sex _____ Religion _____ Grade _____ School _____
 Birth order _____ of _____ children
 Family: Nuclear _____ Extended _____
 If nuclear: intact _____ single _____
 If extended: grandparent _____ aunt _____ uncle _____ cousin _____ more distant relative _____
 Siblings: Number older sister _____ brother _____
 Number of younger sister _____ brother _____

No	Everyday Activity	Sex of Novice	Model/trainer e.g. mother, siblings, peers, others	Age to perform assisting model/trainer	Age to master or perform independently	Ways of learning e.g. observation and imitation or verbally interacting
1	Whose roles are the following daily activities? -Grazing sheep and goats -Drawing water -Gathering wood for fire -Care for the younger sibling -Cooking -Milking -Building house -Grazing cattle -Selling animal and other products -Grinding -Grazing camels -Milking camel -Building animals' shelter					

	-Selling animals -Grazing calves -Churning milk					
2	What the everyday activities girls and boys should master before their marriage other than the above listed?					

No	Everyday activities	Before noon	At noon	After noon	Evening
3	What are your roles (activities) at different times of the day?				
4	What are your (activities) at different times of the day before you begin school?				

5. Culturally, what are acts restricted to be performed only by females but not males? _____

6. If male performs acts restricted to be performed by females, what will be the consequence, if any, how? _____

7. What are materials restricted to be used only by males? Why and if female uses what is the consequences? _____

8. Are you in a position to change or preserve cultural gender specific everyday activities? Why? _____

III .Select and Interview Teachers to Study the Everyday Activities of School Adolescents

Teacher's Name _____ Sex _____ Age _____ Qualification _____
 Service year _____ Religion _____ School _____

No	Everyday Activities	Independently	Assisting others	Guiding others
1	What are the gender specific everyday activities adolescent boys perform?			
2	What are the gender specific everyday activities adolescent girls perform?			
3	What are your everyday activities rather than teaching at school?			

No	Activity orientation value	Preserve	Change	Reason to Preserve	Reason to change
4	Your preference for preserving or changing gender specific everyday activities				
5	What are your school practical activities that help to preserve or change cultural gender specific everyday activities?				