

**MASCULINE GENDER IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION
AMONG MALE ADOLESCENTS IN AWURAMBA
COMMUNITY**

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUTE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY**

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Abstract

The expected tasks, beliefs and behaviours of Awuramaba male adolescents as reflecting masculine construction was investigated. The study was done on male adolescents of Awuramaba community. In order to get comprehensive information about the masculine characteristics of these adolescents, data was gathered from various segments of the Awuramba population: male adolescents themselves, and their parents, siblings, peers and the elderly people in the community. In general eight focus group discussions, 24 individual interviews and two key informant interviews were conducted. As indicated by previous research results such as Connell as cited in Belay (1999), although it varies from country to country, culture to culture, community to community and individual to individual, aggressive behavioural expressions, showing sense of dominance, feelings of independence, female subordination,, heterosexual prowess, assertiveness, etc. are the indicators of masculine behaviour in male adolescents of various cultures and communities. However, the present finding suggests that attributes of masculine identity construction among male adolescents of the Awuramba community are drawn from deep sense of human respect, loving work, supporting others, developing feelings of interdependence,, developing gender equality and egalitarian belief and pursuing communal way of life.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The background of the research problem section is dealt with the theoretical background of the masculine gender identity construction, practical research considerations of the topic under study and general statement of the problem.

1.1.1. Theoretical background.

In this section of the study, related concepts and theories as well as research evidences of masculine gender identity construction of individuals with particular emphasis of adolescents are reviewed.

1.1.1.1. The concept of gender and related terms: Birds eye view

Gender is a social category as well as a personal attribute and it constitutes the basis for delineating a status whether it is masculine or feminine, or androgyny (Herdt, 1987; and Trew and Kremer, 1998). All human societies make social distinctions based on gender. In the broadest sense, gender is a classification system that shapes the relations among women and men. Its influences are pervasive and multidimensional- virtually, all societies label some tasks as women's work and others as men's work (Unger and Crawford, 1994).

Gender identity as the inner sense of the sense of belonging to the male or female sex, includes appropriate life goals, beliefs and so forth. Gender identity involves not merely labeling the self as male or female, but also the process of identification of self with others who share the classification (Herdt, 1978; and Trew and Kremer, 1998). Owens (1993) stated that gender identity is the awareness, acceptance, and sense of being male

or female. Steinberg (1993) indicated that gender is a critical component of one's identity.

Although it is difficult to define the concepts of masculinity, Gunn and Matthews (1979) defined it as male individuals' sex -role. As indicated by Santrock (1996), in the near past, it was accepted that boys should grow up to be masculine and that girls should be feminine. However, the thinking those individuals could have both male and female traits lead to the development of the concept of androgyny, the presence of desirable masculine and feminine characteristics in the same individual (Bem, Spence, and Helmreich; cited in Santrock, 1996).

Although the concept of androgyny was an improvement over exclusive notions of femininity and masculinity, it has turned out to be less of panacea than many of its early proponents envisioned (Doyle and Plud- cited in Santrock, 1996). Pleck (cited in Santrock, 1996) believe that the idea of androgyny should be replaced with the idea of gender role- transcendence, the belief that when an individual's competence is at issue, it should not be conceptualized on the basis of masculinity and femininity, or androgyny, but rather on personal basis.

1.1.1.2. Theories of Gender Development

There are different psychological theories, which give their own explanations to gender development.

In the psychoanalytic theory, Adler and Jung are considered. Adler (in Santrock, 1996) believed that human beings are primarily social, not sexual and he further argued that masculine dominance is not a natural thing but rather an outcome of the conflicts among primitive people and the male role of warrior. Jung, on the other hand stressed the integration of the masculine (animus) and feminine (anima) components of personality (Unger and Crawford, 1992) and underscored the importance of striking balance between what he calls the conscious "masculine persona" and the repressed 'feminine anima" for a

healthy psychological functioning (Connell cited in Belay, 1991). According to Jung (in Moore and Gillette, 1992), no man is purely masculine just as there is no purely feminine woman (Moore and Gillette, 1992).

Proponents of multifactorial approaches argue that gender identity development is seen as a self label with in multifaceted construct which includes personality traits and attitudes as well as self perception, while social identity approaches view gender identity in terms of membership in social group and as a collective identity (Trew and Kremer,1998).

Social learning theory assumes that what a person learns about masculinity will vary according to his social class; ethnic group, and family composition -indeed, any and all environmental factors are expected to influence gender development (Unger and Crawford, 1994). Unger and Crawford further stated that gender development occurs through reinforcement, punishment, observation, and imitation.

Masculine boys are widely accepted as friends and companions, and it is only to the adolescents with cross-gender characteristics -who are likely to be rejected (Kimmel and Weiner, 1995). Peer acceptance is highest for androgynous girls and masculine boys (Massad cited in Steinberg, 1993). Males, who do not conform to traditionally masculine sex role norms, are judged more deviants than females whose behaviour departs from exclusively feminine roles. Boys are socialized from a very early age not to adopt feminine traits and are judged deviant if they show signs of femininity (Steinberg, 1993). Boys who do not act masculine enough and girls who do not act feminine enough may be less popular and less accepted by their same and opposite sex peers (Steinberg, 1993).

In addition to direct reinforcement and punishment, children in most cultures also observe same sex adult role models and imitate the gender appropriate behaviour exhibited by these models. These behaviours are further reinforced and become internalized as attributes of gender appropriate behavioural patterns (Gardiner, Mutter, and Kosmitzki, 1998).

With the growth of Women's psychology, the assumptions and values of the above theories have been questioned, and alternative models like gender-transcendence model have been developed (Unger and Crawford, 1994).

Although several theorists have proposed alternatives to the models of gender roles that emphasize individual differences in masculinity, femininity and androgyny, researchers suggest that individuals move toward an end point that ultimately "transcendence" sex-roles (Katz, Rebecca, and Bem, cited in Steinberg, 1993). Rather than viewing androgyny - a mixture of traditionally masculine and feminine characteristics as the pinnacle of mature sex-role development, these theorists argue that the most psychologically mature individuals have the capacity to look beyond sex roles entirely and permit one another to take advantage of their unique strengths and talents regardless of their biological sex (Steinberg, 1993). According to the model of gender role development presented by Rebecca, Hefner and Oleshansky as cited in Owens (1993), behaviour is adopted according to what is adaptive to the circumstances. The period of adolescence is regarded as a key time for transcendence in gender roles to occur.

In the Rebecca, Hefner and Oleshansky's as cited in Belay (1999), notion of 'transcendence' and multiple dimensionality remain the backbone of the social constructionist account where by masculinity is described as an object of continues construction (a word prepared to supplant development ') and reconstruction in (exogenous) relations that explicate the complexities involved in the definition.

1.3. Forms of masculinity

Masculinity has various forms depending on many factors. According to Belay (1999) there is no more single masculinity but masculinities: hegemonic masculinity, black masculinity, and perhaps Ethiopian masculinity. Belay (1999) further stated that growing as a man in a collectivist society may involve construction of masculinity in terms of caring for others. Connell (in Belay,1999) attempted to define masculinity as the practices through which men engage in a place in gender and the effects of these

practices in bodily experiences , personality and culture. Although Connell (in Sampath, 2000) states that cases of masculinity's are constructed in relation to femininities and express the multiple ways in which gender identity is articulated through gender order, Hearn (2001) has a different view. Hearn (2001) advocates greater conceptual emphasis being placed on men's practices rather than masculinities.

When the reflection of the form of masculinities are seen cross culturally, respectability and reputation characteristics are key aspects of male identity in West Indians (Wilson,1989; Sympathy, 2000; and Siddhartha, 2001); perception of male success in Caribbean communities (Sampath, 2000); being a warrior and physical strength as well as cultures of sex, hunting, male ritual in Sambia of New Guinea (Herdt, 1987); patriarchal and hierarchical in Britain and more commitment to the ideas of gender equality in Finland (Pringle and Pease, 2001); hard working good family man in Late Modern Ireland (Ferguson, 2001); financial provider, courageous , adventurers, competitive and male solidarity in Brazil (Medrado, Lyra, and Monteiro, 2000); previously dominant form of masculinity inherent in mate ship in Australia(Pease, 2001); aggressiveness in Amhara (Levine, 1966); adult moral responsibility America (Levine, 1966), heterosexual prowess in most societies, young, strong and healthy in African males (Dish, 1997), etc. In general gender identities held by woman and men can be submissive, dominant, or complementary to each other (White, 2000).

These days it seems that the forms of masculinity are changing. More recently men's movement has begun to search for an alternative to traditional masculinity (Bhasin, 2000) which is directed towards gender equality, egalitarian form of life, avoidance of violence and aggressiveness, etc. Bhasin (2000) believed that men can and must change their thinking , attitudes, and behaviour visa-a- women., specially if they want a more just and equitable society . In Chile fore example, men are forming associations and they are striving to bring gender fair community and society in all spheres of lives: in home, work place, politics, etc. (Falabella, 2000). Further more, According to Pleck (in Belay, 1999) in the concept of modern masculinity, interpersonal skills are more important.

1.1.1.4. Expected tasks, behaviours and beliefs of male adolescents: As reflections of masculinity

A. Expected tasks, beliefs and behaviours of male adolescents

During adolescent years, young people encounter one of the most important developmental tasks of their lives- the establishment of an individual identity (Erikson, 1968). According to Unger and Crawford (1994) and Lips (1997) the concept of masculinity – femininity encompasses more than traits; they extend to physical appearance, occupation, gender appropriate masculine social roles, and statuses as well. Lips (1997) pointed out that males are more independent, competitive (traits); financial provider, initiators of opposite sex (role behaviours); and muscular, strong (physical characteristics).

Regarding traits, Baron (in Belay, 1999) indicated that there are four basic themes underline the great variety of beliefs and expectations: ‘no sissy stuff’ that is the avoidance of all feminine behaviours; ‘the big wheel’ which includes the acquisition of success, status, and bread wining, competence; ‘the sturdy oak’ which consists of strength, confidence, and independence; and ‘give em hell’ which deals with aggression, violence and daring.

In addition, Cicone and Ruble (in Belay, 1999) listed three fold categorization of characteristics of the typical male: how a man handles his life (active and achievement oriented) which includes qualities of adventures, and ambitious, independent , courageous , competitive , leader and active; how a man handles others (dominant) – includes traits of aggressiveness, powerful, dominant assertive and boastful; and finally , how a man handles his psych (level –headed) - that includes traits of logical, stable, unemotional and self control.

Other researchers of the area such as Davis (2001), Medro , Lyra and Menteiro (2001); Reichert (2001) and Pease (2001) categorized masculine attributes as phallic (characterized by traits of authority, dominance, hard, explosive, and uncontrollable, enjoyment of physical activities, being active, polygamy, etc); warrior (characterized by qualities such as competitiveness, courageous , glory , reputation, etc); self- sufficient (characterized by traits like independence, rebellious, impatience, etc); group (characterized by male qualities such as male bonding , homosociality, homophobia, etc); and structural (patriarchal , hierarchical, etc) masculinities.

When cross – cultural view is considered, in six cultures study of Whiting and Edwards (in Munroe and Munroe, 1994), boys are engaged in physical aggression more frequently than girls are. Besides, Berry and et al (1992) stated that males are more aggressive than females. However, in Arapesh of New Guinea, men and women were found to be trained to be cooperative, un aggressive, and responsive, to the needs and demands of others. After all, it is assumed that men are to a large extent more socialized in to the acts of combat, more often prone to resort violence and that they should be able to protect themselves and others (Jesser, 1996).

Another quality that reflects masculinity behaviours is achieving gender appropriate social roles. Achieving masculine social role is one of the many expected tasks of male adolescents. According to Kimmel and Weiner (1985) adolescents develop their own definition of what it means to be male or female. However, most adolescents conform to the sex roles of the cultural view of male characteristics. The biological changes of puberty coupled with social beliefs send boys and girls off in different directions: boys to the athletic field and girls to the dressing room (Gunn and Mathews, 1979; Wozniak, 1993; and Steinberg, 1993).

Most people in a society adopt most of the behaviours defined as appropriate to biological sex, but the exceptions are many. How many consistent differences exist and to what extent they can be rendered “universal” is the subject of much discussion in the field (Munroe and Munroe, 1994). According to Barry, Bacon and Child (in Munroe and

Munroe, 1994), behaviorally there are modal sexes differences in every society-some times strong, and sometimes weak, but always present. The diverse response patterns between and within individuals give ample testimony to the influence of experience and learning on sex- role behaviour(Munroe and Munroe, 1994).

However, there are literatures that indicate sex role is not always a means of reflecting masculinity. According to Dish (1997), American society's treatment of black men who depart significantly from societal expectations, but do so in socially acceptable manner, reflects the inadequacy of using sex-role models to study black men. Among many societies with unique gender characteristics, the Kibbutz of Israeli (Spiro in Moore and Gillette, 1992) where there was no division of labour between males and females, and the Arapesh of New Guinea (Mead in Munroe and Munroe, 1994) where no idea was found that sex was powerful driving force either for men or women seem most extreme and dramatic anthropological cases of sex- role variation.

According to Hofstede as cited in Gardiner, et al (1998) in feminine cultures, which are characterized by equality and cooperation, women's work contributions are equally valued, and positions of power are held by both men and women. Ideal men in a non-traditional role were drawn as care taker and participant in house works in feminine culture (Stiles and Gibbons cited in Gardiner, et al., 1998). Men in feminine cultures are expected to hold very egalitarian beliefs about the roles and status of women and men in their society and convey these beliefs to their children.

To summarize, plasticity on gender-roles seems to run one way only. Societies can often do elaborate sex-differences almost endlessly, but they never manage to eliminate them (Munroe and Munroe, 1994). Based on these differences, it is possible to use Mead's (in Munroe and Munroe, 1994) conclusion that human nature is indeed "unbelievably malleable".

Another expected task of male adolescents is accepting one's own physique and using one's own body effectively. During puberty, male adolescents become more aware than

ever before of physical differences and they also compare their bodies with those of their peers. They ask questions about the society's idea of masculine body or not (Gunn and Matthews, 1979). How easily adolescents' deal with the changes will partly reflect how closely their bodies match the well-defined stereotypes of the "perfect" body for young women and young men.

One way of defining masculinity is physical strength. According to Hooks (cited in Dish, 1997), in many communities through out the world, the opportunities for men to define their male identity through physical feats such as spear throwing; riding, fighting, and contests of bravery are common. In most societies, where physical strength is no longer a prerequisite for men to carry out their every daily task, ideals of masculine strength are prompted through cultural icons of physically forceful masculinity (Dish, 1997).

The next expected task of male adolescents that may indicate the masculine qualities of male adolescents is preparing for marriage and family life. Sexual initiative is largely reserved for men and polygamy is allowed to males in 3 quarters of all societies, where as females are permitted to have more than one husband in fewer than 1% of all societies (Gradiner, et al, 1998).

Young adolescents in many other cultures are permitted to explore and express their sexuality in a variety of ways. Fore example, among the Mayan in Guatemala, it is common to freely to choose one's partner. Parents do not have much to say regarding the selection of mate or the age of a marriage. Nevertheless, Mayan adolescents respect cultural traditions and generally abstain from sexual contact before marriage. According to Butterworth and Harris (1994), in some societies, initiation rites for one or both sexes accompany puberty; where as other societies make little fuss. Ceremonials, whose purpose is to confer adult status on boys, are wide spread in different cultures. In some cases puberty is accompanied by marriage.

B. Social beliefs of adolescents

Along with tasks, assessing societal and peer beliefs about male adolescents is something that should be seen as equally important. The positively valued masculine traits are groups of behaviors reflecting competence, independence, rationality, and assertive, (Ruble cited in Belay, 1999).

One major characteristics of adolescence period is that it is a dreaded age. According to Majeres (cited in Hurlock, 1974) male teenagers are believed as sloppy, unreliable individuals who are inclined toward destructiveness and antisocial behaviours. In the same fashion, Yusuf (1998) underscored that psychologists and sociologists study the young; politicians worried about them; and parents and teachers try to understand them. Too often the compliant is that Ethiopian adolescents are insolent, unkempt, unpredictable, emotionally hot, adventurers, and challenging the statuesque.

1.1.1.5. Local studies

Levine (1966) defined the concept of masculinity in Ethiopia (particularly in Amhara) context as *wand-nat*. According to Levine (1966), the Amhara ideal of masculinity has reference primarily to aggressive capacity. In addition, *wand-nat* connotes the ability to make little of physical hardship, to live for along time in the wilds, to walk all day long with no food. Further light on the Amhara notion masculinity is obtained when the Amhara attitude regarding women is examined. The ideal of masculinity is typically projected at the expense of, and defined in opposition of femininity (Levine, 1966).

Another description of Amhahra concept of masculinity is that Amhara seem to rank it very high in their hierarchy of values and in fact to regard it as crucial component of their general cultural identity. There are two major components of self-image of the Amhara: we are Christians and we are *gwabaz* that is we are brave and hardy (Levine, 1966).

According to Levine (1965), the Amhara male adolescent is believed to value individualized way of life (following the proverb “ home and the grave are by oneself”), sensitive about his personal belongingness, quick to defend his rights, reluctant to accept suggestions and inflammable over insults. In the Amhara male adolescent view, human nature is dominated by his perception of man’s inherent aggressiveness and untrust worthiness

As stated by Levine (1965), another value of the Amhara male adolescents is their chief goal of life is that is having worked to eat. These things in their turn promote the virtues of independence and honesty. Although the Amhara male adolescents value work, they look down the work of artisans because of their association with the evil eye.

Transition rites, in which the society corners the young person and puts its stamp upon him, are conspicuously absent from the Amhara culture. The transition to adult status in Amhara culture is related above all to the assumption of marital role. The events, which establish one as an adult, are marriage, moving in to one’s house, and begetting a child. Although public norms require boys to be virgin at marriage, premarital sexual experimentation for boys is regarded as natural occurrence. The unwed girl, by contrast must remain virgin at all costs. Regarding marriage arrangement, the father is decisive in the selection of marriage mates, and the male adolescent traditionally has not even known what the bride looks like until marriage (Levine, 1965).

In addition to Levine’s idea, Belay (1999) indicated that Ethiopian fathers play masculine acting (disciplining) roles: control, punish, and warn children with respect to wrong doing, command order and make children respect parental orders, provide assistance under extreme problem conditions, and shōw seriousness and strictness. In addition, fathers play the role of masculine gender socialization: encourage acts, teach skills, and develop interests in masculine gender appropriate roles, bravery, strength power, successes wining, etc.

1.1.2. Implications

As it has been stated in the literature in detail, masculinity has different forms depending on many factors. In most countries, cultures and communities of the world, masculinity is explained in relation to traits, sex role behaviour and physical characteristics. Learning by means of reinforcements, punishments and modeling have been found as important factors in determining maleness characteristics of most societies

Generally, how masculinity is organized at normative and individual level is distinctly at descriptive and prescriptive thinking was not fully examined. In addition, masculinity is considered like any other personality attribute than a gender phenomenon. Hence there is a need for further research. Based on this understanding, masculine construction of Awuramban adolescents is considered.

1.1.2.1. Practical considerations

The researcher has been initiated to conduct this study because of his personal observation that the Awurambas are egalitarian people. In addition, the information released from the Medias has its own contribution for considering the issues for the study. As the information released by the Ethiopia Television and Radio, The Awurambas are unique peoples with distinctive socialization beliefs and practices that inhabit in Fogera Woreda of Amhara National Regional State In this community, males and females are regarded as equal in many aspects. Besides, harmful traditional practices are absent and these peoples have great respect for work. Considering this information and by reviewed literatures, it is expected that the masculine gender identity construction of Awuramban male adolescents will be different from masculine qualities of other communities.

1.1.2.2. General Statement of the problem

Since gender refers to the socially constructed relations between women and men, gender-identity is clearly as much an issue for men as it is for women (Cornwall, 2000; White, 2000). However, the reality seems different. By disregarding the complexities of male experiences, by characterizing men as the problem, and by continuing to focus on women in general as the oppressed, many activities that aim to bring gender equality fail to address the issue (Cornwall, 2000).

Researches have been adequately conducted in the areas of women and many things have been said about women's issues. However, the research on male as a gender category is still so sparse. In addition to this, some books (for example, *Women, Men and Society*) contrary to their titles carry almost nothing on men. They are almost entirely devoted to women's issues (Jesser, 1996).

From the examination of literatures as indicated above, it is clear that very little is said about the genderology of men. In contrast to this, there are very important men's issues that should be considered (Jesser, 1996). Another area of gender that still needs reconsideration is the reflection of masculinity in terms of femininity and its association with negative connotations like men are aggressive, violent, etc.

When these ways of understanding of masculinity are observed in Ethiopia, the situation seems not different to that of the western beliefs and practices. In Ethiopia, males in general and adolescents in particular have issues that need considerations. In clear terms, the reason why the need to study male adolescents arises is due to lack of previous studies on males' issues. In addition, the reason why the Awuramba area is selected is due to the fact the peoples living in the area has distinctive gender constructions.

Thus, based on the above ideas, it is logical to study experiences, expectations, beliefs, accomplishments, tasks, etc., of males. To be more specific, by considering the above issues, this study is devoted to uncover various issues that go around the masculine

gender identity construction of male adolescents living in Awuramba. Expected tasks and behaviors, beliefs, rewards and punishments, and models of Awuramban male adolescents as reflecting masculine construction have been give special focus of attention in the investigation.

1.2. Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study is to examine the present and future perceived masculine qualities, masculine roles and beliefs of male adolescents of the Awuramba community that may reflect attributes of masculinity. More specifically, the following specific objectives are going to be to be addressed in the study.

1. Identify social beliefs, tasks and expectations of male adolescents in Awuramab community that reflect masculine gender identity constructions.
2. Examine how far Awuramba male adolescents engage in the tasks, expectations, beliefs, and accomplishments that are expected of them.
4. Identify parental and peer rewards and punishments in adhering to these tasks, beliefs, and expectations.

1.3. Significance

In this study, a journey to the world of Awuramba people is done. Any one who will read this research report may find that the Awuramba male adolescents are fascinating and exotic. This study tells some thing basic about the power of society to structure gender relations. The implications of their way of life for other communities are expected to be profound. It may initiate others to raise questions about other communities' gender conditions; gender discriminations, prejudices, and other ways of thinking about being a male or female. It may also motivate concerned bodies to conduct further researches, workshops, seminars, etc on men's issues. It may also give a light for men's to form associations for their own like that of females.

1.4. Operational definition of terms

Adolescents- an individual with in the age ranges of 15-20 years that marks the intensification of gender identity construction.

Gender- shared and learned ideas and feelings that a group has regarding the ways to be (identity) and the ways to act (role), male or female, masculine or feminine.

Gender identity -the sense of belonging to the male or female sex, and of being masculine or feminine which includes appropriate life goals, beliefs and so forth.

Identity- is defined as a sense of self or self knowledge about one's characteristics.

Masculine gender identity- refers to male's gender identity development.

Masculinity – refer to characteristics which shape, inform or construct behaviour for reasons deemed by a given society; the values, behaviours and attributes which are culturally associated with the male sex.

Sex -a person's biological status, aspects and factors of maleness and femaleness

1.5. Delimitation

This study is delimited in scope in terms of area, population and samples, and variables in such away that it could be manageable. Regarding area delimitation, it is restricted to a rural village named as Awuramba, which is found in Amhara Regional National State, South Gondar Administrative Zone, Foggara Woreda.

With regard to population and sample, all male adolescents with the age ranges of 15-20 have been considered in the study. In order to get whole and adequate information about the masculinity construction of the male adolescents of the area, responses have been gathered from the various segments of the peoples residing in the area such as fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, elderly people, male peers and female peers. Since the type of the research approach followed was qualitative in nature, probability sampling has not been used and generalizations to other adolescents other than those who have been studied have not been made. In the case of variables, the study is limited to the

investigation of masculine characteristics of male adolescents like expected tasks, behaviours and feelings of the male adolescents understudy. Cultural, ecological, social, and other factors that are expected to influence these masculine characteristics are also considered in the study. Finally, the researcher is aware enough that biological factors that could not be controlled may also interfere in the construction of masculine identity of the male adolescents considered in this study.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

One major limitation of this study is shortage of time to make detailed and continuous observations of the issue understudy. As a qualitative research, staying more times with the study population is required. However, due to time and financial limitations, it was not possible to stay in the area for extended periods of time.

II. METHOD

The methodology part of the study deals with the design of the study, study area (site), population and sampling, tools of data collection and their justification, procedure of data collection and methods of data analysis.

2.1. Design of the Study

The general design of the study has followed qualitative approach which aimed at investigating the tasks, beliefs, expectations, and accomplishments of male adolescents in the Awuramba community. The reasons why qualitative research seemed appropriate for this study are:

1. **Conceptual Reasons-** conceptually it was assumed that it would provide greater depth of responses.
2. **Pragmatic Reasons-** generally qualitative approach is more time effective, less costly, provides greater flexibility and it can be done without technical facilities.

Qualitative research is used largely as a tool to generate ideas among other things. Thus, in this research, it has been used to stimulate, explore and develop new ideas about the nature of masculinity of Awuramba male adolescents.

2.2. Study Area (Site)

This study is based on the data collected from a place called Awuramba, which is found in the Amhara National Regional State, South Gondar Adminstartive Zone, Fogara Woreda. It is located to the Northern direction of Ethiopia, with 641 kms and 73 kms away from the cities of Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar respectively. In addition, it is located to 2 kms away to the right side of the long Woreta - Woldeyia High Way. Awuramba is the rural area where agricultural types of economic activities predominate.

2.3. Population and Sampling

The population of the study is male adolescents with the age ranges of 15 -20 who are living in the Awuramba area. Regarding their educational background, all of them are attending schooling in Woreta Senior Secondary School .The total number of the population of the Auramba people (children, adolescents, adults and elderly people) is around 400 individuals.

In order to get adequate information about masculine gender identity construction of Awuramba male adolescents', data has been gathered from the various segments of the population residing in the area. The researcher divided the respondents in to eight focus groups by believing that it could result in detailed and extensive information regarding the issue under study. The focus groups were classified based on sex, age and other general background characteristics.

Thus, a total of 43 individuals participated in the focus group discussion and they have provided valuable information about the masculine characteristics of male adolescents.

In addition, from the respondents who participated in the focus group discussion, three individuals from each focus group were taken for in-depth interview. The total number of the interviewees was 24. Moreover, two known individuals (the founder and the leader of community, and the receptionist) of the community were taken as key informants and interviewed about the general background of the community and about the topic understudy.

Since qualitative research involves a small number of respondents who are not generally sampled on probability basis (Debbus, 1995), considering strict procedures of sampling seemed not important. Due to this simply the available individuals of the community were drawn from the population by availability sampling method.

2.4. Tools

Primary data were gathered using scheduled interviews and focus group discussions. In order to gather data, which is reliable, the two known types of qualitative research methods: focus group discussion and interview were employed. In addition the observation technique has been employed.

2.4. 1. Focus Group Discussion

Focus group capitalize on group dynamics and allow a small group of respondents to be guided by a skilled moderator in to increasing level of focus and depth on the key issues of the research topic (Debbus,1995). The main reasons why focus group discussion method was selected to collect data regarding male adolescents of the Awuramba are: it was assumed that the group interaction of respondents will generally generate and stimulate richer responses and allow new and valuable thoughts and ideas to emerge and it could be completed more quickly and generally less expensively than other techniques of data collection.

Preparation of the topic guide is an important activity in the focus group discussion. Topic guide is a set of topics in question areas that are to be covered in the focus group discussion (Debbus, 1995). In order to make this research substantially more productive, the topic guide has been properly thought out and constructed. The topic guide served as a summary statement of the issues and objectives covered in the focus group and it includes themes of the expected tasks, practical accomplishments, rewards, punishments and models of the Awuramban male adolescents. In addition, it was prepared in a way that it serves as a road map and as a memory aid for the moderator. The topic guide has been written as a list of specific questions. Before preparing the topic guide for final use, it has been written and re written so many times. The sequence and flow of the topics in the topic guide has generally moved from general to specific (see the list of the topic guides in appendix I).

2.4.2. Interview

The second data-collecting tool used in this study is interview. Interview is a process of face-to-face communication or interaction in which the subject or interviewee gives the needed information verbally in a face-to-face situation (Debbus, 1995). The reason why interview is selected in this case is that it provides an opportunity to the interviewer to question thoroughly certain areas of inquiry. It also permits greater of responses, which is not possible through any other means.

2.4. 3. Observation

Although it was not detailed and structured, the technique of observation was used to obtain about the wearing styles and other related behaviours of the male adolescents in the study in particular and ways of life about the peoples of Awuramba community in general.

2.5. Procedure of Data Collection

2.5.1. Procedure of data collection

In setting up focus group discussions, the researcher has made a number of decisions about the design and implementation of the research. These decisions include, determine the number of groups required, the group composition, the length, size, location and time of the group discussion.

1. Determine the number and composition of the group- by considering the age, sex, and general background of the respondents as well as by considering the need to conduct groups until the information obtained is no longer new, the number of the group was decided to be eight. These groups include the following.

Group one- Male adolescents themselves=8

Group Two- Fathers of male adolescents=6

Group Three- Mothers of male adolescents=6

Group Four- Younger brothers=5

Group Five – Younger sisters=4

Group Six- Male peers=4

Group Seven- Female peers=6

Group Eight - Elderly people=4.

The reason why the number of group participants varies is due to their unavailability.

2. **Determining the length of focus group discussion-** in order to avoid boredom and fatigue of the respondents, the time length allocated for each group was decided to be 2 hours.
3. **Determining the size of the focus group-** depending on their availability 4 up to 8 participants have participated in the focus group discussions.
4. **Determining the group setting -** the settings where the focus group discussions have been under taken were selected and decided by the research team (consists of the moderator and the research assistant) and by the concerned bodies. There were two areas where the potential respondents could be available. These were the place where the Awuramba people live on the one hand, and the Woreta High School where the Auramba adolescents are attending their schooling activities on the other. In the first place, the “reception room” of the Awuramba people was selected and served in conducting focus group discussions of the elderly people, fathers, mothers, younger sisters and younger brothers. In the second case, by discussing the issue with the Woreta High School authorities, one classroom was used to conduct the focus group discussions of adolescents them selves, male peers of male adolescents and female peers of male adolescents. In both cases, the settings were selected in such away that they could provide privacy and are comfortable in many ways for conducting the discussion.
5. **Determining the group setting arrangement-** in addition to the above, the setting was arranged in away that it avoids designating status among the participants, makes possible for the moderator to have good eye contact with all respondents and make respondents sit at approximately equal distances from the moderator and clearly insight of all participants.

Moderating Approaches to Focus Group

1. Questioning technique - a non directive moderating approach uses questions that are open-ended and non- biasing. The reason why this approach has been applied is due to the fact that the questions permit respondents honest feelings to emerge, minimizes the moderator's influence and helps to eliminate later confusion in summarizing what has been said in the group.

2. Focus group flow- there was prepared topic guides that contain the issues to be addressed and the specific areas for probing. The topic guide ensured that all areas relevant to the research objectives are covered. It was also useful to compare among the groups. Semi -structured focus group flow was used.

The Moderator

As a student of psychology who has been trained in group dynamics, the moderator was the researcher himself. During the focus group discussion processes, the moderator attempted to be relaxed, to put the participants at ease, projected unconditional regard and acceptance of the participants, showed good and interpersonal skills, was a good listener, was aware of the participants' verbal and non verbal behaviours, and was able to conceptualize and think through contingencies, as opposed to thinking literally and in a rote manner. Moreover, in order to facilitate the group discussions, the moderator was friendly and involved enough with the respondents.

Stages of the focus group discussion

Moderator's Opening

Before groups actually begin, the moderator provided a brief introduction about the purpose of the focus group discussion. The objectives of this opening speech were to relax respondents, to establish the "group rules" for the group and to begin developing rapport with the group participants. So as to do this the moderator introduced himself and

the research assistant, explained the general purpose of the group, assured the respondents that they are in no way connected with the subject under discussion and that their opinions did not make them feel good or bad or affect them in any way, asked respondents to speak one at a time and to interact but to avoid interrupt one another, and finally told respondents that there are no right or wrong answers and that is alright to have feelings that are different from others.

Stage - I: The warm up

At this stage the participants of the focus group discussion were asked to provide answers for unthreatening and basic background questions such telling about one's name, sex, age , educational back grounds and other general profiles of the respondents.

Stage -II: The body of the in-depth, Focus discussion

This portion of the group discussion was involved with a subtle transition from general topics to increasingly specific discussions of issues to be covered. The purpose of this is to obtain an understanding of true issues related the topic areas. In order to achieve this end, some of the key actions taken by the moderator were in-depth probing to clarify and illuminate responses given by a member of the group, sensitivity to the receptivity level of participant disclosure at any given time during the discussion, reweaving information provided at an earlier stage of the group to the current discussion, continuously linking together comments made by different group members, and finally flexibility in discussing issues relevant to the topic regardless of their presence in the topic guide.

Stage III: Closure of the group

During this stage, the moderator summarized and recapped the identifying "themes" of the group. The purpose of this stage is to assist the moderator and the respondents in

understanding what has occurred during the group. Tape recorder was used to record data collected through focus group discussions.

2. Procedures of Interview

The procedures that have been used in using the interview technique were the following.

Preparation: so as to be effective in obtaining the required information, the interview questions were carefully planned. It was decided exactly what kind of data the interview should yield the usefulness of unstructured interview, how the result of the interview should be recorded. And it was made clear that what sorts of information are needed and the questions, which extract the information, were well prepared.

Conducting the interview: the interview was generally started with a pleasant conversation and factual non-threatening questions were asked. To elicit adequate responses from the interviews, the interviewer: asked only one question at a time, listened carefully to the subjects response, observed the subjects' non verbal reactions, avoided suggesting insights to the questions, did not show signs of surprise, or other emotional expressions for unexpected observers, and maintained neutral attitude with respect to controversial issues during the interview

Recording the interview: to record the responses of the interviewees, the interviewer used a tape recorder. The use of a tape recorder also permitted the interviewer to devote full attention to the interviewees and saved much time. The conscious and unconscious selection of the interview data by the interviewer is also avoided in a tape-recorded interview.

Validity and Reliability of focus group discussion and interview

The validity of the interview checked by comparing the responses collected by other means of data collection that is focus group discussion and the vice versa..

2.5.2 Procedures of data analysis

In order to make an analysis of the data gathered through focus group discussion, the researcher generally did the following activities.

1. Listen again and again to the cassettes
2. Group the research findings according to key areas of interest as: tasks, beliefs, expectations accomplishments, rewards, punishments models, etc.
3. Identifying the different positions or dimensions that emerged regarding each key topic area.
4. Sum up each of the different positions and asses the strengths of each or the degree to which each position was held by the group members
5. Put out verbatim phrases that best represent each position.

After the data has been analyzed as indicated above, the synthesis of the information was done as follows.

1. Reread the transcription summary notes of each discussion
2. The constants that emerged regarding each topic are were identified
3. The constants were amplified and illuminated based up on other findings that emerged in the groups that are interpreting of them.
4. The differences and divergences in each group area were identified.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section of the research report deals with the qualitative explanations of the general profile of the respondents, background of the Awuramba Community, expected tasks, and behaviors of Awuramban male adolescents as reflecting masculinity constructions, and social beliefs about Awuramban adolescents.

3.1. General Profiles of the Respondents

The profiles of the respondents have been described based on their general backgrounds like age, sex, educational background, marital status and others. Based on the gathered data, the respondents could be categorized as follows.

1. Male adolescents' group

This is the central group that is studied in this research. This group consists of eight male adolescents with the age ranges of 15 – 20 years. Their educational background is that three of them are 9th graders and the other five are 10th grade students in Woreta high school. From these eight male adolescents, two of them (with the ages of 20) are going to marry in the near future, perhaps this year.

2. The elderly group

This group comprises a total of four (two males and two females) elderly individuals with the age ranges of 73 -86 years. These individuals cannot read and write and regarding their marital status, all of them are married.

3. Fathers' group

There were about six individuals in this group and their ages range from 45- 59 years. All these respondents could read and write in a very rudimentary form.

4. Mothers' group

Like that of the fathers group, this group consists of six individuals. Their age interval is from 38- 50 years. They have also simple reading and writing skills, just like individuals who are attending adult education.

5. Brothers' group

These are the male younger brothers of male adolescents under study and their number is five. Their age ranges from 10 years – 13 years. All of them are attending their education in Amed Ber and Work Meda elementary and junior schools.

6. Sisters' group

This group consists of five younger sisters of the Awuramban male adolescents. Their age varies from 11 -13 years of age. Like to that of the younger brothers' group members, these children are also following their education in Work Meda and Amed Ber elementary and junior high schools.

7. Male peers' group

The male peers' group consists of four individuals with the age ranges of 16- 19 years. All of them are attending their education in Woreta high school.

8. Female peers' group

This final group has six members with the ages of 15- 18 years. From these, five of them are 10th grade and one of them is 9th grade students in Woreta high school.

Regarding their religious faiths, all these respondents believe only in one Creator. They are neither Christians nor Muslims and they do not have either a church or mosque. They do not have religious practices and ceremonies. With regard to the family size, in all these groups of respondents there is an average family size of four individuals per family.

3.2. General Backgrounds of Awuramba Community

So as to identify the general background of the Awuramba Community, the following questions were probed to the two key informants (the founder and the leader, as well as the receptionist) of the community.

1. Why, how, when and by whom the Awuramba community was established?
2. Currently, how many households are found in Awuramba community? What about the total number of the population?
3. What could you say about the educational backgrounds of the members of the community? Are there sex differences in females and males educational participation? What about cases of school dropouts?
4. How is marriage arranged among the peoples of the Awuramba community? What ages are considered as appropriate for marriage for males and females?
5. Are there harmful traditional practices such as abduction, rape, adultery, etc in this community?
6. Do females participate equally in the local leadership practices of various situations equally as that of males?
7. Do women have equal land ownership rights as that of males?
8. Do parents of this community prefer male children to female ones?

According to the data gathered from the two key informants of the community, the Awuramba people are peace loving Amharic speaker individuals who inhabit in the specific locality called Awuramba, a place found in Foggera Woreda, Amhara National Regional State. They number about 96 households and 400 individuals including children, adolescents, adults and elderly people. On all sides, the Amhara inhabitants,

who follow Muslim and Christian religious doctrines, surround the Awuramba village.

As the information obtained from the concerned respondents, the Awurambas have short history totally unrelated with others. It seems that this group has come to Awuramba as recently as 40 years ago. The present day Awuramba community was established in the year 1964 E. C. by a personality named Zumura Nuru.

Understanding the psychological characteristics of the Awuramba people in general and gender related behaviours of the male adolescents in particular could not be totally possible without knowing some basic ideas about the founder of this community, Zumura.

Zumura Nuru was born 60 years ago in Simada Woreda, one of the ten Woredas of South Gondar Administrative Zone in Amhara National Regional State. With regard to his religious background, he was born from parents with both orthodox Christian and Muslim religion backgrounds. Actually, his immediate parents were Muslim religion followers.

Started from his childhood years Zumura was asking questions about human differences in many aspects such as religious differences, gender differences and others. As he grew up, he expanded his questions most of them centering on religious differences. He asked the priests and the sheiks about religious differences. However, none of them gave him satisfactory answers to his questions. Having understood this, Zumura began philosophizing about human differences around the mid of his teen years. And he developed his own philosophy of life. He decided to believe in only one Creator. He believed that the Creator is one, and giving different names like Egziabher, Alah results in creating differences among human beings, which in its turn may lead to conflicts, disagreements, and other socially unacceptable behaviours. He believes that although different religion followers give different names, the first ancestors of all mankind are only Adam and Eve.

After he has developed his philosophy of life, Zumura traveled across various areas such as Gonadr, Gojjam, and Wollo to find individuals who may follow his view. After traveling in many areas for many times, he got Muslim peoples in a localities called Wudo and Sinko, who are very much cooperative but still they were preoccupied with their Muslim doctrines. By observing these people, Zumura thought that these people would be potentially changed to his view. Then to achieve his goal, he attempted to spend some of his times with them on regular basis. But this was not sufficed to reach at the point that he aspired. Thus, having left his birthplace, in 1957 E.C. he permanently settled to the present day Awuramba which is close to them. Then gradually, these people became the proponents of Zumuras view and in the year 1964, they established Awuramabn association in the heart of the Amhara Region.

The Awuramba community has some distinctive features. In the first place, they value human nature very much. For them, human beings are respected creatures. Based on this underlying view, they behave accordingly. Another important thing that has been found from the respondents is that, the Awurambas value work very much. Every body in the community is expected to work diligently until he or she is tired.

Regarding the educational backgrounds of the Awuramba community members, it was reported from the key informants that almost all members of the community, but infants and few adults with sight problems could write and read in a rudimentary form. Male and female children have equal access to education. It was further stated by them that all children who are old enough for schooling attend the informal education. An interesting and perhaps distinctive characteristic feature is that they have established their own 'kindergarten' inside their village. In this 'kindergarten', all children attends this education, and after a time they join government schools in the vicinity. The curriculum of the Awurambas 'kindergarten' has been drawn from the very basic values of the community members: human respect, loving truth, working hard avoiding unacceptable behaviours, etc. The 'teachers' of this 'kindergarten' are adolescent and community members who internalized the values, norms, standards, rules and regulations of the community. When these children become old enough to join elementary schools, they

are sent to government schools found around the vicinity, Amed Ber , Work Meda and Woreta schools. It was reported from the respondents that, equipping themselves with the knowledge, skill and attitude of the modern education would help them to develop and expand their present practices. So as to support their training with reference books, they established a library, where children, adolescents and adults could read books. Being astonished with this situation, the researcher has provided books to them.

The Awuramban community members were asked about the practices of harmful traditional practices. As the information obtained from the two key informants reveals, harmful traditional practices such as abduction, rape, adultery, polygamy, and early marriage are absent in the community. Regarding marriage, it was stated that the ages of marriage for both sexes are determined to be 20 years for males and 19 years for females. Moreover, marriage is arranged by the wills of the would be couples themselves and parents completely leave the decision for their adolescents. Weeding ceremony is completely absent and funeral ceremony is not as such pronounced. Helping others at the time of sickness is more emphasized than mourning much after death. Only few people attend the funeral ceremony while others engage in their day-to-day working activities.

With regard to the question regarding the social status of women in the community, the information obtained from the key informants indicate that women have equal statuses with their male counterparts and they take leadership roles and practices in the community. A very clear event where (as it was observed by the researcher) women exercise their leading and guiding experiences is the regular meeting, which is held every 15 days on Tuesday. In addition, it was reported by the two key informants that women have equal ownership rights in all properties of family. Finally, it was reported from the key informants that the parents prefer both male and female children equally; no priority is given either for males or female children.

Since their establishment, the Awuramba people have tried their best to sweep the roads for peace, equality, human respect, development and all things that they considered them as good. With the four decades their endeavor, they have faced various challenges from

the surrounding community and from the Derg regime. Even around the beginning of 1980s E.C., they were compelled to migrate to the Southern Peoples Nations and Nationalities. The major source of conflict with the surrounding peoples is their religious faith. In addition, the Derg was blaming them for political reasons. After 5 and 4 years of staying as migrants, in the mid 1980s, they returned back to their previous place.

As the leader and founder of the community, Zumura indicated, these days the situations are being changed. They have good social interaction with the outsiders. The outsiders buy clothes produced by Awuramba people. Besides, the customers of their motor mills are the people living in the surrounding areas of Awuramba. Moreover, the outsiders are sending their children to the Awuramba "kindergarten."

The peoples of Awuramba have a long-ranching vision that seems unattainable. In the long run, they want all peoples of the world to follow their beliefs and practices. Although, it is difficult to predict about the future fate of this community members, they have good visions, beliefs, behaviours, practices, etc, that could be good models for other communities of the surrounding people in particular and the country in general.

3.3. Expected tasks, beliefs and behaviours, of male Awuramba adolescents: As reflections of masculinity

In order to investigate the masculine characteristics of male adolescents in Awuramba community, the following major questions were raised for male adolescents themselves and their significant others (elderly people, fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, male peers and female peers) of the community during the process of focus group discussions and in-depth- interviews

1. What are the behaviors that need to be exhibited by the Awuramba male adolescents? Why? To what extent these adolescents display the required behaviors? How others reward these male adolescents when they show the required behaviors? What behaviors are expected of them to be displayed by them in the future when they take the roles of fathers? Husbands? Etc?

2. What are the behaviours that should not be displayed by Awuramban male adolescents? Why? To what extent these adolescents refrain from displaying these socially unacceptable behaviours? How these male adolescents are discouraged from reflecting these prohibited behaviors?
3. What are the tasks that need to be performed by male adolescents of the Awuramba community? What tasks are expected of them to be accomplished by them in the home, field and in different situations? How they are rewarded and punished for their actual engagement or failure to engage in the expected tasks respectively? What tasks are expected of them in the future when they take roles of fathers, husbands? Etc?
4. What social roles do Awuramba male adolescents play in the community as opposed to their female counter parts? What about in the future? What efforts are being shown to achieve to this end?
5. What social beliefs do Awuramban parents, peers, the elderly people as well as other community members have towards male adolescents?
6. What sort of physique do male adolescents of the Awuramba community prefer? Why? What are its implications for physical strength?
7. What sort of group formations do male adolescents of the Awuramba community have?
8. Do Awuramban male adolescents achieve emotional independence from their parents and other adults?

All these items of the in depth interview and topic guides of the focus group discussions were raised to all respondents: male adolescents themselves, parents, siblings, peers and the elderly people in the community. Although there are some differences in the formations of the interview questions and the topics guides, the contents are more or less the same (See Annexes I and II)

Based on the data obtained through focus group discussions and individual interviews, the masculine gender identity construction of Awuramban male adolescents is explained in relation to previous research outcomes and available theoretical explanations.

A. Expected tasks and behaviours of Awuramban male adolescents

The expected tasks and behaviours of Awuramba male adolescents could be classified as follows.

1. Desiring and achieving socially desirable behaviours

When the Awuramban male adolescents themselves, their parents, siblings, peers and the elderly people of the community were asked about behaviours that are expected to be displayed by the male adolescents, most respondents replied that they have to be cooperative, responsive, nurturing, assertive, loyal, obedient, genuine, honest, and hard working. In addition, they are expected to follow parents' instructions and to be true to their own word. For example, one participant of the focus group discussion of female peers' group said "I want a male adolescent to see me as his sister, and I want him to be faithful meaning to be loyal to me and others as well."

The respondents were further asked about the extent that how these behaviours be practically displayed by the male adolescents of Awuramba community. In their responses, almost all respondents have reported that the male adolescents are actually displaying these socially acceptable and morally desirable behaviours.

On the other hand, when the male adolescents understudy, their peers, parents, siblings and elderly people in the community were asked about the types of behavioural characteristics that should not be displayed by the Awuramban male adolescents, it was similarly reported by most respondents that they should refrain from reflecting such behaviours as: being aggressive (both in verbal and violent means), insulting others, showing dominance, show power and sense of authority, driven by sexual desires, adultery, practicing polygamy, rape, extramarital and premarital sex, (phallic masculinity characteristics); competing, struggling, combating, striving for glory (warrior masculinity

characteristics); discriminating others by sex and religion (structural masculinity characteristics); and stealing, chewing chat, lying, and fail to keep one's own words. Here is the word of one male adolescent; "knowingly or unknowingly another person from the outsiders may insult me or may take any offensive action to one of my fellows. However, I never take any offensive reaction to him; instead I try to solve the conflict with discussion".

The responses of the respondents regarding the question "to what extent the male adolescents refrain from practicing these socially unacceptable behaviours?" indicates that they don't involve themselves in these behavioural expressions. The reason why these behaviours are prohibited, according to the two key informant of the study, is due to the fact that the community members consider these behaviours as "social evils". Moreover, it was reported from all respondents that these behaviours are against the visions and the goals of the community and they are obstacles to their ways. When the male respondents were asked about their future behavioural expressions, they responded that these male adolescents are going to display these behaviours in the same manner as what is being exhibited to day.

While, most of the previous research evidences contradicts with the new finding, some other research outcomes conform to this new finding. In favor of this new finding, Mead (in Munroe and Munroe, 1994) found out in the Arapesh community of New Guinea that both men and women were found to be cooperative, un aggressive and responsive to the needs and demands others. Moreover, Bhasin (2000) stated that these days masculinities are reflected with the avoidance of aggression and violence. However, this research finding contradicts with many other findings. For example, Levine (1966) stated that male adolescents' masculinity characters of the Amharas have reference to aggressive capacity.

The contradiction of this finding from other previous research outcomes of the area may be attributed to differences in environmental influences and learning. In support of this idea, for example, Adler (in Santrock, 1996) indicated that masculine dominance is not a

natural thing, but rather an out come of conflicts among primitive people and the male role of the warrior. The expression of masculinity in sexual prowess attribute has also been disproved by Adler (in Santrock, 1996) who argued that both males and females are social, not sexual. Moreover, English contemporary accounts of masculinity tend to be leaving out issues of sexuality (Davis 2001).

Like that of the case in phallic masculinity (being aggressive, dominating others, showing sexual prowess, etc), Awuramba male adolescents maleness characteristics could not be fully understood by the attributes of warrior masculinity (such as fighting). In contrast to this new finding, Jesser (1996) asserted that it is assumed that men are to a large extent more socialized in to the acts of combat. Besides, Levine (1966) stated that Amhara male adolescents are trained to be brave and fight well, which makes them to construct warrior masculinity characteristics.

The reason why there is a discrepancy between the present finding (that of the Awurambas) and other previous research results may be due to environmental factors, most importantly socialization beliefs and practices. When the male adolescents of Awuramba and their significant others were asked about rewards and punishments used, it was indicated that these adolescents are encouraged to exhibit behaviours that are considered as desirable, and are ridiculed for displaying behaviours that are considered as undesirable. Reinforcements, punishments, observation and modeling seem important ways of molding the behaviours of male adolescents in Awuramba community.

Regarding reinforcements, as it was reported by most groups of respondents that the Awuramba children and adolescents are taught and encouraged to exhibit the required behaviours. And when they actually show these behavoiours, they get praise and social approval from the community members. For instance, a male adolescent reported as “our parents and community members advise and encourage us to display acceptable behaviours”. Besides, the adolescents in this study may observe their parents and other adults displaying the socially desirable behaviours and the male adolescents imitate them and behave accordingly. These adolescents may also observe other adults displaying the

required behaviours and getting social approval and appreciation from others (vicarious reinforcements). As a result of the above explanations, the male adolescents internalize the expected behaviours and behave in that way. An interesting condition, where by the Awuramban male adolescents get the chances of encouragement, is the regular meeting held every 15 days on Tuesday. In this meeting, the good behaviours displayed by male adolescents are raised and encouragements are given.

A question about the types and forms of punishments used to discourage male adolescents from exhibiting prohibited behavior was raised to the respondents during the focus group discussions and individual interviews. The response of the participants of the study has indicated that preventing the occurrence of the undesirable behaviour is preferred to taking corrective measures after the behavioural happenings. When one male adolescent begins to show the signs of the unacceptable behavior, immediate constructive comments are given to him. It was stated by one male adolescent as “if I tend to make mistakes, others correct me immediately.” Or it may be discussed during the regular meeting day and he is advised to stop that unwanted behaviour. Negative critics and things that may annoy the adolescents are not done by the Awurambas. Cursing, which is common among the Amharas (personal experience) does not have any place in Awuramba. Measures that may result humiliation are not taken. When the founder and leader of the community was asked about measures that may be taken for an adolescent who could not be corrected by the above means totally, he responded that although it did not happen still, if any member of the community is unwilling to be obeyed by the rules, norms and standards of the community, alienation, the final and the highest form of punishment may be administered on him.

2. Achieving Masculine Social Role

According to Havighurst (in Kimmel and Weiner, 1985), achieving masculine role is one of the developmental tasks of male adolescents. Most of the respondents of the focus group discussion and individual interview (male adolescents, parents, siblings, peers, of male adolescents and the elderly people of the Awuramba community) were asked to

give their ideas about the expected tasks of male adolescent that should be performed by them in the home and outside the home. An interesting account of data was collected from the respondents. And the finding indicates that there is no division of labor based on biological sex. Most of the respondents repeatedly and consistently reported that except biological and physiological differences that come naturally, men and women are regarded as equal. The respondents were further asked to give their ideas about the types of working activities that males should be engaged both in the home and in the field. When they replied to this question, all of the respondents underscored that those male adolescents of the Awuramba community engaged in types of working activities that are considered as feminine works in other cultures. It was reported that these male adolescents participate in kitchen activities such as baking injera, spinning, and taking care of children as adolescent girls and women participate in field oriented activities such as ploughing, harvesting, etc that needs physical strength and stamina. As reported by some respondents (key informants and parents group of the focus group discussion), division of work among the peoples of Awuramba is made based on mental and physical capability to perform the task. They have justified this way of assigning task by stating that two males have different physical and mental capacity to accomplish a certain job. It is true for females too. In addition to the statements provided by respondents, the research team also observed physically that men perform “women’s task” and the vice-versa. Males were spinning cotton and females were participating in the activities of weaving and ploughing.

On the personal observations of the researcher himself, behavioural differences that were observed between males and females were name identities and wearing styles. The names given to male adolescents and their female counterparts are different. It is similar with that of the Amhara Muslim and Christian naming identities (personal experiences). In addition, the wearing styles of the male and female Awuramban adolescents are similar with that of the Amhara male and female wearing styles respectively (personal experiences and observations).

When this finding is compared with other previous research evidences, it could be seen from two different directions: in favor and against, and of course some times there are things in between. To begin with the contradiction, Munroe and Munroe (1994) indicated that although there are many exceptions, most people in societies adopt most of the behaviorus defined as appropriate to biological sex. This idea is strengthen by Barry, Backon and Child (in Munroe, and Munroe, 1994) who underlined that there are behavioral modal differences in every society sometimes strong, sometimes weak, but always present. In addition, this finding is against the Connell's (in Belay, 1999) conception of hegemonic masculinity in relation to women subordinate. Rather it seems to comply with the idea that of the Awuramaba male adolescents' masculinity is complementary to the femal' gender identities.

However, there are research evidences that challenge the idea that sex-role differences are universal. In Mead's (in Munroe and Munroe, 1994) study, no idea was found that biological sex was a powerful driving force in Arapesh of New Guinea. In addition, even though the situation has been changed now in Kibbutz of Israeli (Sapiro in Moore and Gillette, 1992) there was no sexual division of labor between males and females. Men used to work in the kitchen and women used to work in the field. Furthermore, according to Hosted (in Gardinr; et al, 1998) in famine work value cultures like Norway, women's contributions are equally valued and positions of power are held by both males and females, and males are expected to participate in house works like care taking. Jung's (in Unger and Crawford, 1994) idea that says no man is purely masculine as three is no purely feminine woman seems to support the idea that masculine behaviours may not always be displayed by males.

Moreover, Dish (1997) underscored that sex-role is not always a means of reflecting gender identity in general and masculinity in particular. Dish's (1997) idea was justified by Zeldtich (in Munroe and Munroe, 1994) who pointed out that two males might differ considerably in attitudes, interests, and mode of interaction and yet both are considered as masculine. This finding is also supported by Bhasin (2000) who stated that these days' men are directed toward gender equality and egalitarian form of life. Furthermore, Pleck

(in Belay, 1999) indicated that in the concept of modern masculinity, interpersonal skills are more important.

As indicated above most of the previous research evidences indicate that biological sex may not be always used as a dividing line for male and female behaviours, which seems to be true in Awuramba. The possible explanation may direct to the importance of environmental factors in influencing male and female behaviours. In supporting this idea, Munroe and Munroe (1994) explained that the diverse responses patterns between and with in individuals give ample testimony to the influence of experience and learning on sex-role behaviour. According to social learning theory (Unger and Crawford, 1994) gender development occurs through reinforcement, punishment, observation and imitation.

Commencing from an early age, Awuramban children are purposefully taught and encouraged to value both males and females equally. As a result of their egalitarian view, the community members and the outsiders reward male adolescents of Awuramba adolescents. It was reported from the respondents that the community member and outsiders appreciate these adolescents for their views and practices of gender equality. In addition, the Awuramban male adolescents observe that their parents are behaving based on the norms of male and female equality. In this way, these male adolescents imitate these beliefs and behaviorus from adult modes. By the way, it seems that a male adolescent takes not only male models, but also females. As the data obtained from the respondents indicate, if a male adolescent tends to show some sort of discrimination, between males and females, he will be advised not to do so, meaning he will be ridiculed from showing this tendency. As the information obtained from the key informants, until the data was collected, no male adolescent was found behaving against the norms, and standards of gender equality of the community.

Besides reinforcements, punishments, observation and imitation, other possible explanations could be given for the appearing of gender-egalitarian peoples in Awuramba: These are the ideas of androgyny and sex-role transcendence.

Since the Awuramban male adolescents are displaying both desirable masculine (being assertive) and feminine (taking care of children in the home) behaviours (Santrock, 1996), they may be considered as androgynous.

In explaining the sex-role characteristics of Awuramban male adolescents, the sex-role transcendence model seems sounder than the idea of androgyny. The Awuramban male adolescents are sex- role transcendent in a sense that they have developed the capacity to look beyond sex-roles entirely and permit them to take advantage of their strengths and talents regardless of biological sex (Stienberg, 1993).

The absence of masculine stereotypes among male adolescents of the Awuramba community may provide opportunities for both sexes, considering talent and perpetuating fairness in the community.

Based on the above explanations of sex-role differences among many societies in general and the case of Awuramba in particular, it may be possible to use Munroe and Munroe s' (1994) conclusion that says "human nature is indeed unbelievably malleable".

3. Preparing for marriage and family life

The respondents of the eight focus group discussions and all the interviewees were asked about the tasks that male adolescents should be engaged. According to the response of these respondents, among others, one major developmental task that should be achieved by these adolescents is preparing for marriage and family life. Furthermore, when the key informants were asked about marriage arrangements and ages of marriage, interesting findings have been obtained. Regarding the ideal age of marriage, it is explicitly determined by the community members that male and female adolescents are expected to get married at the ages of 20 and 19 years respectively. As the information obtained from the male adolescents themselves and other respondents, as the adolescents approach to the age of marriage, the Awuramban male adolescents are expected to be

psychologically ready to achieve this developmental task. An interesting finding obtained here is that both male and female adolescents are supposed to be refrained from practicing premarital sexual intercourse. They are expected to be chastity until marriage.

When this finding is compared with prior research works, there are research results that contradict and support this present finding. It was stated by Gardiner and others (1998) that male adolescents are frequently encouraged to engage in various types of activities, in order to practice sexual behaviour, satisfying their sexual behaviour, and express their virility and dominance. By the same fashion, according to Levine (1965) although Amhara public norms require boys to be chastity until marriage, premarital sexual experimentation for boys is regarded as a natural occurrence. However, for Awurambas because of the existence of strict taboos and perhaps due to other reasons, males and females do not practice premarital sexual intercourse. They also mention this norm and standard as one way of preventing the transmission of HIV/AIDS. All over the world, there are some cultures (eg. in China and Guatemala), where sex before marriage is prohibited. For instance, Gardiner and Others (1998) found out that Mayan adolescents of Guatemala respect cultural traditions and generally abstain from sexual contact before marriage.

Another distinctive feature of Awurambas is the way they arrange marriage. When the respondents replied to the question “how and by whom is marriage arranged in Awurawba?” it was indicated that neither parents nor other adults entail in the process of mate selection. The choice is completely under the personal will of the adolescents themselves. The saying that “men choose and women are chosen” is completely out of the mind of each individual in Awuramba. This finding is against Lip’s (1997) idea that males are initiators of opposite sex. According to Levine (1965) in Amhara culture, parents, particularly the father arranges marriage to sons or daughters. However, the case in Mayan community of Guatemala coincides with the practices of Awarambas. In Mayan community of Guatemala adolescents are free to choose their partner and parents do not have many things to say about whom the adolescent should marry.

According to the data obtained from the male adolescents themselves, parents and the elderly peoples groups, there are two important reasons why the Awuramban male adolescents are allowed to select their partners by their own. The first reason is that marriage is an important and critical part of one's life. Thus, taking self decision and being responsible for the outcomes of the decision is required. The second reason is related with the idea of divorce. Divorce is forbidden in Awuramba. And this makes marriage relationship as something that stays until the end of one's life. Therefore, to pursue happy and interesting life for longer periods of time, adolescents should be provided with opportunities of selecting their partners by their own.

As it was indicated during the focus group discussion and individual interviews, rites of passage among Awuramban adolescents are absent. Even, there is neither wedding ceremony nor new clothes are bought for the would be couples. Moreover, no go-betweens from the community members are required to process the events and conditions before marriage. The reason why wedding ceremony is not prepared is that the Awurambas believe that it is one of the harmful traditional practices that affect them economically in a negative way. Simply, the bride and her male counter part 'legalize' their marriage in front of three community members who are present in the area for that particular time. In contrast to this, although pronounced rituals are absent among the Amhara adolescents (Levine, 1965) there are wedding ceremony and other processes.

When the Awuramban adolescents were asked about their future view of their family life, they replied that they would not practice extramarital sex, polygamy, adultery etc. And they also reported that they have planned to play a good role of the husband and father based on the norms, standards and rules of the community.

4. Acquiring a Set of Values and an Ethical System as a Guide to Behaviour; Developing Ideology

Another task that is expected to be developed by the Awuramban male adolescents is the acquirement of values that guides behaviour. Most of the respondents of the of the focus

group discussion and the individual interviewees underscored that the Awuramba community has values that are supposed to be internalized by each male adolescent in particular and to all others in general. It was found out that respecting mankind, supporting other and sharing, loving work, leading communal life and avoidance of discriminating others based on sex and religion are the major values that guide the day to day activities and behaviours of the community members including male adolescents.

With regard to respecting human nature, all respondents repeatedly reported that male adolescents should respect humankind. It seems that the Awurambas male adolescents give positive regard and they also trust others. This finding contradicts with that of Levine's (1965) who stated that for Amhara male adolescent has views of human nature, which is dominated by his perception of man's inherent aggressiveness and untrustworthiness. This difference may result from differences in socialization practices of the Amharas and the Awurambas. In the case of the Amhara, Levine (1965) stated that the Amhara father trains his sons to be brave and to fight well. In the case of the Awuramba on the other hand, beginning from 4 and 5 years children are purposefully taught to value human beings and other community members reinforce these behaviors. In addition, Awuramban male adolescents observe other models of the community while valuing others and imitate them. Another important value of the Awurambas is the value of the psychology of work. The gathered data indicates that work is highly valued by the Awurambas. Although there is a variation in degree, the Awurambas' chief goal of life is similar with that of the Amharas that is having worked to eat (*sartomeblat*). This implies that work promotes independence (for Amharas) and honesty (for Amharas and Awurambas). Stealing is also shameful both in Amharas (Levine, 1965) and Awurambas. Among other things, the Awuramba children and adolescents are trained to attach their lives with work. In their training, children and adolescents are encouraged by a slogan that says:

እኛ ታዳጊ ህጻናት የሰውን ገንዘብ አንነካም
ወድቆ ብናገኝ ለባለቤቱ እንመልሳለን
በመተባበር እና በመተዛዘን እየሰራን እናመርታለን
የሰላም ኑሯችን ይለመልማል።

Awuramban male adolescents and other respondents have been asked about the natures of their lives. According to the responses of the respondents and personal observation of the researcher, it was found out that Awurambas are communal and collectivist people. And the male Awuramban adolescents are supposed to develop the belief and practices of communal life. Individuality has little place in Awuramba. They work together and finally they share equally what they have produced. Following the foot-steps of their adult role models, the male and female adolescents are living together in the town of Woreta, where they temporarily stay for the purpose of attending their education. However, for the Amharas who live surrounding the Awuramba area emphasizes individuality. According to Levine (1965) as the saying goes “home and the grave are by oneself”, the Amharas like to live on their own land with a good distance from their neighbors. This discrepancy may come from social and historical differences between the Amharas and Awurambas.

Like other community member the male adolescents of the Awuramba community are supposed to develop gender and religious ideologies. The key informants, the elderly people and the parents group consistently stated the presences of various forms of religious practices create discrimination among people. Based on this underlying assumption, it was indicated by them that they believe in one Creator. They neither have religious institutions like church and mosque, neither there are special days attached to religious contents. In a similar way, respondents repeatedly said that both males and females are equal, and there should be any discrimination of individuals based on differences in biological sex.

In addition, according to the data gathered from adolescents themselves and other respondents providing care and support for others who deserve the assistance is another important value of Awuramban male adolescents. Elderly people who are unable to support themselves due to age, other individuals who are unable help themselves due to illness, and children get continuous care and support from these adolescents. Helping others at the time of need is considered as a norm in Awuramba.

The elderly people who are highly valued by the Awuramba peoples get the required support from male adolescents. Male adolescents describe the elderly people as respected individuals, not as materials or properties or things that should be thrown when they finish their services. Based on the needs of these elderly people, male adolescents accomplish tasks that benefit the older ones. The major tasks that male adolescents are expected to and perform in actual terms are: building houses for the elderly, washing their bodies and their clothes, feeding them, taking them to the health centers when they are sick, etc. In addition, all these activities are also done for those who are unable to support themselves due to illness or any other reason.

Next to the elderly and the sick individuals, children of the Awuramba community are expected to get care and support from male adolescents. The very astonishing experience and could be seen as their distinctive feature of the Awuramba adolescents and children is that they make a line (queues) when they go to and return from schools. The reason for this has been found as just to protect and give help for younger children at the time of emergency. They believe that a child may be tired very much, or he or she may be sick, or he or she may encounter some dangerous things in his or her way. The older children always placed in the front and back positions of the line, while the smaller and younger ones occupy the central position. By making the younger children in central positions of the line, they are protected from dangerous occurrences. Those who are at the back and at the front part of the line get the opportunity to observe the incidence that may occur and it will enable them to give them immediate aid. Here all children are expected to be safeguarded from any danger equally, and giving priorities to younger brothers and younger sisters is not the case in Awuramba. This finding complies with the idea that growing as a man in collectivist society may involve construction of masculinity in terms of caring for others (Belay, 1999).

Male adolescents are also supposed to help the community members in general and their parents in particular after school. Although priorities of adolescents and children are attending formal education in the government schools found in the vicinity, they

participate in various activities of the community both in and out of the home. In the home they engage in activities like looking kids, participate in kitchen activities, baking injera, and others as well. Outside the home, weaving, ploughing, tailoring, selling products to the market are some of the major tasks that male adolescents of the Awuramba community are engaging.

Finally, the Awuramba male adolescents assist both male and female children and adolescents in their studying activities. If one student faces some problems of understanding the learning material, the male adolescents tutor him or her. Besides, based on the programs arranged by the community leader, male adolescents give in formal education to all members of the community except infants and those who have sight problems.

It seems mainly that Awuramba people give more value for doing well to others than expecting from others. Every body in the community is inherently motivated and ready to do good for others. Generally the assistance and help provided for others by adolescents is just from deep sense for philanthropic reason, not to get a good return at another time. Helping one another is a norm and a great social value for this community. Nobody does not wait until he or she is told to do so. Every body knows what to do, when to do, and for whom to do. It was further reported by the respondents that they will stick to these values in the future.

Masculinity construction of Awuramabn male adolescents in terms of developing ideology is expressed from keeping in touch with these values of the community both in beliefs and practices.

5. Accepting one's own physique and using one's own body effectively

When the respondents were asked questions about the physique preference of the Awuramban male adolescents, they replied that there is no specific type of physical characteristic which is admired by others and male adolescents themselves. It was further

stated that it is because they believe that physique is some thing that comes naturally and it was also indicated that valuing a certain type of physique may create discrimination among adolescents. This implies that the Awurambas male adolescents seem that they are not as such pre-occupied with their bodily characteristics and they accept what they have. This finding seems against the research evidence found by Gunn and Matthews (1979) who stated that during the period of adolescence, individuals become more aware than ever before of physical differences, compare their bodies with those of their peers ask questions about the others' ideas of masculine body are not. The reason for this may be due to the absence or very little (if any) nature of masculine stereotypes in Awuramba. This explanation has the support of Gunn and Matthews (1979) who pointed out that how easily adolescents deal with physical changes will partially reflect how closely their bodies match the well-defined stereotypes of the perfect body for a young man.

Physical strength is considered as a function of one's physique. As the gathered data indicates being physically strong is valued and emphasized by Awuramban adolescents. However, these adolescents do not use their physical strength for socially unacceptable behaviours such as dominating others, fighting, etc. Rather, it is just valued for the sake of fitting oneself to the working conditions that requires physical strength and stamina. This finding contradicts with available research evidences. In many communities throughout the world, men define their male identity through physical feats such as spear throwing; riding, fighting, and contents of bravery are common (Dish, 1997). Dish (1997) further stated that in most societies where physical strength is no longer a prerequisite for men to carry out their everyday tasks; ideals of masculine strength are promoted through cultural icons of physically forceful masculinity. Environmental factors particularly experience and learning may play important roles for getting different research finding in different communities and different times. As stated previously, the Awuramba adolescents are taught to avoid aggressive behaviours, and to value more on the importance of work as a result of which these adolescents relate their physical strength for performing productive and constructive works rather than using one's physical strength for socially unacceptable behaviours.

6. Preparing for an economic career

As the data collected through focus group discussion and individual interview show, preparing for an economic career is another expected task of Awuramban male adolescents. It was indicated by the respondents that their career goals are directed towards occupations that require formal education as a result of which all male adolescents are attending formal education in Woreta High School. The key informants underlined that these adolescent should do well in school. And it is expected of them that they should apply the concepts that they have learned in the class to the actual real life situations of their day-to-day life activities. Although, priorities are given for career orientations that are of high status nature, these adolescents are ready to work any type of work. As far as it generates income, the Awurambas engage in any kind of working activities. The male adolescents reported that they anticipate types of career activities based on the idea of gender-equality. This finding contradicts with the Lip's (1997) idea that males are breadwinner and financial provider

Regarding the future prospects of the Awuramba male adolescents career orientation, they have reported that they will have form of career orientation that does not consider male – female differences.

7. Achieving Mature Relations with the Age Mates of Both Sexes

Developing new and mature relations with age mates of both sexes is one of the developmental tasks of adolescents (Havighrest in Kimmel and Weiner, 1985). In contrast to this, most of the time male adolescents form groups with their same sex-peers and male bonding, homosociality and homophobia (attributes of group masculinity) are characteristic feature of them. Male adolescents of Awuramba were asked a question about the nature of their group formations and their response indicates that there are “cross-gender” group formations. The males’ adolescents’ social group formation and closer relationship is not only limited to their same-sex peers, but also to opposite sex-age

mates. A good indication of this non-gender based group formation was observed by the researcher in the town of Woreta, where both sexes of adolescent students live in one compound. In addition, it was observed (personal observation of the research), these adolescents do not seem that they experience homophobia. This may be due to their continuous exposures of new comers as visitors.

Among others, one important reason for the availability existence of male-female bonding and hetro-sociality, may be due to the fact that Awuramba peoples are egalitarian people who believe in fairness, and equality of males and females. These behaviours are learned by the male adolescents by means of reinforcements, punishments and modeling. It was reported from respondents that these types of group formation will continue to be displayed by male adolescents in their future anticipation.

B. Social beliefs of Awuramban male adolescents

The elderly people, both parents, female and male peer and siblings of the Awuramba community were asked about the attitudes that they have towards Awuramban male adolescents. The reactions of these respondents show that most of them have positive attitudes towards male adolescents. The respondents describe these male adolescents as that they are predictable, reliable, responsible, genuine, honest, loyal and constructive. Furthermore it was reported that they do not challenge the existing social status que of the community. This present finding contradicts with the ideas of Maseres (in Hurlock, 1974) and Yusuf (1998). Majeres (in Hurlock, 1974) pointed out that many popular beliefs about adolescents are negative. In the same way, Yusuf (1998) revealed that Ethiopian adolescents are insolent, unkempt, unpredictable, emotionally hot, adventures, and challenging the statuesque.

The reason why this present finding is different from others' work is appears to be due to socialization practices and beliefs. In Awuramba children and adolescents are not only expected to be loyal, predictable, constructive, etc but also they are explicitly told and taught that they should display these behaviours. When the male adolescents of

Awuramba community reveal these behaviours, the community members develop favorable beliefs and attitudes towards them.

As a result of this, it was indicated by the respondents that Awuramba male adolescents have almost equal status with that of adults. Their ideas are listened and heard. The roles that they play in the community are acknowledged. Interestingly, it was reported that these adolescents are given leading and guiding statuses and roles during the meeting days. The respondents were asked a question about the status that they have in the community. And the collected response indicated that these adolescents are given equal status as adults. It was reported by the respondents that Awuramban male adolescent's ideas get the attentions of the parents and adults, their ideas are heard.

3.4. Summary of the findings and discussion

As it was indicated in the result and discussion section of this research report, masculine gender identity construction of Awuramban male adolescents in relation to the expected tasks was studied and explained. In doing this, an attempt was done to infer masculinity qualities of Awuramban adolescents from their expected developmental tasks: achieving mature relations with others, achieving masculine social role, accepting one's own physique and use one's body effectively, preparing for marriage and family life, preparing for an economic career, developing emotional interdependence from parents and other adults, developing ideology and achieving and desiring socially responsible behaviours.

When the masculine construction of Awuramban male adolescents are seen in relation to the expected tasks of the community, the concept of masculinity in Awuramba does not refer to aggressive expressions, women subordination, and the ability to make little of physical hardship of Amharas (Levine, 1966); being a warrior and showing physical strength as well as cultures of sex, hunting, male ritual in Sambia of New Guinea (Herdt, 1987); patriarchal and hierarchical of Britain (Pringle and Pease, 2001); financial provider, courageous, adventurers, competitive and male solidarity of Brazil (Medrado,

Lyra, and Monteiro,2000); previously dominant form of masculinity inherent in mateship in Australia (Pease, 2001); and heterosexual prowess in most societies, etc. Rather, it seems that Awuramban concept of masculinity has reference to more commitment to ideas of gender equality like those of the peoples of Finland (Pringle and Pease,2001); hard working good family man like in Late Modern Ireland (Ferguson,2001); and adult moral responsibility like that of America (Levine, 1966).

The result of this inference indicates that the masculinity attributes of Awuramba male adolescents have been constructed from the thoughts, beliefs and practices of gender equality, egalitarian way of life, peaceful manner, and valuing physical strength for the sake of being capable for physical works. These beliefs and practices of the male adolescents of the study are reinforced and encouraged by the community members. In addition, the male adolescents learn these behaviours by observing their adult models. When ideas of masculinity qualities are drawn from these expected tasks and actual engagements of the tasks, it seems that the basic attributes of masculinity: phallic, warrior, self fulfilling, and structural masculinities are not as such pronounced maleness characteristics of Awuramban male adolescents. The tendency of displaying these socially unacceptable behaviours is punished and ridiculed by parents and adults of the community. In addition parents, peers, siblings and other community members have positive beliefs and attitudes towards Awuramban male adolescents.

Although it appears that it coincides with some previous research outcomes conducted in the area, it seems to the most part that this present finding contradicts with other research evidences conducted before. The major reason for the presence of this discrepancy seems to result from differences in environmental exposures. Socialization beliefs and practices that prevail in Awuramba seem to play great roles in developing a community, where the masculine constructions of its male adolescents become different and distinctive. Learning by means of reinforcement, punishment, and modeling seems important in creating peoples of a community, whose masculinity characteristics are constructed based on gender equality and egalitarian way of life, where biological sex is not a dividing line of male and female behaviorus.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. Conclusions

Based on the finding on the study of masculine gender-identity construction of Awuramban male adolescents the following conclusions could be made.

1. Awuramban male adolescents are expected to display behaviours such as being loyal, cooperative, responsive, nurturing, assertive, obedient, genuine, honest, and hardworking, following parents instructions, and be true to their words. While they are prohibited from exhibiting prohibited behaviors such as: being aggressive, insulting others, showing dominance , power and sense of authority, driven by sexual desires; practicing premarital sex, polygamy, extramarital sex, rape, adultery (phallic masculinity characteristics); competitive, struggling, combating, striving for glory (warrior muscularity characteristics); discriminating others by sex (structural masculinity characteristics); stealing, lying, chewing chat and fail to keep one's own words. This implies that the Awuramban male adolescents masculine construction tends to peaceful and equality based attributes of maleness.
2. Awramban male adolescents are supposed to be engaged in the expected tasks such as desiring and achieving describable behaviours, developing ideology about the nature of humankind, work, communal life, gender equality and religion, preparing for marriage and family life, preparing for an economic career, developing emotional interdependence, achieving the role of male and female gender equality, developing mature relationships with members of both sexes, accepting one's own physique and use effectively for work and etc. When the masculine qualities of Awuramban male adolescents are drawn from these tasks, hegemonic and dominating form of masculinity is absent. Instead, it could be explained best by more positive and equality based beliefs and practices.
3. The Awuramban male adolescents are practically engaging in the tasks as per the expectation of themselves and the community members. This implies that

there are no gaps in the expectations and practical accomplishments of these adolescents.

4. As a result of their practical accomplishments of tasks, Awuramban male adolescents are appreciated, encouraged and praised by both the community members and the outsiders.
5. Although adolescents studied, perform their tasks and display the behaviours based on the social expectations, some preventive measures are taken when these adolescents tend to show some sorts of behaviours that are socially unacceptable and morally undeniable.
6. Parents, elderly people, peers, said siblings of Awuramba community have positive beliefs and attitudes towards the male adolescents in the community. As a result this, they are given social statuses which are equal to that of adults.

4.2. Recommendations

Based on the outcome of these research findings, the researchers would like to suggest the following recommendations for concerned bodies.

1. Concerned bodies should conduct further studies on the issue. It seems that the Awurambas are unique in their gender identity constructions. Although it was clearly indicated in this study that the masculine characteristics of Awuramban male adolescents do not coincide with the previous research works, it appears that it did not fully indicate what types of masculine attributes are displayed by them. Therefore, the researcher suggests further study on the area.
2. Concerned bodies particularly the officials at the various levels of Amhara National Regional State should take Awuramban male adolescents as models to other adolescents in the surrounding areas. It was indicated from the finding that Awuramban male adolescents are exhibiting socially acceptable and morally desirable behaviours which could be very much useful in socializing children and adolescents of the areas outside the Awuramba community.
3. Concerned bodies (such as women's affairs officials) should get lessons from the Awuramba peoples. Harmful traditional practices which are common in most

parents of the country (early marriage, female genital mutilation, male domination, male land and property ownerships, etc) are absent in Awuramba.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX: I

TOPIC GUIDES FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Name of the group: _____

Name of the moderator: _____

Name of the note taker: _____

Date: _____

Duration of the focus group discussion: _____

Instruction

The purpose of this focus group discussion is to identify the beliefs, tasks, expectations, and behaviours of male adolescents in Awuramaba community. Since your ideas are valuable for the successful completion of this study, you are required to give your ideas as per the questions.

General profile of the respondents of the focus group discussion

Code	Age	Educational background	Religion	Place of living
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				

1. What are the behaviors that need to be exhibited by the Awuramban male adolescents? Why? To what extent these adolescents display the required behaviors? How others reward these male adolescents when they show the required behaviors? What behaviors are expected of them to be displayed by them in the future when they take the roles of fathers? Husbands? Etc?
2. What are the behaviours that should not be displayed by Awuramban male adolescents? Why? To what extent these adolescents refrain from displaying these socially unacceptable behaviours? How these male adolescents are discouraged from reflecting these prohibited behaviorus?
3. What are the tasks that need to be performed by male adolescents of the Awuramba community? What tasks are expected of them to be accomplished by them in the home, field and in different situations? How they are rewarded and punished for their actual engagement or failure to engage in the expected tasks respectively? What tasks are expected of them in the future when they take roles of fathers, husbands? Etc?
4. What social roles do Awaramba male adolescents play in the community as opposed to their female counter parts? What about in the future? What efforts are being shown to achieve to this end?
5. What social beliefs do Awuramban parents, peers, the elderly people as well as other community members have towards male adolescents?
6. What sort of physique do male adolescents of the Awuramba community prefer? Why? What are its implications for physical strength?
7. What sort of group formations do male adolescents of the Awuramba community have?
8. Do Awuramban male adolescents achieve emotional independence form their parents and other adults?

Thank you

APPENDIX: II

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Instruction

The purpose of the interview is to identify the expected tasks, behaviours and beliefs of male adolescents in Awuramaba community. Since your contribution in providing the required ideas for the questions is very important, you are required to give your answers genuinely.

1. Age: _____
2. Sex: _____
3. Place of living: _____
4. Marital status: _____
5. Educational background: _____
6. Religion: _____
7. Number of family members: _____
8. What are the behaviors that need to be exhibited by the Awuramban male adolescents? Why? To what extent these adolescents display the required behaviors? How others reward these male adolescents when they show the required behaviors? What behaviors are expected of them to be displayed by them in the future when they take the roles of fathers? Husbands? Etc?
9. What are the behaviours that should not be displayed by Awuramban male adolescents? Why? To what extent these adolescents refrain from displaying these socially unacceptable behaviours? How these male adolescents are discouraged from reflecting these prohibited behaviorus?

10. What are the tasks that need to be performed by male adolescents of the Awuramba community? What tasks are expected of them to be accomplished by them in the home, field and in different situations? How they are rewarded and punished for their actual engagement or failure to engage in the expected tasks respectively? What tasks are expected of them in the future when they take roles of fathers, husbands? Etc?
11. What social roles do Awuramba male adolescents play in the community as opposed to their female counter parts? What about in the future? What efforts are being shown to achieve to this end?
12. What social beliefs do Awuramban parents, peers, the elderly people as well as other community members have towards male adolescents?
13. What sort of physique do male adolescents of the Awuramba community prefer? Why? What are its implications for physical strength?
14. What sort of group formations do male adolescents of the Awuramba community have?
15. Do Awuramban male adolescents achieve emotional independence from their parents and other adults?

Thank you

APPENDIX: III

INTREVIEW GUIDES FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Instruction

The purpose of this interview is to obtain some of the general backgrounds of the Awuramba community and is prepared for the two key informants of the community. Since your ideas are very important, you are required to give your responses to the following questions.

1. Sex: _____
2. Age: _____
3. marital status: _____
4. Educational background: _____
5. Place of living: _____
6. Religion: _____
7. Family size: _____
8. What is your role in the community?
9. Why, how, when and by whom the Awuramba community was established?
10. Currently, how many households are found in Awuramba community? What about the total number of the population?
11. What could you say about the educational backgrounds of the members of the community? Are there sex differences in females and males educational participation? What about cases of school dropouts?
12. How is marriage arranged among the peoples of the Awuramaba community? What ages are appropriate for marriage?
13. Are there harmful traditional practices in this community?
14. Do females participate equally in the local leadership practices of various satiations equally as that of males?

15. Do women have equal ownership rights as that of males?

Thank you

Declaration

I, the undersigned candidate declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been submitted for a degree in any other university that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been acknowledged dully.

Mulat Asnake



Candidate's signature

This thesis has been submitted for examination for my approval as a university advisor.

Belay Tefera (PhD.)

Advisor's signature