

**Gender and Difference: A comparative case study of grade nine students from five schools in the greater Pietermaritzburg area.**

**By**

**Clare Ann Erasmus (née Ferguson)**

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## ABSTRACT

South African society is characterised by race, class and gender inequality. Social inequality is at the root of individual social identity formation affecting how individuals feel, think and relate to others. This study investigates the perceptions of school-going children, focusing particularly on perceived differences between boys and girls with respect to the activities, games and sport they prefer to play and who prefer to play with. It also looks at gendered expectations - of themselves, of children of the opposite sex as well as those of same sex – both with respect to play and to performance in certain school subjects.

This study draws on some of the data collected in the CRG Research Programme. It is based on a sample of 416 grade nine pupils, aged 15 years and older. Respondents attend at rural, farm, urban historically black, urban historically white and urban private schools, within a forty-five kilometres radius of the city of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal.

This study finds that while social identity theory may be useful as a micro and middle level theory, it is not able to account adequately at the macro level. Also, and in respect to gender as an identifier, this study suggests that while it is significant, it is not always so. Other social factors, particularly race, class and locality does override or take precedence in shaping identity and expected life chances.

## **PREFACE**

I hereby declare that this whole thesis, unless noted otherwise, is my original work, and has not been submitted, in part or in whole to any other university.

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## **ACRONYMS**

CASE: Community Agency for Social Enquiry.

CRG Research Programme: Class, Race and Gender Research Programme.

df: Degrees of Freedom.

HSRC: Human Sciences Research Council

n: number

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

South African society, recognised for the legacy of apartheid, is characterised by substantial inequality. Some of these aspects of this inequality are based on class, race and gender. Social inequality in this sense refers to a lack of equal access to things society – particularly power, prestige and wealth. Such things generally determine one's life chances.

What needs to be investigated is how these inequalities shape how we come to perceive ourselves as who we are - our social and gender identity. A person's social and gender identity affects how they feel, think and relate to themselves and others.

“South African social science has yet to generate a textured body of knowledge that systematically reflects on the people who make up our society. Sociologically, it would be fair to say that our knowledge of ourselves as a society is poor. Intellectually, the agendas that have dominated social scientific enquiry until recently have precluded or excluded the exploration of identity as an independent area of enquiry leaving lacunae in areas of critical significance” (Marcus, 1998:2).

This research is based on new empirical evidence and hopes to gain ground into the perceptions of school-going children - how they feel, think and relate to themselves and others in their social world. It is important to note that this research is not on the education system itself, but rather on school-going children. This research is interested in how individuals come to make up this social world from their various backgrounds.

This research makes use of race, locality and gender as important variables when analysing the data. In terms of race, the focus is really on black and white respondents. The concept race is not easy to define. Race, as a concept, has been used in the categorising of people on the basis of physical characteristics. Using and defining race, in

this sense, has been challenged and today sociologists and anthropologists regard race as a social rather than a biological concept.

“Instead, we find that the term ‘race’, when applied to humans, is essentially social and political in meaning and reference, rather than biological. In South Africa, more so than anywhere else in the world, the political, economic and social status of every individual is conditioned, if not predetermined, by his race” (Boonzaier and Sharp, 1988:58).

Realising in South Africa that terminology used to describe race is extremely politicised, this research uses the term black to refer to African people – as this is the way that respondents mostly refer to themselves (Marcus: 1998). The term ‘white’ is used to refer people of European origin or decent. Both black and white groups are diverse and complex groups.

The schools were selected on the basis of their location and the people and communities they served and serve. The schools are not the focus of the study, but rather the physical site, which brings a cross-section of children and young people together.

It is acknowledged that there are many ways of examining difference, but for the purpose of this study, the focus is on perceived differences between boys and girls in terms of their preferences around activities, games and sport and with whom they prefer to play. It investigates gendered expectations of themselves, of members of the opposite, as well as of those of the same sex and the obstacles they may face. This study examines school subjects and perceived gender expectations of certain subjects and their educational expectations. It also looks at what respondents want to be when they grow up.

This study is part of a larger research programme otherwise known as the CRG Research Programme, which has been conceived of as a ten-year longitudinal research. Social scientific studies in South Africa of this nature are few and far between. Existing knowledge is partial and limited and focuses on particular issues such as teenage

pregnancy, drug and alcohol abuse, gangsterism, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) and HIV. Moreover,

“National cross-sectional studies of youth in South Africa were only first undertaken in the early nineties... and longitudinal work is limited to one or two studies...” (Marcus,1998:2).

While this thesis is based on cross-sectional data, it is a part of the initial phase of a potential longitudinal project. This study aims to advance our knowledge base by focussing on the gender dimensions of inequality, while realising that class, race as well as locality are significant factors that cut across gender boundaries of identity formation in South Africa.

The chapter outline is as follows. Chapter two reviews the literature around the relevant theory and past empirical research. Chapter three sets out the context and methodology of the study. Chapter four, making up the main body of the study, looks at the description and analysis of the new empirical findings. Chapter five is a discussion of findings and draws some conclusions.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In reviewing the literature, two distinct aspects are apparent – the one refers to theoretical assumptions around social identity and gender. The other refers to past empirical research which relate to the themes of this study.

### *Theoretical Context*

#### **Social Identity**

Conceptual work on the notion of social identity has largely been carried out by psychologists. Social identity is defined by them as “the individual’s knowledge that he (sic) belongs to certain social groups, together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership” (Hogg and Abrams, 1988:7). This means that social identity and group belongingness are perplexingly intertwined. An individual defines and identifies who they are, in relation to the group to which they belong. This identification and belongingness is a psychological state and carries self-evaluative characteristics. It could also be argued to be a sociological condition of people’s relations to one another.

In order to understand social identity theory, concepts such as social categorisation and social comparison need to be unpacked. Categorisation and social comparison operate together.

It is held that the cognitive process of social categorisation generates an 'accentuation effect', whereby similarities and differences, within and between, the same and different categories (respectively) are accentuated or exaggerated (Hogg and Abrams, 1988:19).

Social categorisation is a key step in the social identification process. Here individuals classify occupants of the social world into categories or groups on the basis of certain sociological criteria, such as race, ethnicity, sex, gender, class, religion, language,

occupation, peer association and nationality (Slepica:1998; Maharaj:1995). These categories help individuals define and interpret their position in the social world. Understanding that an individual may belong to more than one social category, s/he may be excluded from other groups too. Each social category signifies a social identity, which in turn has defining characteristics and attributes indicating appropriate behaviour of the group.

Through the process of accentuation, the differences and similarities between people and categories or groups of people are brought out:

“Basically, the categorisation process produces stereotypic perceptions, that is the perception of judgement of all members of a social category or groups sharing some characteristic which distinguishes them from some other social group. The particular dimensions on which this occurs are those *subjectively* believed to distinguish between categories where the origin of these beliefs are to be found in the relevant cultural history in which one lives" (Hogg and Abrams,1988:20).

Not only does social categorisation describe and prescribe, but it also evaluates social categories. As Maharaj (1995) points out, social categories or groups do not and cannot exist in isolation. Social groups are compared and contrasted with one another, since they are relative to one another. In such processes, they are continually evaluated against one another.

The evaluation process is not limited to the group but also incorporates the self. Often referred to as an evaluative and emotional component of the social categorisation process (Tajfel,1981 and Maharaj:1995), this component effectively creates a magnification of the perceived similarities within social groups (intra-group) and perceived differences between social groups (inter-groups). Inter-group frontiers are facilitated through stereotypes and perceptions of difference between the different social groups (Hogg and Abrams:1988). In other words, the results are stereotypic perceptions of in and out-groups.

It is significant to remember that the categorisation of people is largely done with reference to the self (Hogg and Abrams: 1988). Individuals identify others with reference to themselves, by looking at the similarities and differences among and between them. Thus, they identify others on the basis of them either belonging to the same or another social group. Not only do individuals classify others, but they classify themselves too - a process known as self-categorisation. Self-categorisation is the process when similarities and differences between self and other in-groupers and differences between self and out-groupers are accentuated, which consequently results in self-stereotyping (Hogg and Abrams: 1988).

“Because social identities have important self-evaluative consequences, groups and their members are strongly motivated to adopt behavioural strategies for achieving or maintaining in-group/out-group comparisons that favour the in-group, and thus of course the self” (Hogg as cited in Slepica, 1998:23).

Therefore, self-categorisation achieves two ends: firstly, it allows an individual to perceive him/herself as sharing the same social identity as other same group members; and secondly, it specifies appropriate behaviour for the groups on the basis of stereotypes. As Hogg and Abrams (1988:21) argue, “the self-categorisation process is the process which changes the individuals into groups”.

As mentioned, categorisation is not only about people categorising others, but also themselves. Social comparison is key to social identity theory, in that the social categorisation process is accomplished through social comparison (Hogg and Abrams:1988; Maharaj:1995; Slepica:1998).

Social identity theory holds that:

“all knowledge is socially derived through social comparisons, and this includes knowledge about our physical world. One's confidence in the truth of one's views

is provided by the establishment of consensus - agreement between people" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988:232).

It is through the process of social comparison that individuals are able to feel confident about their beliefs, perceptions, other people, and the social world. In addition, while individuals need to view themselves comparatively in a positive way, they make comparisons between in-group and out-groups, favouring in-groups and thereby achieving positive self-enhancement and in-group distinctiveness. Favourable comparisons result in positive social identity and sense of the self. Sometimes, this positive evaluation can result in ethnocentrism (Hogg and Abrams: 1988). Through the process of social comparison individuals come to understand and learn the expected and acceptable behaviour and the stereotypic properties of the in-group.

In short, social categorisation and social comparison co-exist and operate together to produce group behaviour.

“*Categorisation* leads to stereotypic (in the broad sense introduced here) perceptions of self, in-group and out-group, and also a degree of accentuation of intergroup differences. *Social comparison* accounts for the selectivity of the accentuation effect (accentuation mainly occurs on self-enhancing dimensions) and the magnitude of the exaggeration of the inter-group differences and intragroup similarities” (Hogg and Abrams, 1988:23).

Abrams and Hogg (1990) also acknowledge that while high status conferment, through social comparison, leads to positive social identity; low status conferment leads to negative social identity. In cases of negative social identity, such groups and individuals are stimulated to develop a positive social identity in hope of freeing themselves from the low status inferior stigmas (Maharaj:1995). This is achieved through the process of assimilation, whereby individuals from diverse backgrounds come to interact with the status quo group or community (Tajfel:1978; Maharaj:1995; Abrams & Hogg:1990). This generally involves social mobility and disidentification.

Social mobility refers to the idea that there are permeable frontiers between groups and people are able to transfer or pass through groups, either through choice or hard work. Sociologically, social mobility refers to the movement (upward, downward, and lateral) of people or groups from one social class to another. Looking at classical sociological theorists, Marx identified class as a collective of people who share a common relationship with the means of production and the two classes being the capitalists and proletariat. Accepting class as an aspect of stratification, Weber also distinguishes between status and party – the former referring to differences in terms of social honour and the later to social groups fighting to achieve similar ends. According to these theorists, these are the social stratifiers.

While closed social structures do not permit social mobility, the fluidity of open social structures allows for more free movement, which Dahrendorf (cited in Haralambos:1989) suggests decreases class conflict and induces individual competition. There are two ways of investigating social mobility. The first, intragenerational mobility, by examining an individuals' career in terms of upward and downward movement. The second, intergenerational mobility, by examining movement within generations. Factors such as unemployment, poverty, economic recession etc, can result in downward mobility, while factors like increased income, increased occupational status, hard work and education can result in upward mobility.

Some studies in sociology (Sewell and Hauser: 1975; Morgan, Alwin and Griffin:1979) have suggested the head of the household's occupational prestige as being a determinant in a family's social status and social mobility - particularly a child's social mobility - because of the human and cultural capital it can offer, not to mention the economic capital. It also determines the way in which children and other members of the family are socialised. However, Jencks et al (1979) and others (Blossfield and Huinink: 1991; Monk-Turner:1990) have argued that there is a crucial relationship between the amount of schooling and efforts in pursuing a good education and upward social mobility. Blau



and Duncan (1967, cited in Appelbaum and Chambliss:1995) conclude by suggesting that educational attainment is more influential than the head of the household's occupational prestige, when it comes to determining social mobility.

Thus, social identity refers to the manner in which individuals and groups are distinguished in their social relations with others and other groups. It is about understanding who we, and who others are, “and, reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others (which includes us)” (Jenkins,1996:5).

Thus social identity theory should not be looked at in isolation, and the shortfalls of the theory need to be acknowledged.

Campbell (1993:51) suggests that while directing most attention to the inter- and intra-group relations, social identity theory does not focus sufficiently on social context of identity formation. In other words, it fails to look at the broader social context. This sentiment is supported by Tajfel (1978) who points out that, the social, cultural, historical and economical factors need to be acknowledged since they also contribute to the social world in which individuals and groups exist. Other critics such as Billig (as cited in Slepica: 1998) have argued that the process of social categorisation is not only determined in terms of perceptual differences but are also a result of historical and/or political social activity. This is easily understood in the South African context, whereby social categorisation was also a result of deliberate legal and political action. Social identity is more than a psychologically derived, individually determined set of choices.

The strength of social identity theory as developed by social psychologists is the emphasis it places on subjective dimensions of individual and group behaviour. This strength is also its weakness, as it gives insufficient consideration to the objective and structural elements involved in shaping individuals and society. Also, the role of ideology is ignored. Ideologies play a strong role in determining social identity especially when

considering how the dominant interests of powerful groups influence individual identities (Maharaj:1995).

These limitations withstanding, social identity theory can serve as a starting point to understanding social identity formation, *although* it is a meta-theory that takes as factual givens the concepts that this research has set out to problematise and empirically investigate.

## **Gender Identity**

The idea of identities also includes understanding what it is to be a male or female. Thus, gender identity refers to perceiving, understanding and being male or female. For Measor and Sikes (1992) gender identity refers to self-concept - a sense of being male or female.

“Gender identity is usually defined as an unarticulated, global sense of one’s maleness or femaleness that is acquired early in life and is considered to be relatively impermeable to change. Clearly it is a group-level concept” (Abrams and Hogg, 1990: 77).

It is held that gender identity is probably one of the first identities a person learns. But what is gender and how is it defined? In the true sense, gender refers to all differences between women and men, other than biological – such as social and cultural differences in behaviour. Some theorists suggest that these differences are created by society (Measor and Sikes:1992). According to Delamont (1980) these non-biological differences between men and women include differences in the way they dress, the attitudes they hold, and their general behaviour. “If the sex of a person is biologically determined, the gender of a person is culturally and socially constructed” (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988: 103). As Swart (1997:2) suggests, gender has become a way of referring “to the social organisation of the relationship between the sexes”.

The debate around the formation of gender identity centres around a polemic between biology and feminist literature, which draws from a range of social scientific disciplines.

It has spawned a vast literature. For the purposes of this report, however, I have chosen to concentrate only on some work, which focuses on gender differences.

Biological deterministic theorists assert that biological factors, particularly genetic composition is central to understanding gender differences that exist between men and women and the development of gender identity and sex differences. (Verral as cited in Measor and Sikes 1992). These theorists fail to explain the historical and geographical difference in the position of both the sexes. Nor are they able to explain the effects socialisation has on the sexes and why it is necessary.

The feminist argument, by contrast, is that the process of acquiring a gender identity begins at birth when the infant is classified by its (physiological) sex as male or female. Thereafter gender is a learned identity, which is socially determined and into which individuals are socialised (positivist notion) or constructed (post-modernist notion) (McKay and Christie: 1995). Socialisation at an early age set rules, parameters and role models for the sex-appropriate behaviour.

Since individuals are physiologically and biologically constituted, it seems unthinkable that neither of these dimensions play any part in shaping social identity. However, whether they determine social identity is questionable, not least of all because of the myriad ways in which societies define male and female differences – across time and space.

## **Past Research**

Turning to past research into the themes that are the subject of enquiry in this study, Younger and Warrington (1996) examine the differences in achievement of girls and boys. Their study is of United Kingdom pupil performance at General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) level. They used a questionnaire, which focussed on three main issues. Firstly, the participants were asked about their perceptions of subjects - what subjects they preferred; the importance of different subjects; and whether some subjects

were considered to be 'boy' subjects and others 'girl' subjects. Secondly, they focussed on expected performance of students at GCSE and their career aspirations. The third area they were concerned with was students' perceptions of student behaviour and teacher behaviour.

They concluded that students' have gendered perceptions of the subjects they study and this affects achievement. They pointed out that certain subjects are considered 'boy' subjects and others 'girl' subjects. While science was unpopular with girls, English and creative arts were widely popular. By contrast, for boys, while French was most unpopular, subjects like physical education, science, maths and geography were commonly preferred. These findings, they argued, in many ways "mirror national trends" (Younger and Warrington, 1996:309).

Subject choice differences by gender and the degree of achievement in subjects has been extensively documented. Whitehead (1996) looked at the link between perceptions of subjects as masculine and feminine and other attitudes towards gender roles and sex traits, motivation and choice of subjects. Pupils from fourteen schools in England and Wales participated in the research. Whitehead (1996) argues the problem lies within the pupil's attitudes. Much research has shown that subjects are sex-stereotyped. Subjects such as maths, physical science and computers are perceived as masculine subjects, while art, languages and domestic science are largely perceived to be feminine subjects.

Understanding how these perceptions are associated with real subject choice, is not conclusive. Research that has focussed on this matter has presented mixed findings. Kelly (as cited in Whitehead, 1996:147) found that "the more stereotyped the girls' attitudes, the less likely they were to be taking science". Boys, however, displayed no consistent link between their attitudes and taking science. Brady (as cited in Whitehead: 1996) found that girls doing sociology at school did not regard it only as a feminine subject but as a subject opening a range of career opportunities and took up the subject on that basis.

Whitehead (1996) explored these concerns further. There is evidence to suggest that certain subjects are perceived as masculine and others as feminine because of their association with other sex stereotypes in society. Drawing on functionalist literature, the sexual division of labour places males into what Parsons has termed “adaptive-instrumental” roles and females into “integrative-expressive” roles. In this way, males and females are thought to possess personality traits that come with the roles (Parsons and Bales as cited in Whitehead:1996). So, from a functionalist point of view the role of men is to manipulate the environment in order to reach group goals. They are viewed as “assertive, rational, logical and competent, good at problem-solving and interested in the world of objects and phenomena” – the essentials for workplace (Whitehead,1996:148). Women, in their integrative-expressive roles are stereotypically viewed as understanding, emotional, thoughtful, expressive and aware of others around them and of others feelings, which would later serve them well in their positions of home-makers (Appelbaum and Chambliss: 1995)

For Whitehead (1996) the association between different attributes and fields of study is clearly apparent. Science and mathematics are concerned with the world of objects, rationality and logic. Music, art and literature are involved with human emotions and expression. For this reason, they are regarded as being feminine and/or female. Some subjects are obviously related to the sexual division of labour. Domestic science and child-care subjects are associated with what women do as mothers and wives. According to Hunt (as cited in Whitehead: 1996), subjects like these were introduced and offered into the school curriculum in order to equip girls for such roles.

Vocationally orientated subjects can be traced to the stereotypical (but increasingly atypical) male role of “breadwinner and family provider”. Historically, languages were viewed as the fundamentals to pursuing a vocation and were thus seen as masculine. By contrast, chemistry and botany (some sciences) were seen as appropriate for women because they had no career/occupational consequences. Today, perceptions of subjects have changed. Whitehead (1996) suggests that the perception of science to be more

vocational is a misconception. In her argument she points out that language subjects are just as career orientated as scientific subjects, for example law and journalism. But are they really in keeping with the real-world career opportunities?

Cross-cultural research findings tend to suggest that differences in the perception of and achievement in school subjects are associated with sex related stereotypes within societies and are not linked to inherent gender differences in ability or career outcome (Whitehead, 1996: 149).

It is argued that once subjects have been defined as suitable for one or another sex, they become a means of manifesting gender appropriate behaviour and in this way they contribute to the confirmation and establishment of an individual's gender identity (Bem as cited in Whitehead: 1996).

The development of a gender identity heightens during adolescence. It is argued that this occurs because gender identity is undergoing a transformation associated with the transition from childhood to adulthood. Young people become sensitive about sex appropriate responses and expectations (Eccles as cited in Whitehead: 1996). For example, faced with expectations of social success and high achievement, girls are inclined to choose gender appropriate subjects. In so doing, they are able to maintain their sense of femininity (and fit the category) and at the same time achieve well at school. The experience of boys is somewhat different, for masculinity is strongly associated with academic success since it implies a good career. (Doyle as cited in Whitehead: 1996). In addition to this boys avoid activities which are perceived as feminine. Similarly, girls avoid activities associated with the masculine.

Whitehead's (1996) research showed that the perceptions of subjects were part of a group of perceptions related to sex stereotypes. Those who perceived boys and girls to be better at different subjects also perceived vocations to be sex specific. Moreover, they were also inclined to support traditional sex roles for society in general. In practice, while boys

converged towards stereotypically masculine subjects, girls appeared to extend equally over most of the subjects.

Subjects that are stereotypically feminine subjects are languages while stereotypically masculine subjects are maths and science (Whitehead:1996). Whitehead (1996) argues that it is not that girls hardly take maths, but rather than most boys take maths and thus “the maths to boys ratio” is over represented (Whitehead,1996:154). This suggests that for many, perceptions (beliefs) are not translated into practice. The research suggests that there is a close association between gender appropriate school subjects and stereotypical perceptions about vocational and traditional sex roles (Whitehead:1996). There were no findings to support the idea that girls who take feminine subjects hold extremely stereotypical views of subjects. However, she shows that with boys, those who selected masculine subjects were quite likely to hold stereotypical perceptions of subjects and this is why they chose sex-appropriate subjects:

“boys doing masculine only subjects were more likely to have a stereotypical view of subjects, to have more traditional views about sex roles for society as a whole, be more likely to see themselves following the traditional sex roles and to have higher level of extrinsic motivation for a well-paid job than boys doing feminine subjects” (Whitehead,1996:157).

There is some fluidity in the association of sex and subjects that seem to be clearly linked to policy. Whereas in an 1989 study of 16-20 year olds Archer and Freedman found that nine out of ten subjects were strongly associated with gender - science, maths, woodwork with boys and cooking, typing, biology, psychology and languages with girls. Two years later – 1991 - some of the subjects perceived as masculine or feminine in the earlier research, were now considered as neutral. However, strong negative and positive associations between sex and subjects also persisted. Regression analysis of the data revealed that boys regarded masculine associated subjects interesting and feminine associated subjects boring (Archer and Macrae: 1991,102).

Mokros and Koff (1978:1287) assessed “the social attractiveness of boys and girls who were described as highly successful in either mathematics or reading”. They also used a scale to ascertain the degree to which participants perceived boy and girl performance with regards to school subjects. Their research showed that girls who excelled in reading were liked much more than girls who did so in maths. Similarly, boys were liked more if they did well in maths. Also girls perceived that teachers liked them better if they were better in reading rather than maths and boys felt that teachers liked them better if they were better in maths rather than reading (Mokros and Koff:1978). They concluded that pupils are aware that educators are inclined to label subjects on the basis of sex. Moreover, as Whitehead (1996) did, they found that “sex-stereotypes associated with achievement become more firmly entrenched as children approach adolescence”(Mokros and Koff,1978:1292).

Kelly and Smail (1986) used existing data from a “Girls Into Science and Technology” (GIST) survey to measure sex stereotypes and attitudes to science among eleven-year old children. They found that boys tend to be more gender stereotyped than the girls. Boys perceived greater differences in appropriate behaviours and occupations for boys and girls. Boys were more likely to stereotype maths and science as appropriate for boys. However, a low interest in science and maths was considered feminine. For example, girls who thought themselves to be feminine, perceived maths to be a masculine subject inappropriate for them.

Kelly and Smail (1986) concluded that traditional gender roles are associated with the gender stereotyping of suitable activities for others. These findings imply that there are some children whose educational advancement is constricted by underlying sex stereotypes. In addition, they also found that femininity was associated with a lower ability, which they suggest could mirror society’s stereotype that females are less competent than males. Such findings are cause for concern since they imply that even before children have really experienced school subjects, they have limited their academic futures on the basis of their gender stereotypes.



Ayalon (1998) compared gender inequality in mathematics and science course taking in Arab, Jewish secular and Jewish religious high schools. Agreeing that gender inequality, in the form of mathematics and science course taking is a well-documented topic she argues that it is commonly found that female students are low participants in high-level classes in mathematics and science. That women avoid maths and science suggests that specialisation in an associated field will not be followed or will not be permitted to be followed up in a related field of study, which in turn means less opportunity to follow a related career path. A consequence of this is the greater probability that women will be positioned in marginal and poorly paid positions in the labour market. Low participation in mathematics and science is believed to be a contributing factor to the disadvantage position of women in the labour force (Oakes as cited in Ayalon:1998). Thus, the problem of inequality does not remain in the education system, but extends into the workplace and economy (Oakes as cited in Ayalon:1998).

In explaining the poor representation of females in mathematics and science, two types of explanations have been proffered. The first focuses on subjective constraints. Certain subjects are stereotyped as more suitable for males, and because of this negative attitudes towards these subjects develop. Negative attitudes also develop when individuals feel they would not cope with these subjects - that is, they lack confidence (Tobin and Fox, 1980; Oakes as cited in Ayalon: 1998). The second explanation focuses on school influences (structural constraints) and argues that some teachers deter or discourage girls from taking maths and science. The shortage of maths and science women teachers means that there are less female role models for youth to follow or look up to. Another school influence lies in the different school policies "in assigning male and female students to advanced courses in these subjects" (Hallinan and Sorensen as cited in Ayalon,1998:2).

Ayalon (1998:3) examines the link between "opportunities and participation in advanced courses in mathematics and the sciences when these courses are elective". While some

female students get the chance to take mathematics and science (albeit manifesting negative attitudes), minorities are not even afforded such an opportunity in the first place. With courses being elective, attitudes towards school subjects can be measured by what subjects are chosen and what subjects are rejected. These choices are not entirely subjective, given external influences such as availability, teacher preferences, etc.

“Research has already shown that teachers and counsellors deliver different messages to girls and boys regarding the relevance of advanced mathematics and science courses” (Oakes as cited in Ayalon, 1998: 4).

Ayalon (1998) includes the school in her analysis and examines students’ choices. Schools’ policy may differ in what they offer female students, in terms of maths and science. An association between school policy and taking advanced mathematics and science shows that gender inequality in mathematics and sciences course-taking was more moderate in less traditional schools (Lamb as cited in Ayalon: 1998). In Israel, a more selective school “exhibited more acute gender inequality in the enrolment to advanced science courses” (Ayalon, 1998: 5).

Ayalon (1998) hypothesises that female students will respond to the opportunities offered to them and will choose courses accordingly. Testing this across Jewish secular, Jewish religious and Arab schools, she found that school-related factors influence student choice of advanced courses more strongly than traditional attitudes in Jewish secular schools sciences are not accorded very high prestige and they are not seen as ‘masculine’ subjects. Both male and female students enrolled in sciences.

“The school, via its curriculum and ideology, plays a major part in the shaping of gender inequality in the choice of advanced courses. In other words, when the school’s curricular ideology and its course offerings encourage girls to choose advanced courses in the sciences, they do not refrain from doing so, even when they belong to social groups that are known to be conservative regarding gender roles” (Ayalon, 1998: 21).

Israel's Arab population is typified by a low socio-economic status, which combined with a high drop out rate, results in only a few selected females attending academic high schools. Ayalon (1998) suggests that because this sector is discriminated against, the curriculum of Arab high schools is poor. However, for a few the system allows Arab female students to be exposed to the world of "highly valuable knowledge" - maths and science. The social consequences of this are limited, since Arab female entrance into the labour market is low. Mazawi (as cited in Ayalon:1998) holds that, in spite of this, this highly valuable knowledge is likely to add value in other spheres, particularly in the marriage market:

"(I)t seems, based on the present findings, that schools encourage female students to choose advanced courses in mathematics and the sciences when their exposure to this knowledge does not convert into social advantage" (Ayalon,1998:23).

Schindler, Chabane and Arnott (as cited in Budlender,1996) suggest that in South Africa gendered school subjects reinforce sex stereotypes. Boys and girls are offered different subjects at both primary and secondary schools. Subjects for female students include needlework, typing and housecraft, while woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing are offered to male students. Gender biased career guidance (at some schools) together with subject choice is also likely to influence girls' career choices. Their preferences for clerical work, teaching and nursing locates them as service and support staff in the world of work. Conversely, they are not encouraged into scientific and technical disciplines (Schindler, Chabane and Arnott, as cited in Budlender,1996). They contend that the carry over effect of discouraging girls out of maths and sciences has a wide ranging impact on future career choices for women, often precluding them from the better paid professions – accounting, engineering and medicine etc.

Catsambis (1994:199) studies the "development of gender differences in learning opportunities, achievement, and choice in mathematics among white, African American and Latino students". She used a sample of eighth grade students, following them through into the 10th grade. She found that female students do not underachieve in terms of maths

test results; and that they are exposed to more mathematical learning opportunities than male students are afforded. Nonetheless, female students have less interest and confidence in their maths ability. Attitudes and career choices appeared to be the most influential obstacles influencing white, female student achievement (Catsambis:1994). By contrast, both lack of opportunity and poor achievement are the primary barriers affecting marginalised students of minority origin.

Baker and Jones (1993) explore where and when gender affects student performance in mathematics by investigating the link between opportunity and performance. They suggest that how an individual chooses to perform now, is shaped by their future expectations. In the school context, if a student associates a future opportunity with how they achieve in the present, then their efforts to perform well will increase. This message is sent to students by schools. There are various versions of this basic argument, but they all begin with the assumption that opportunity and structure are connected.

“By assuming that social systems impress upon actors the logic of adapting performance to opportunity, one makes a way for a social construction model of group differences in performance. When an opportunity structure is visibly stratified by social characteristics, such as gender, race, or social class, groups will face links of various strengths between particular opportunities and particular performances. It becomes known that one type of performance will add more to some individuals’ life chances and less to others” (Baker and Jones,1993:92).

The literature suggests that gender, race and class stratify opportunities. Considering gender as a stratifier suggests that there are likely to be gender differences in performance and outcome. While opportunity structures for women have begun to change the pace and consequences of these changes are likely to differ across societies.

Brown, Eisenburg and Sawilowsky (1997) note that existing literature reveals three common observations concerning women and vocations. Firstly, women choose from a confined range of jobs. Secondly the vocations they select are generally those that are

traditionally chosen by most women and thirdly, the occupations are mostly service sector, low-earning positions.

Aros, Henly and Curtis (1998) argue that much research has shown the existence of gender differences in vocation preference and choice. They argue that despite the major transformations in gender roles and especially regarding women's vocations, there are still sex differences in their vocational interests (Aros, Henly and Curtis:1998). When looking at occupational stereotypes it is important to consider the socially constructed masculinity and femininity of the activity involved – what Gottfredson (as cited in Aros et al,1998:229) refers to as sextyping.

“...not only are vocational preferences susceptible to the influence of occupational sextyping, but that sextyping plays a primary role in determining vocational preferences” (Gottfredson as cited in Aros et al,1998:229).

Martineau (1998) suggests that the gender stereotypes about women have prevented them from entering maths, science and technology related fields of study. Rather, women are found in service and support related fields, and the traditionally male dominated profession remains so – with higher earning potential and power and prestige. For Fennema (as cited in Martineau: 1998) this will not contribute to equitable society.

The ‘hard’ subjects –physics and technical subjects- are viewed as suitable for boys and they are generally taught by male teachers, which also contributes to creating this masculine image. “This coupled with parental expectations and beliefs, virtually steers girls away from maths and science classes” (Martineau,1998:14).

Looking at play and sport, gender-roles also extend into what sport men and women decide to take part in and what activities they are encouraged to take part in (Mcbride,1990:249). Hopwood and Carrington (1994) acknowledge that much research has shown that boys are more positive in their attitude towards sports participation than

girls. Kirshnit, Ham and Richards (1989) argue that sports have generally been regarded as masculine and thus female participation has been seen as inappropriate.

At schools, boys and girls are steered to take part in different sports (Saraskinsky:1995) points out that while girls have role conflict (of being a woman and an athlete), boys do not have this problem. Boys, in keeping up with their masculine identity, are viewed as self-confident, rough, strong and aggressive which generally suites that role of being a good and successful sports person. At the other end of the scale, girls who manifest traits of aggressiveness and roughness are charged with being unfeminine. However, when girls play sports such as netball, ballet and dancing, they are considered to be graceful and gentle – just as they should be. In the same way, boys are encouraged to play rugby and soccer and this contributes to their masculine identity.

Much research also indicates that sex stereotyping of play occurs (Colley, Griffiths, Hugh, Lander and Jaggli:1996; Moller and Serbin:1996). It has been established that children engage in same-sex friendships and are interested in socialising with same sex. This is often referred to as ‘gender segregation’ (Moller and Serbin,1996:446). These segregated groupings are sites where children learn further gender typed characteristics and roles.

The following chapter sets out the context and research methodology of this study.

## CHAPTER 3: CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the context as well as the methodology employed in the CRG Research Programme and for this study.

### ***Context***

The present research draws on data from the Class, Race and Gender Programme (hereafter referred to as the CRG Research Programme). The objective of the CRG Research Programme is to investigate the consciousness of South African school-going children. It is concerned with understanding how individuals come to make up our stratified and differentiated society as white and black, male and female, rich and poor, rural and urban components, and how these identities change along with other changes occurring in the environment (Marcus:1997).

The CRG Research Programme has been conceived of as a ten year longitudinal research. The aim of CRG is to follow grade ones - being the first generation entering the new compulsory education system, through to grade nine. Data gathering is to be phased with waves of field work scheduled as the primary cohort (grade ones – circa 1997) enter or are expected to enter grades four, seven and nine. In order to capture the diversity of children and their experiences, a combination of survey, experimental and interpretative research methods are used. Each respondent is assessed using fifteen instruments that were developed to collect dietary and anthropometric, psychological and sociological data.

The CRG Research Programme included school-going children from ten schools - five primary schools and five high schools - within a forty-five kilometre radius of the city of Pietermaritzburg.

The schools were chosen by their location and according to the people and communities they serve or have historically served. "The choice of schools was also determined by the central focus of the study, namely the children who were in grade one in 1997 and who would remain in the primary education system as presently structured during at least three of the four research episodes of the programme" (Marcus,1997:2). Choosing the high schools proved to be more complex and in the end they were selected for their proximity to the already selected primary schools. It should be noted that the schools were not selected as being representative of KwaZulu-Natal, nor is the focus of the study on the schools themselves. Rather, they were chosen as a site of study, because they bring together a cross section of children - combining characteristics of urban and rural, public and private schools and their children (Marcus:1997).

The map overleaf physically locates the participating schools, from the vantage point of the city of Pietermaritzburg, while a brief description of each is set out below.

Henley Combined, a government owned primary school is located in the Vulindlela District of Pietermaritzburg. At the time of the study the school comprised 586 pupils and 24 educators. Pupils live within a five-kilometre radius of the school. Some of the educators live in Pietermaritzburg and commute approximately 15 kms to work.

Northern Park, an historically white government school, is an English medium primary school located in Pietermaritzburg. The school comprised 434 pupils and 14 educators. Most of the pupils live within a five-kilometre radius of the school.

Epworth school, offering both primary and secondary schooling from grade one to grade twelve, is a private, combined school. The primary school is a co-educational and the High school is a single-sex girl's school. The school offers a boarding facility and so some of the pupils live on the premises, while most are day scholars who live in Pietermaritzburg and its surrounds. The school runs a bus service within the city.



Carter High school is a government-owned, state funded, English medium secondary, co-educational school located in a Pietermaritzburg suburb. It is an urban, historically white school in close proximity to Northern Park, the urban primary school. The school comprised 51 educators and 1066 pupils. Approximately fifty percent of the pupils live within a five-kilometre radius of the school. The school also supports an organised transport service.

Sanzwili Primary school, a state funded school is an historically black, government school and is located in the former township of Edendale, Pietermaritzburg. The school comprised 45 educators and 1808 pupils. Most pupils live within a five-kilometre radius of the school.

Mtolangqondo, a historically black, rural secondary school, is located in the former homelands area of Vulindlela. It comprises 14 educators and 244 pupils. Pupils are taught in English. The school does not support a transport system and most pupils live within a five-kilometre radius. The majority of staff commute to work daily from Pietermaritzburg. In the year of the field work, this school was one of several schools in South Africa, which failed to have a single pupil matriculate.

Georgetown High School, an historically black urban school, comprises 42 educators and 1209 pupils. About 400 pupils use daily public transport to get to and from school. Approximately 600 pupils live within a five-kilometre radius of the school.

Jabula Combined Primary and Secondary school is an historically black farm school. Now state funded, it is located in the magisterial district of Lions River in a commercial farming area some 45km outside Pietermaritzburg. The school comprises 20 educators and 655 pupils. Lessons are carried out in both English and Zulu. Approximately 130 pupils live within a five-kilometre radius of the school. Some educators travel daily from Pietermaritzburg. Many pupils and teachers walk great distances to school daily (Marcus:1997).

All the schools except Epworth high school, are co-educational. Two of the schools (Epworth Primary and Epworth High) are private; two are historically white and urban based (Northern Park and Carter High); two are historically black and urban based (Sanzwili Primary and Georgetown High); two are historically black rural community schools serving black children living on white owned, commercial farms (Jabula Combined Primary and Secondary); and two are historical rural schools serving communities in the former Bantustans (Mtholagqondo Primary and High).

The total sample comprises 1474 respondents drawn from grades one, four, seven and nine . Only at Sanzwili, Carter and Georgetown did grade numbers permit sampling. In all the remaining schools, all pupils in the grade participated in the study, pending parental consent and their own willingness to partake.

### ***Study Objectives***

Within the larger CRG study, this study aims out to examine gender and difference among grade nine pupils located at five high schools - Epworth, Carter, Georgetown, Lidgetton and Mtholagqondo High. Race, sex and locality are used as significant variables to analyse the data. Working through some of the data collected by three instruments (the Demography, Sex and Work and Poverty questionnaires) used in the CRG programme, it is proposed to explore a number of hypotheses.

It is hypothesised that:

1. there are particular activities and characteristics perceived as gendered;
2. there are certain expectations perceived to required in order to become a man/woman;
3. there are some respondents who would rather have been born the opposite sex;
4. there are gender differences in the sports boys and girls play, and how they like to play;
5. boys and girls are perceived to differ in performance of school subjects;.

6. respondents will have gendered educational expectations; and
7. vocational aspirations are stereotyped with respect to sex;

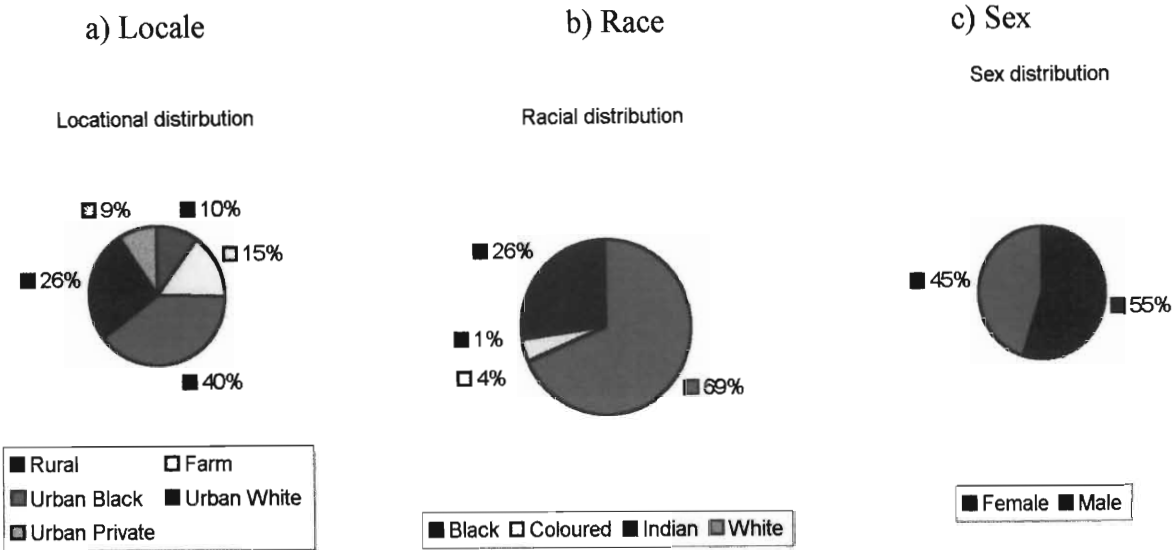
### **Sample**

All grade nine pupils at Mtholangqondo, Lidgetton and Epworth High schools were a part of the sample excluding those who did not give consent or who were not present on the days when fieldwork took place. However, since numbers were sufficiently large enough to generate valid results, samples were drawn from Carter and Georgetown High Schools. These two schools were sampled firstly using stratified sampling - in order to ensure that the sample would contain proportionate numbers of girls and boys in the sample. Once this had been completed, a simple random sample with replacement was carried out to ensure that every element had an equal chance of being selected for inclusion. A random table was used (Babbie, 1992).

The final sample used in this study consisted of 416 grade nine pupils. While the average age is sixteen, there is a proportion of respondents who are older than the norm.

The final sample distribution, for this study, across the schools as well as by race and sex is set out in the pie charts that follow.

**Grade Nine sample distribution by locale, race and sex**



In terms of locational distribution, 10% attend rural schools within the former reserves or bantustans. 15% of respondents attend farm schools, located in historically white owned commercial farming sector. 40% of respondents attend public urban, historically black schools located in the black townships. 26% of respondents attend public, historically white urban schools and 9% attend private schools.

In terms of colour, 69% of respondents are black, 26% are white, 4% are coloured and 1% are indian. “Since coloured and indian respondents can be said to neither indicative nor representative of experiences or attitudes in those two groups, the data has not been analysed for these categories, with respect to race” (Marcus,1998:2).

In terms of sex, 55% of respondents are female and 45% are male.

The CRG Research Programme invited schools and individual pupils to participate in the study, obtaining both the consent of parents and the willing co-operation of the children themselves. In addition, the project was introduced to all pupils in the respective grades at each school by the Programme Manager, who explained its purpose and how participants

were selected. Bailey (1982) points out that interviewers should have an identification card as this tells the respondents whom they are disclosing information to. In this way, each field worker had a personalised name-tag, which they were required to wear each day in the field. Field workers encouraged respondents to be honest in their answers, assured them of confidentiality and allowed children to refuse to answer questions that made them uncomfortable.

### ***Instrument***

The CRG Research Programme developed four structured questionnaires, which investigated attitudes and experiences of school-going children in various aspects of their lives. This study draws on selected questions from three of the instruments - the demography, poverty and work, and sex questionnaires. The first focussed on demographic issues, including family composition, size and inter-actions. The second focussed on poverty in their home context and personal lives, their educational experiences and aspirations as well as their experiences, perceptions and aspirations with regard to waged and unwaged work. The third questionnaire centred on issues of gender and sexuality.

This study specifically focuses on perceived differences between boys and girls; what activities, games and sport they prefer to play and with whom they prefer to play it. It investigates gendered expectations of themselves, of the opposite and same sex and the obstacles, if any, perceived to be in their way of achievement. It examines school subjects and perceived gender expectations of certain subjects and their educational expectations. It looks at what respondents want to be when they grow up.

Questionnaires were developed by a multi-disciplinary core team, which comprised three principal investigators as well as masters and post-masters students.

The four sociological questionnaires consisted of mostly close-ended questions, although the option of an individual's own response was systematically accommodated. Given the

scale of the survey this proved to be advantageous - allowing questions to be easily coded, analysed and compared (Bailey:1982).

## **Process**

The questionnaires were administered in face to face interviews, none of which lasted more than 30 minutes. This technique allowed the field worker to control the environment in which the questions were asked and ensured the questions were understood. This was important given the limited and variable concentration span of children. The question order was also controlled, and where children indicated they were tired or unable to answer certain questions, the interviewer was in a position to return to those questions at a later stage. Interviewers were able to ensure that interview schedules are completed correctly and that no questions were left unanswered, unless respondents were unwilling to answer.

“Each field worker was assigned between two and three school-goers with whom they were expected to complete all the face to face questionnaires. They rotated their respondents after every interview – that is every twenty to thirty minutes – which meant that each child had a break of between 30 and 60 minutes before being interviewed again. Usually they went back to their classrooms and continued with the work their teachers had assigned them for the day, otherwise they played. This method worked well, limiting the demands the project made on children’s concentration.” (Marcus 1998 CSD project Report)

Field workers were matched with respondents by race and gender, as far as was possible.

A team of 20 to 30 field workers was selected and underwent intensive training over a five-day period, where each instrument was examined and tested. This procedure also served to correct ambiguity in questions. Once trained, field workers were closely supervised in the field by the field work manager. The data collected was then examined on a daily basis by principal researchers and where they felt further training was needed, it was carried out. The interviewers were urged to be friendly, responsive and adaptable.

The field work was carried out over the five month period – March – July, 1997, with the field work team working almost every week day.

## CHAPTER FOUR: A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

There are many ways of examining and locating gender differences. However, for the purpose of this study, certain themes are developed on the assumption that clear gender differences will emerge within them. These themes, which are by no means exhaustive, move from the more generalised (such as gender associated characteristics) to the more specific aspects of gender identity and difference such as play, sport, educational aspects and vocation. For the purpose of this study, themes that are explored are

- Gender associated characteristics and activities & how ‘what it is to be a man and a woman’ is conceptualised, and the desire to be opposite sex
- Play and Sport.
- School subject performance, educational and vocational expectations.

### **Gender associated characteristics and activities.**

In looking at gender associated activities and characteristics, we begin by examining fun and sociability, support and care-giving activities such as caring for animals, children, the sick, and household care. It also looks at creative characteristics such as inventing and other general associations such as, crying, roughness and dressing up. The activities concentrated on give a sense of the respondents’ general perceptions about activities that they associate with males and females.

Beginning with associations of fun and sociability, the overall perception is that most respondents (81%) feel that boys and girls enjoy socialising with friends.

However, there is a significant relationship between the sex of respondents and perceptions of girls enjoying time with friends socialising (chi-square value 3.888, df=1).



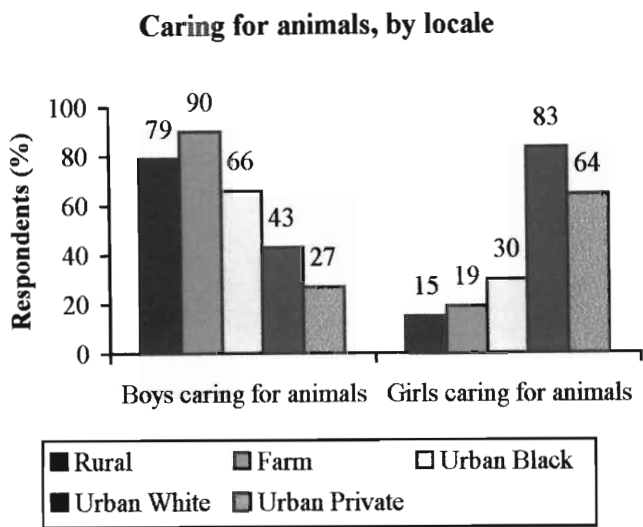
Generally more female respondents (85%) make this association more often than male respondents (76%).

Turning to the sense of fun, most respondents (85%) consider boys as having fun and most (83%) respondents consider girls as having fun too. These perceptions permeate all five locales. The sex of the respondents is significant to perceptions of boys (chi-square value 7.791,  $df=2$ ) and girls having fun (chi-square value 5.389,  $df=1$ ). Most female respondents (91%) compared to 79% of male respondents say boys are thought of as having fun. Similarly, 88% of female respondents compared to 77% of male respondents consider girls having fun.

Having examined associations of fun, sociability and leisure related activities, it is also significant to look at the more domestically inclined activities of care-giving and household support.

Looking at animal-care, perceptions of boys enjoying looking after animals are (highly) significantly related to the locality (chi-square value 35.625,  $df=4$ ) and race (chi-square value 23.875,  $df=3$ ) of respondents.

Chart 2

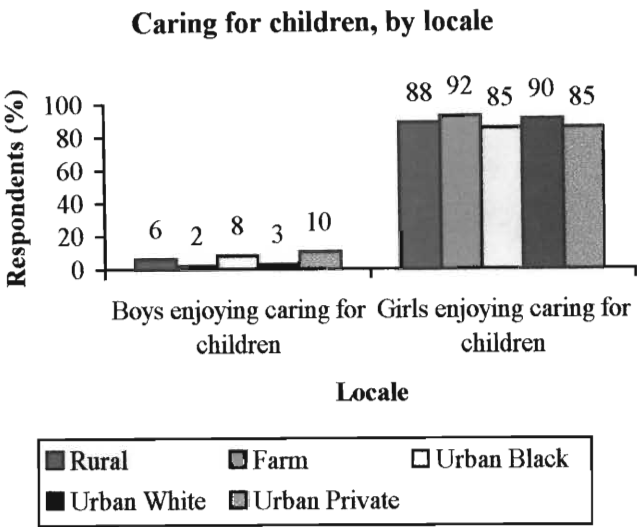


In terms of locality, the perceptions are stronger at rural (79%), farm (90%) and urban historically black (66%) schools compared to urban historically white (43%) and urban private (27%) schools. These perceptions are also more strongly held amongst black respondents (72%) as opposed to white respondents (38%).

Asked if girls like caring for animals, responses were found to be highly significant by locality (chi-square value 73.567, df=4) and race (chi-square value 65.507, df=3).

The strongest association of girls enjoying caring for animals is at historically white (83%) and urban private (64%) schools. By contrast with a relatively low association of girls caring for animals is found at rural (15%), farm (19%) and urban historically black (30%) schools. Furthermore, there is a strong racial dimension to the perception where more white (80%) than black respondents (26%) considered girls caring for animals.

Chart 3



When it comes to the caring of children, the above chart distinctly illustrates that boys are not regarded as care givers of children while girls most certainly are. This perception permeates across the boundaries of locale, race and sex.

Similarly, with respect to caring for the sick, most respondents (90%), irrespective of race or locality, do not regard ‘caring for the sick’ as an activity boys will enjoy. By contrast, 80% of all respondents associate girls with caring for the sick.

Housework can also be considered as a care giving activity in that it involves caring for the domestic environment where an individual(s) lives.

Housework is an activity most respondents (72%) see as something boys would not enjoy. There are however, locality differences (chi-square value 30.512, df=4). While over half the respondents at rural (53%), farm (62%), urban historically black schools (62%) perceive housework as something not enjoyed by boys, this perception is almost unanimous at urban historically white (97%) and urban private (100%) schools.

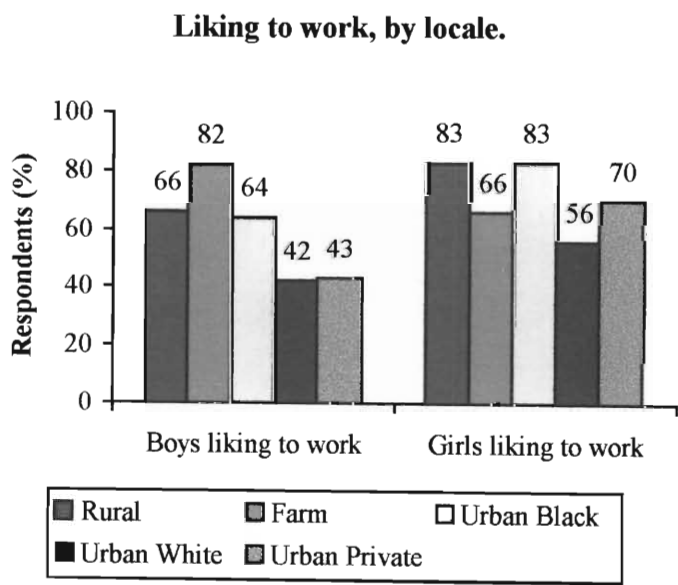
Race (chi-square value 25.392, df=3) and sex (chi-square value 15.580, df=2) are also highly significantly related to perceptions of whether boys like housework or not. More black (36%) than white (4%) respondents, and interestingly more male (38%) than female (18%) respondents feel boys enjoy housework.

While there is a highly significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 54.290, df=4) of respondents and perceptions of girls enjoying housework, many respondents say girls would probably enjoy housework. Looking closely at race, most black (95%) respondents compared to 59% of white respondents held this sentiment (chi-square value 57.312, df=3).

Essentially housework is strongly associated with girls. Analysed by race, reveals that this is especially the case among black rather than white respondents.

Turning to support outside the domestic sphere, whether there is any gendered preference for work is also important to consider.

Chart 4



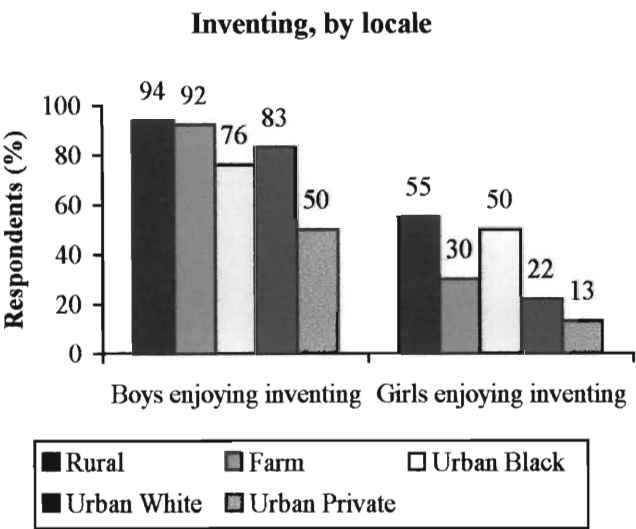
Many respondents at rural (66%), farm (82%) and urban historically black (64%) schools consider work to be something boys enjoy doing. However, less than half of the respondents at urban historically white (43%) and urban historically black (43%) schools held the same view. Analysed by race, more black (67%) than white (39%) respondents felt boys would enjoy work. This reflects the highly significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 19.003,  $df=4$ ) and race of respondents (chi-square value 14.718,  $df=3$ ) around perceptions of work. Most male respondents (69%) and over half (55%) of the female respondents say boys like to work.

Asked if girls like to work, there is also a highly significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 18.066,  $df=4$ ), race (chi-square value 13.691,  $df=3$ ) and sex (chi-square value 18.149,  $df=2$ ) of the respondents.

Most respondents at all locales perceive girls as liking work. Looking at race, most black (79%) but, only about half of the white respondents (55%) say girls enjoy working. More female respondents (85%) than male respondents (63%) hold the perception of girls enjoying work. It would appear that female respondents are more aware of their interest in work than their male counterparts.

Another interesting aspect is around creativity and gender. While there is a highly significant relationship between the locality of respondents and perceptions of boys inventing things (chi-square value 14.571,  $df=4$ ), boys are, by and large, seen as the inventors. This is clearly visible in the chart below.

Chart 5

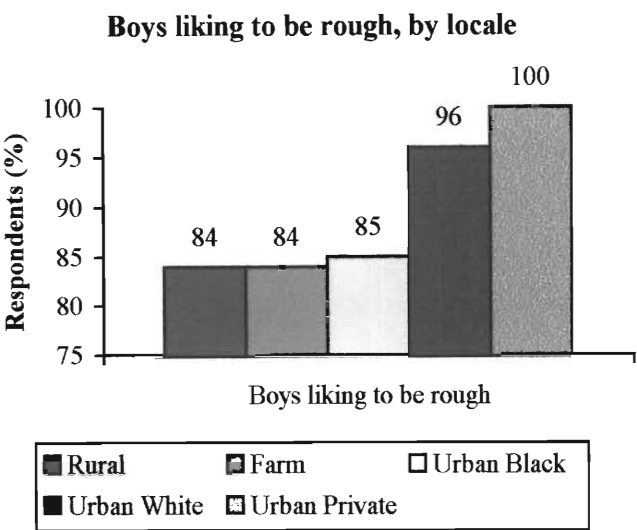


Asked if girls like inventing things, there is a highly significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 19.675, df=4), race (chi-square value 12.362, df=3) and sex (chi-square value 8.8763, df=1) of respondents and perceptions of inventing things.

When it comes to girls, more respondents at rural (55%), farm (30%), urban historically black (50%) schools than those respondents at urban historically white (22%) and urban private (13%) schools see girls as inventors (chi-square value 19.675, df=4). Also more white (75%) than black respondents (54%) feel that girls don't like to invent. Particularly more female than male respondents hold this view.

The chart below clearly illustrates that being rough is strongly associated with boys.

Chart 6



Most respondents (89%) see boys as being rough. There is a significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 10.763, df=4) and race (chi-square value 10.689, df=3) of respondents and perceptions of boys being rough. 84% at rural, 84% at farm, 85% at urban historically black, 96% at urban historically white, and 100% at urban private schools perceived boys to being rough. Looking at race, 85% of black respondents compared to 97% of white respondents felt that boys liked being rough. There is no significant relationship between the sex of respondents and perceptions of boys being rough (chi-square value 5.362, df=2). In other words, both sexes felt boys like to be rough.

While being rough is associated with boys, most respondents (74%) feel crying is an emotion associated with girls. There is a significant relationship between the sex of respondents and perceptions of girls crying (chi-square value 4.727, df=1). More males (80%) than female respondents (68%) see crying as characteristic of girls.

Most respondents (90%) considered dressing up as something girls would enjoy. This perception is constant for respondents at all locales, from both race and sex groups.

With respect to socialising, having fun, and working these activities are associated with both girls and boys. However the caring-related activities, such as caring for the sick, children and the household, are strongly associated with females. Looking at caring for animals a clear racial dimension is revealed whereby the association for caring for animals and boys is strongest at rural, farm and urban historically black schools and weakest at urban historically white and urban private schools. Turning to other characteristics and activities, boys are regarded as rough, resourceful and inventive, and girls as sensitive, emotional (crying) and caring about their appearance (how they dress up). This data suggests that there are gendered assumptions around characteristics and activities associated with boys and girls. It is often qualified and slightly different by race, locality and sex and this has to be understood in order to avoid making an over-generalisation of the total population.

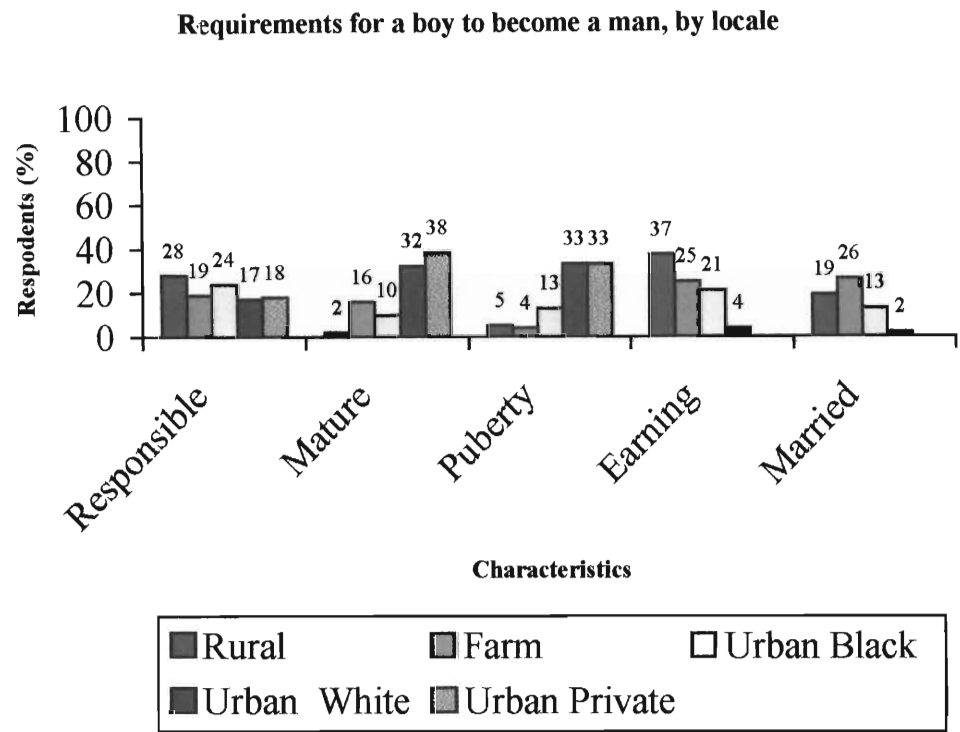
With the above description and analysis of gendered characteristics and activities in mind, it is interesting to see what respondents understand a man or a woman to be - how they conceptualise manhood and womanhood. Respondents are also asked to identify the best thing about their given sex, and if they would they prefer to be the opposite the sex.

Asked to complete the sentence: 'for a boy to become a man, he has to...?', the following concepts - responsibility, maturity, puberty, be earning, and marrying – surface as being associated with becoming a man.

There is a highly significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 181.317,  $df=40$ ), race (chi-square value 150.457,  $df=30$ ) and sex (chi-square value 27.174,  $df=10$ ) of respondents and perceptions of manhood.



Chart 7

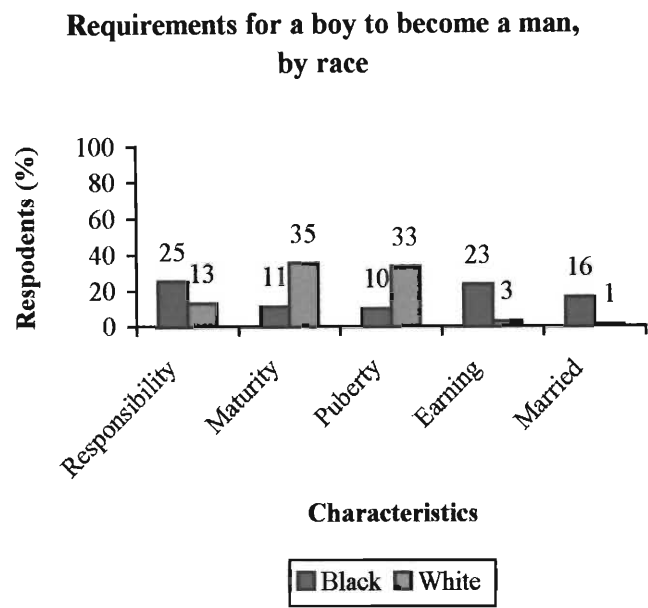


For respondents at rural (37%) and urban historically black (24%) schools, a boy has to become responsible in order to become a man. Some respondents at farm schools (26%) place importance on marriage, while other respondents at the same locale (25%) suggest the power of earning as been essential elements in becoming a man. For most urban historically white (65%) and urban private respondents (71%) puberty and maturity lead to ‘manhood’. In other words, they understand manhood in terms of adolescence and growing up.

Characteristics like responsibility, earning power and marriage appear to strongly associated with rural, farm and urban historically black respondents, while the more physiological characteristics such as puberty and maturity are strongly linked to the respondents located at urban historically white and urban private schools.

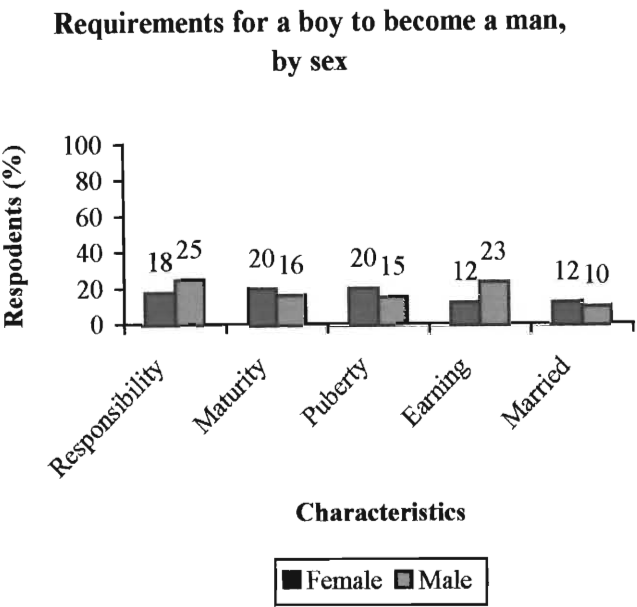
Similar trends are found with regard to race. This is clearly set out in the chart below.

Chart 8



While most white respondents (68%) link becoming a man with physiological characteristics, such as maturity and puberty, only a few black respondents (21%) share the same sentiment. Black respondents (64%) suggest responsibility; earning potential and marriage as linked to becoming a man.

Chart 9

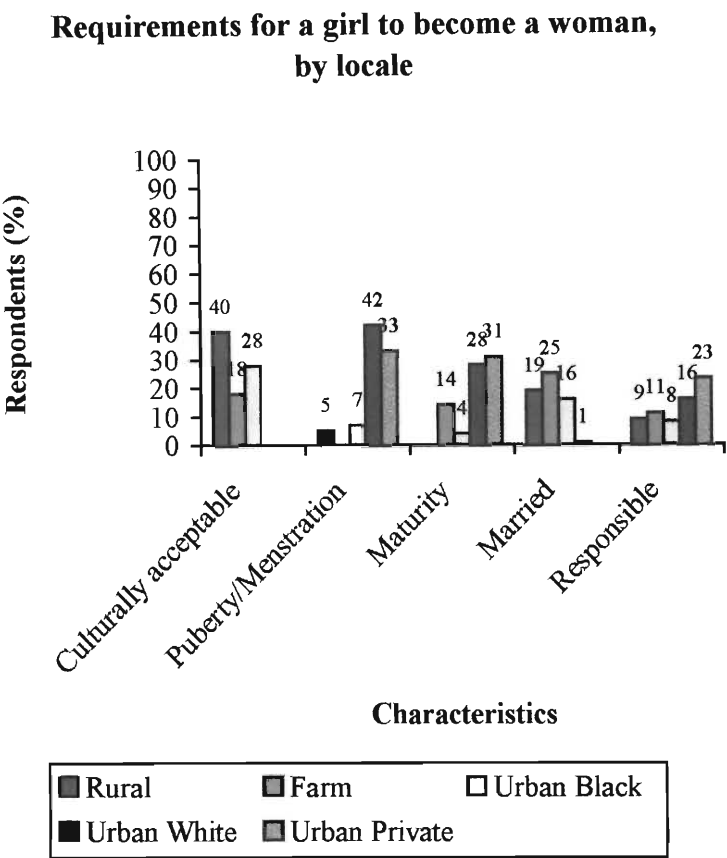


With respect to the sex of the respondents and perceptions around manhood, male respondents emphasise responsibility and earning potential, and placed less importance on marriage, while female respondents highlighted maturity and puberty.

Turning to questions around womanhood, respondents are asked: ‘for a girl to become a woman, she has to...?’. Adhering to culturally acceptable behaviour and dressing, puberty and menstruation, maturity, married status and responsibility were highlighted as being associated with womanhood.

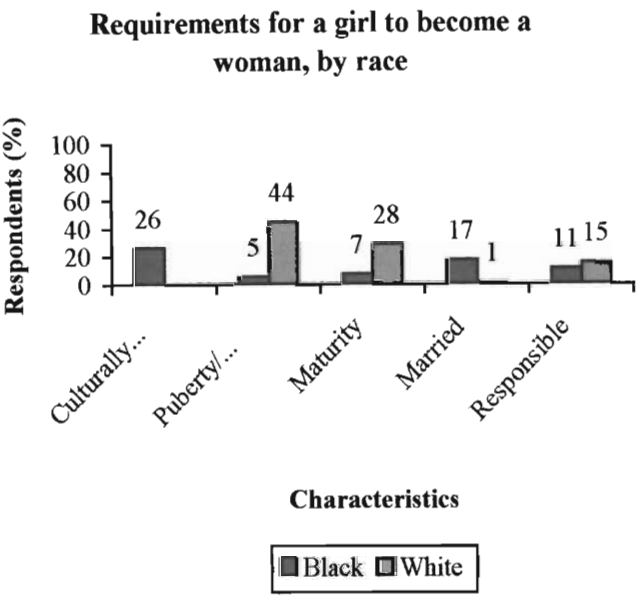
There is a highly significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 268.277, df=40) and race (chi-square value 213.412, df=30) of respondents perceptions of womanhood. There is no significant relationship between the sex of respondents and what a girl has to do in order to become a woman (chi-square value 18.045, df=10).

Chart 10



Both respondents at rural (40%) and to a somewhat lesser extent at urban historically black (28%) schools associate becoming a women with adhering to culturally acceptable behaviour and dressing. A quarter of respondents at farm (25%) emphasised marriage, as an important step to ‘womanhood’. Respondents at urban historically white (42%) and a somewhat lesser proportion of respondents at urban private respondents (33%) associated puberty and menstruation with the transition of womanhood

Chart 11



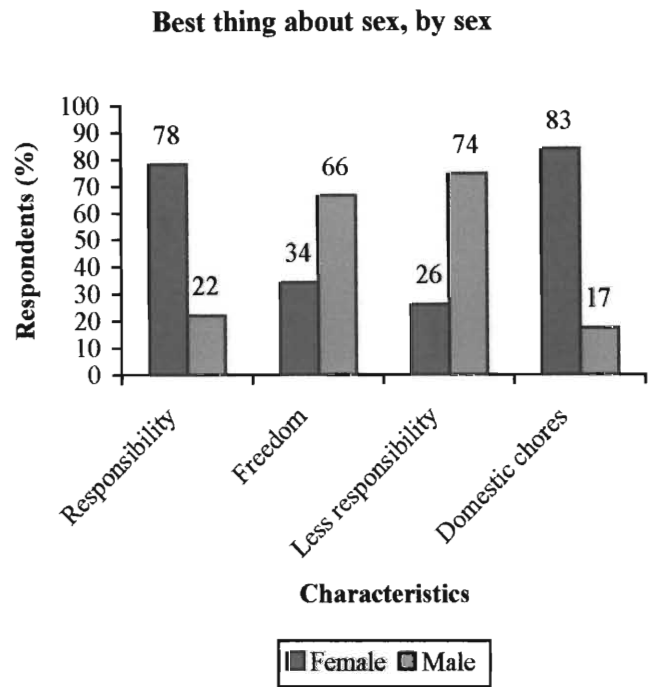
Most white respondents (72%) saw physical changes such as puberty and menstruation, and maturity as essential elements of womanhood, while half of the black respondents (54%) thought culturally based behaviour, marriage and responsibility as linkages to becoming a woman.

Once again we see physiological emphasis being made by white respondents and a social and cultural emphasis being made by black respondents with regards to womanhood.

In light of the above findings, it is also important to investigate what respondents find as being the most positive and appealing aspect of their given sex.

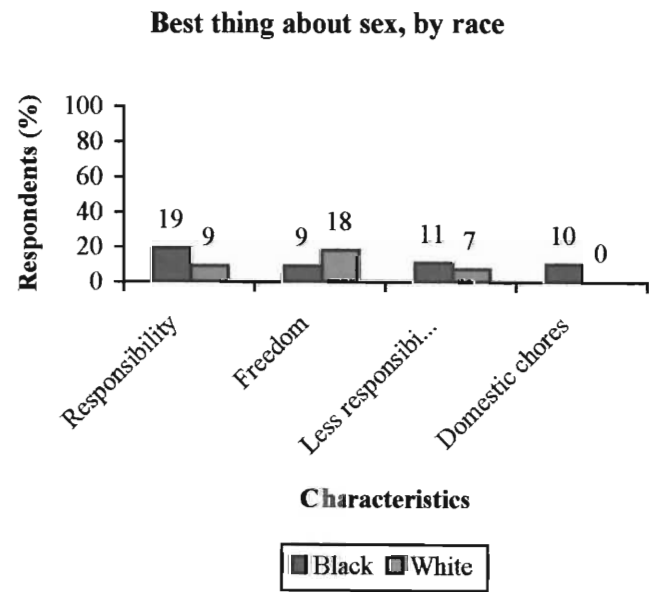
The chart that follows shows, interestingly, that domestic chores and sense of responsibility as being the most positive aspects associated with being female. For males, freedom and less responsibilities are the most positive aspects associated with males.

Chart 12



These findings also have a racial dimension, as seen in the chart below.

Chart 13



Looking at race, responsibility was, by and large, an important element in the given sex of black respondents (19%), while similar sentiments about freedom were held for white respondents (18%).

In terms of these understandings of manhood and womanhood, and positive associations of the sex they are, respondents were also asked if they have ever felt they would prefer to be the opposite sex to the one they are. In fact, 18% of the respondents (n=73) said they would have liked been born the opposite sex. This perception is particularly significant, statistically for the sex of the respondents (chi-square value 49.510, df=1). Most of the respondents (93%) who want to be the opposite sex, are female respondents who say they would preferred to have been born as boys for the following main reasons displayed in the table below.

Table 1: Table illustrating the main reasons why respondents would like to have been born the opposite sex.

Main reasons	Percentage of respondents
To avoid pregnancy	42%
To have more freedom	14%
To have more fun	11%
To be happier	10%

The risk of pregnancy is the most notable problem that girls associate with being female. Looking at it from a racial and gendered perspective, it is likely that black and white females are more likely to be concerned about pregnancy and the implications thereof, than black males. The data shows that black women (54%) particularly, want to be the opposite sex in order to avoid falling pregnant.

Most respondents (86%) wanting to be the opposite sex feel that girls are more responsible than boys, so much so that no respondents feel boys to be responsible at all. This in turn could be understood in relation to avoiding pregnancy. Respondents probably

feel that as girls they would have the responsibility and burden of pregnancy, while boys would take nil responsibility.

Responsibility of girls is particularly associated with the risks around pregnancy. Therefore they have a very negative attitude towards a male's sense of responsibility when it comes to issues of sex. Being a girl and particularly the risk of pregnancy, makes the respondents who want to be the opposite sex (the majority of whom are female), as being closely associated with perceptions around responsibility.

Of those respondents who said they would like to be the opposite sex because they would not have to worry about pregnancy, 90% feel that boys, compared to only 10% who feel girls, would be more likely to hurt somebody. Of those respondents who feel they would like to be the opposite sex because they would have more fun, 88% felt that boys would be more likely to hurt somebody, and only 12% of respondents feel that neither boys nor girls would be more likely to hurt somebody.

Associations of manhood and womanhood clearly reflect a racial dimension, with white respondents continuously referring to physiologically-related arguments, emphasising maturity, puberty and menstruation - indicators of adolescence and growing up - as linkages to wo(man)hood. Black respondents on the other hand referred to more culturally based arguments, emphasising marriage, dress and responsibility as linkages to wo(man)hood. When examining what respondents thought was the best aspect of the sex they are, clear gender dimensions were found with female respondents emphasising their sense of responsibility and domestic-ability whereas male respondents emphasised freedom and less responsibility as being the best aspect of their given sex. Lastly, there were some respondents who would like to have been born the opposite sex, most of whom were female, who were afraid that their sex implied the risk of pregnancy, hence increased responsibility on their behalf, and the risk of being hurt.



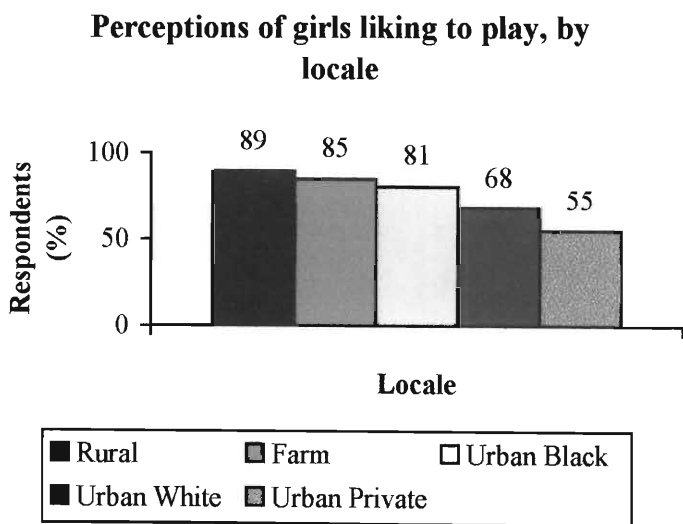
Play and sport

Play and sport are socialising and social activities that are integral to the lives of children and young people. While growing up, a considerable amount of time is spent playing and doing sport. As a result it is an important site in gaining an understanding of inter-gender relations. This section explores gender associations of games and sport each boy and girl like to play and how they like to play it – i.e. with whom, whether they prefer to play in single or mixed-sex patterns.

Respondents are first asked if play is something boys and girls like to do. Most respondents say boys and girls like to play. 85% of respondents perceive boys to like playing, as did 78% perceive girls to like playing. There really isn't any important difference – it is considered something boys and girls like to do.

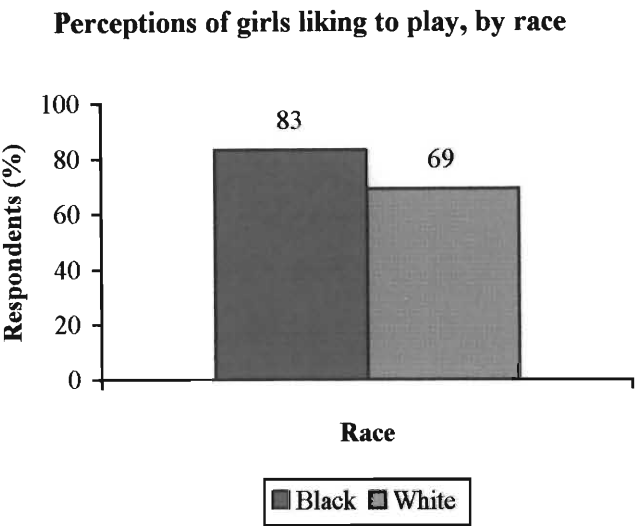
No differences in perceptions of boys liking to play are found across locale, race and sex. In other words, no matter where the respondents live, what colour they are, and what sex they are, they generally feel play is something that boys like to play.

Chart 14



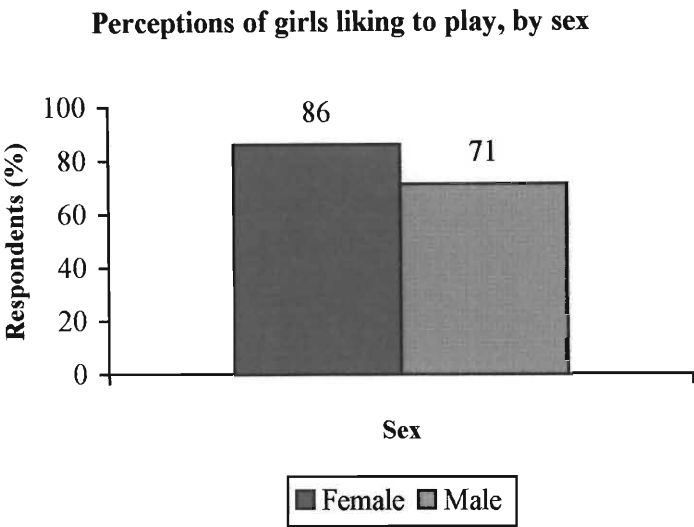
However, the perceptions of whether girls like to play or not, is significant by locality (chi-square value 12.134, df=4). Respondents at rural (89%), farm (85%), urban historically black (81%), urban historically white (68%) and urban private (55 %) schools perceived girls as liking to play. The association of girls and play is strongest at rural areas and weakest at urban areas.

Chart 15



From the chart above, it is clear that there is a highly significant relationship between the race of respondents and perceptions of girls liking to play (chi-square value 12.918, df=3). Associations between girls and play are stronger amongst black (83%) and substantially weaker amongst white respondents (69%).

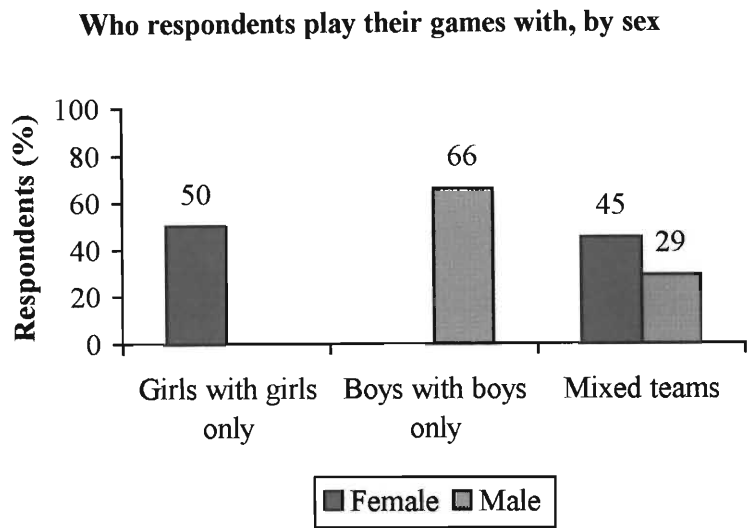
Chart 16



A highly significant relationship can also be found between the sex of respondents and perceptions of girls liking to play (chi-square value 9.885, df=2). 86% of female respondents compared to 71% of all male respondents perceived girls as liking to play. The data suggests that girls are more likely to perceive themselves as liking to play than boys are likely to perceive girls liking to play. Bringing race and gender analysis together, it is particularly white male respondents are less likely to see girls as liking to play.

Testing the assumption that a gender difference will be found in the games boys and girls like to play, respondents are asked to talk about their preferred games. No significant relationship exists between the sex of respondents and the games they prefer to play (Chi-square value 9.484, df=7).

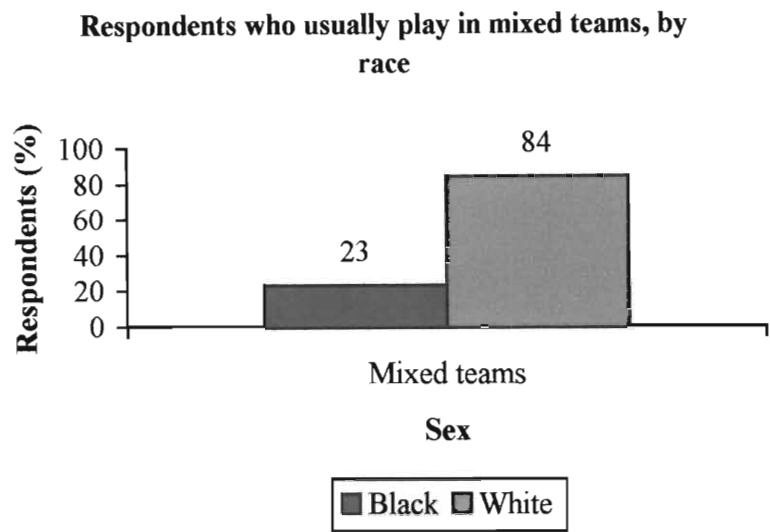
Chart 17



When looking at who the respondents play their games with, a highly significant relationship between the sex of respondents and who they prefer to play their game with emerges (chi-square value 197.654, df=3). Half of the female respondents say that they usually play their games with girls only. Two thirds of the male respondents say they usually play their games with boys only or in boys-only teams. Just under half (45%) of the female respondents compared to 29% of male respondents say they usually play their sports in mixed teams.

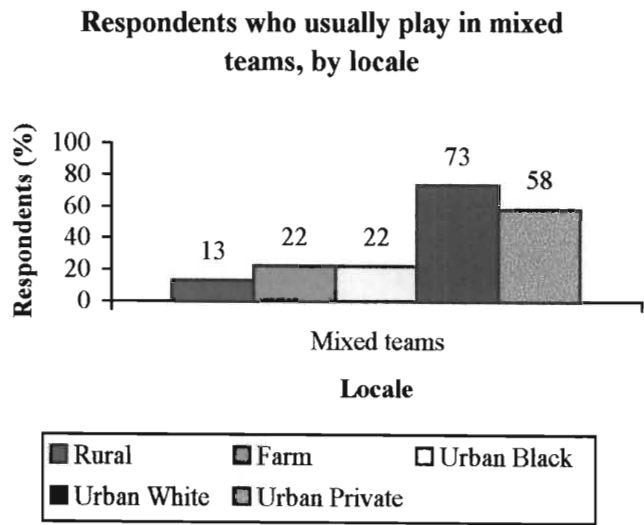
The data suggests that while there is a preference amongst boys to play with their own sex, girls are more inclined than boys to play in mixed teams. It appears that male respondents far prefer playing with their own sex than in mixed-sex teams, whereas female respondents seem to be more receptive, than male respondents, to mixed-sex play.

Chart 18



There is a highly significant relationship between the race of respondents and who they usually play games with (chi-square value 91.733, df=9). The overwhelming majority of white respondents (84%) showed that they play games in mixed teams while less than a quarter (23%) of black respondents said they played in mixed teams. This is a clear racial difference.

Chart 19



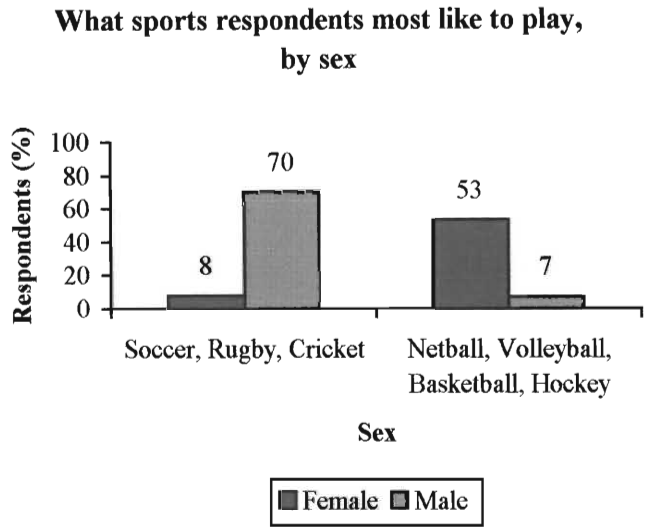
A highly significant relationship between the locality of respondents and who they prefer to play their games with is also found (chi-square value 1114.231,  $df=12$ ). It is clear that for respondents at rural schools (13%), there is very little gender-mixed play activity (13%). By contrast, a substantial majority at urban historically white schools (73%) and over half respondents at urban private schools, gender mixed play was extensive. Less than a quarter of respondents at farm (22%) and urban historically black (22%) schools indicated they usually play their favourite game with boys and girls together.

Looking at sport, most (93%) respondents say boys like participating in sport. Similarly, most respondents (78%) say girls like to participate in sport too. No difference can be found across race, locality and sex when respondents are asked if they thought boys liked sport. Whereas when asked if girls like sport, their answers were significant by sex (chi-square value 11.414,  $df=2$ ).

Proportionally more female respondents (86%) felt that girls like sport compared to male respondents (70%). Thus female respondents are more aware of their participation and interest in sports than their male counterparts. This could suggest stereotypical expectations amongst boys.

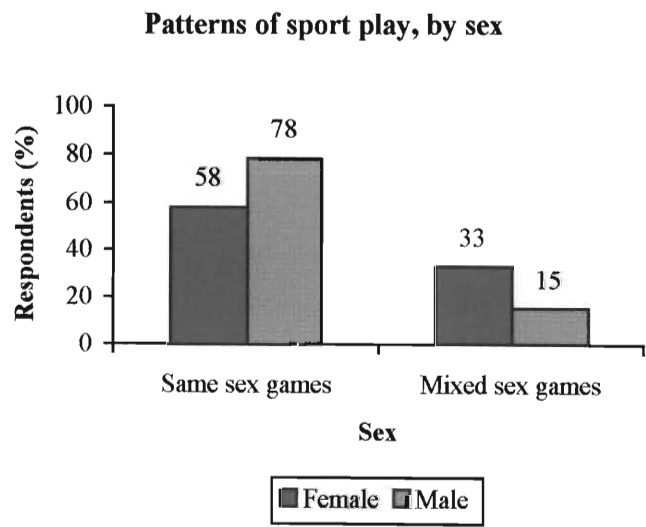
Turning to the sport they most like to play, a highly significant relationship between the sex of respondents is found (chi-square value 234.188,  $df=13$ ), and who they like to play their sports with (chi-square value 249.803,  $df=5$ ). The differences in the sport respondents like to play, by sex is set out in the following chart.

Chart 20



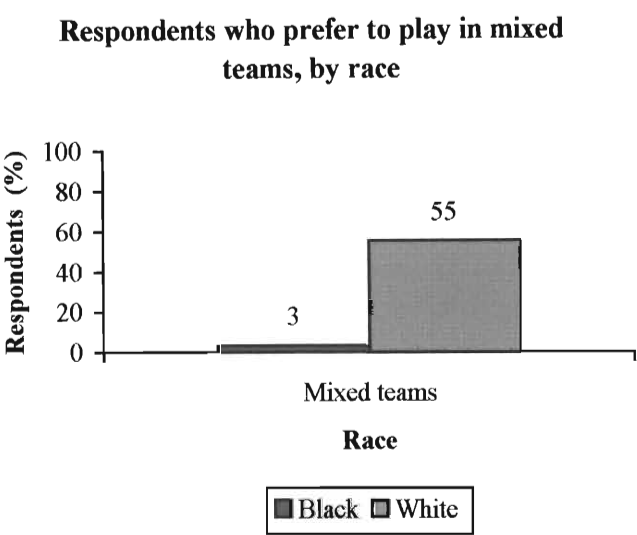
While the majority of male respondents (70%) liked to play soccer, rugby and cricket, only 8% of female respondents enjoyed these sports. Similarly, with netball, volleyball, basketball and hockey, more than half (53%) of female respondents as opposed to a mere 7% of male respondents enjoy these sports. Thus, it is clear that there is a gendered 'separation of sports'.

Chart 21



When looking at patterns of play, over half (58%) of female respondents compared to 78% of male respondents prefer to play in same sex teams. Conversely, one third of female respondents but only 15 % of male respondents said they prefer to play in mixed teams. It appears that girls are more comfortable with mixed-sex play than boys.

Chart 22



The data suggests that there are clear racial trends with regards to team sport (chi-square value 106.781, df=15). Over half (55%) of white respondents compared to only 3% of black respondents say they preferred mixed-sport activity. A preference for single-sex sport appears to be more associated with black than white respondents.

It is clear that particularly race and then locality are important factors which influence both perceived and real experiences of play and recreation across gender. There is a gendered-preference where boys tend to like to play with boys more than girls, who tend to be more open to activity across the gender line. This is the case for both play and sport. This is also the case for race, where white respondents are more susceptible to mixed-play than black respondents.



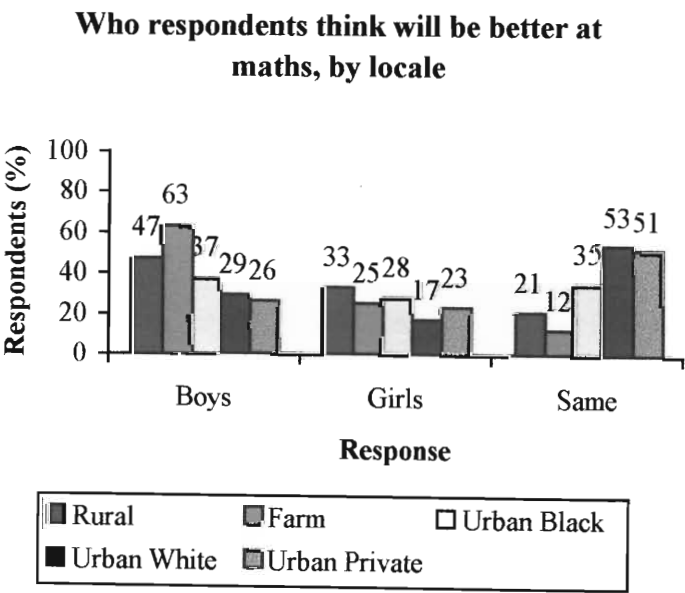
Perceived School Subject Performance

Research has shown that there are gendered perceptions of school subjects. In this section we look at how respondents perceive performance in school subjects. Analysing it by sex, race and locality, in particular, we look at perceptions around maths, science, cooking, writing, reading and art.

In general, there was a almost an equal divide of respondents (38%) who felt boys would do better at maths and respondents (37%) who thought that boys and girls would perform the same at maths. A quarter of respondents though girls would outperform boys at maths.

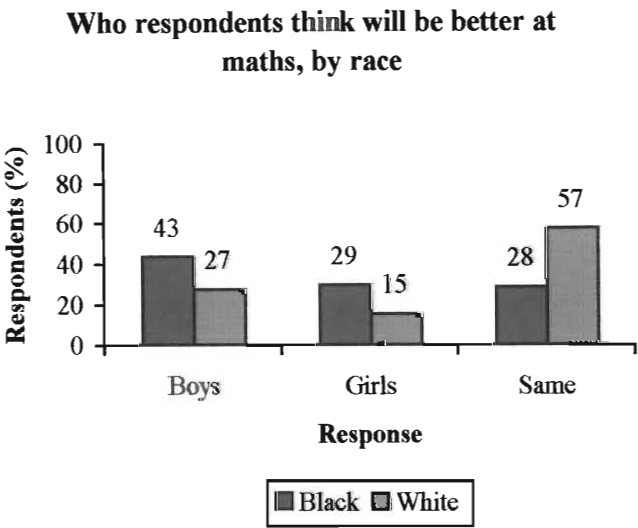
Examining the data by the locality of respondents reveals a highly significant relationship between maths and gender (chi-square value 40.640, df=8).

Chart 23



The strongest association of boys performing better at maths is found at rural (47%) and farm schools (63%). This association is somewhat weaker at urban historically black (37%), urban historically white (29%), and urban private (26%) schools. By contrast, over half the respondents at urban historically white (53%) and urban private (51%) schools felt that boys and girls perform equally at maths.

Chart 24



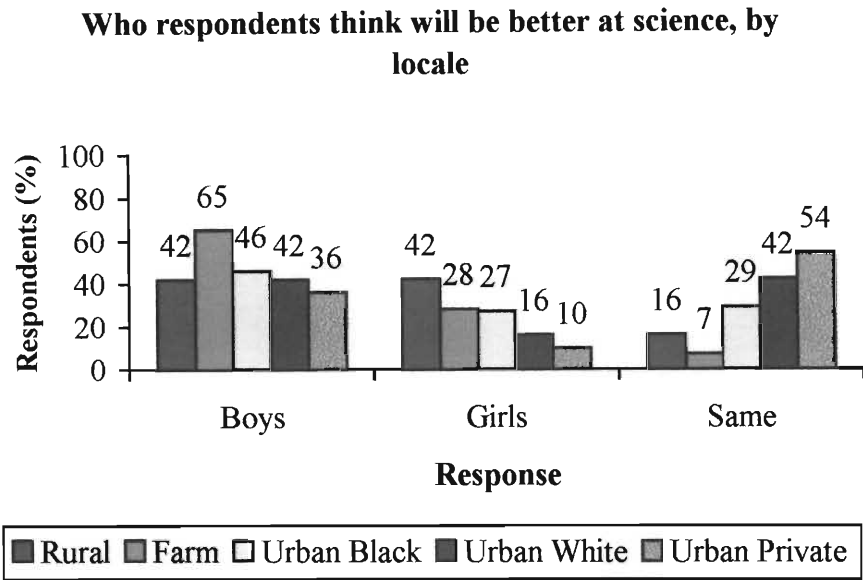
Perceptions of math performance is also racially determined (chi-square value 30.496,  $df=6$ ). While over half of the white respondents (57%) and only 28% of the black respondents perceived boys and girls to perform equally at maths, 43% of black respondents compared to 27% of white respondents think boys perform better at maths. And, more white respondents (57%) were inclined to think boys and girls will perform equally at maths than black respondents (28%).

There is no significant relationship between the sex of respondents and perceptions of which sex would be better at maths (chi-square value 2.384,  $df=2$ ). In other words, male and female respondents hold similar perceptions around maths performance.

Looking at perceptions around science performance, just under half the respondents (46%) think boys are better at science, compared to a quarter (24%) of respondents who think girls are better at science. 30% of the respondents think boys and girls are likely to perform equally well at science.

On closer examination, a highly significant relationship between locality and perceptions of which sex would be better at science is revealed (chi-square value 44.162, df=8).

Chart 25



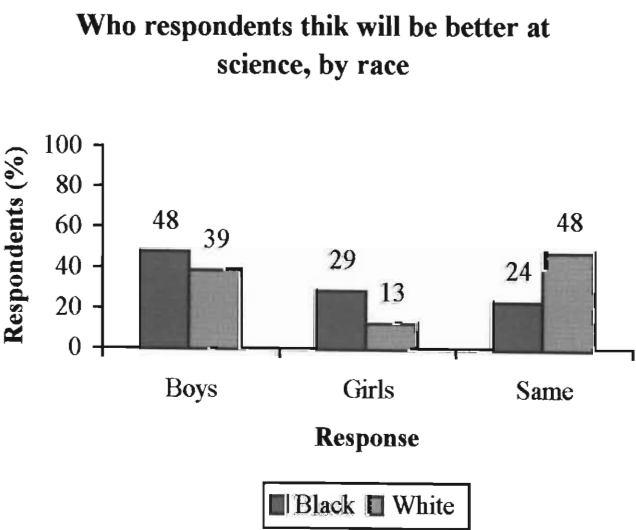
It is clear from the chart above that there are two marked trends. One is that boys are perceived to perform better at science, and the other is that there is a perception that there is equal performance of boys and girls at the sciences. At the urban private school, the trend of over half of the respondents (54%) is that they think boys and girls will perform the same at science. The trend at the rural school is highly gendered with equal proportions of respondents (42%) thinking boys will perform better at science and, respondents thinking girls will perform better at science. At the urban historically black school, just less than half of the respondents (46%) feel boys will outperform girls at science. At the urban historically white school, there was an even divide of responses,

where 42% of respondents who felt boys would will perform better at science, and another 42% who felt that boys and girls would perform equally well at science. At the farm school, it is quite clear that most respondents (65%) think boys will out perform girls in science.

Expectations around science performance are gendered. If we look at those who consider one sex as being better at science, boys are expected to perform better than girls, almost all the time.

Race is clearly an inferential factor in determining perceptions of performance of boys and girls at science (chi-square value 25.758, df=6).

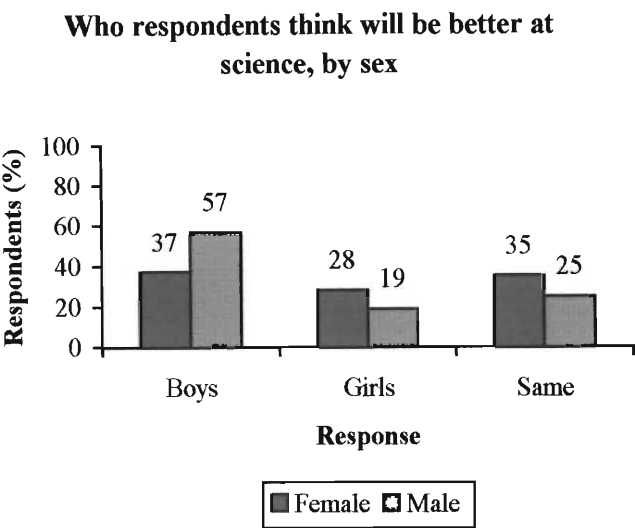
Chart 26



Black respondents (48%) are far more inclined to perceive boys as being better at science than girls, and they are also a lot less inclined to perceive boys and girls performing equally at science (24%). By contrast, white respondents (48%) are most inclined to see boys and girls performing equally and if they are not performing equally, then the emphasis is on boys outperforming girls at science (39%).

There is a highly significant relationship between the sex of the respondents and expectations around science performance (chi-square value 15.853, df =2). This is set out in the chart that follows.

Chart 27

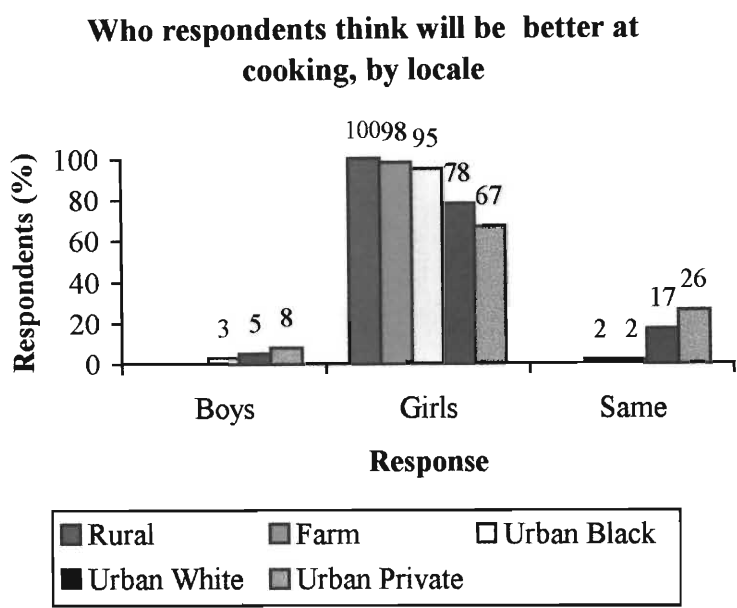


Most male (57%) and to a lesser extent female respondents (37%) perceive boys to be better at science. But, it is female respondents (35%) who most strongly emphasise similarity in performance in the scientific field.

Maths and science are known as the ‘hard’ subjects. They are seen as difficult and as being career and professional orientated. Subjects that are considered softer and easier to do include reading, writing, art and cooking, and they are perceived to lead to ‘softer’, less career orientated areas of employment.

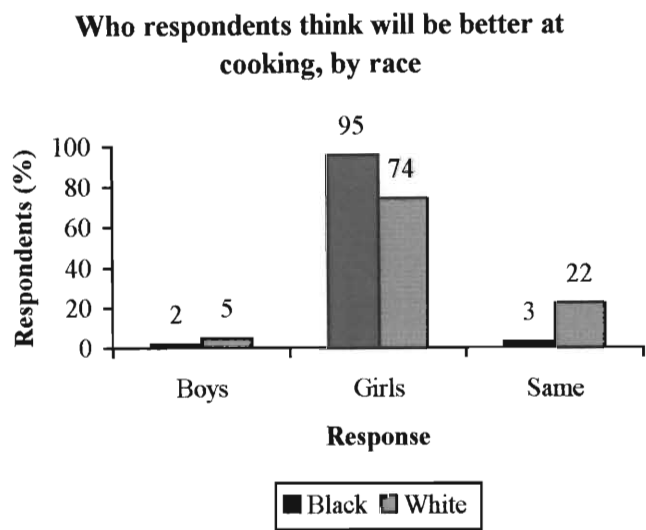
Turning to the ‘softer’ subjects, most respondents (89%) consider girls to be better at cooking than boys. This is very clear if we look at the chart that follows.

Chart 28



A highly significant relationship between locality and perceptions of which sex would be better at cooking emerges (chi-square value 50.354, df=8). There is an almost categorical response by respondents at rural (100%), farm (98%) and urban historically black schools (95%). The response at urban historically white (78%) and urban private (67%) is also strong, but it is tempered by those who consider boys and girls to perform equally at cooking (17% and 26% respectively). Notably, gender bias to boys is absent. The other interesting finding is that nobody at rural and farm schools thought boys would be better at cooking.

Chart 29



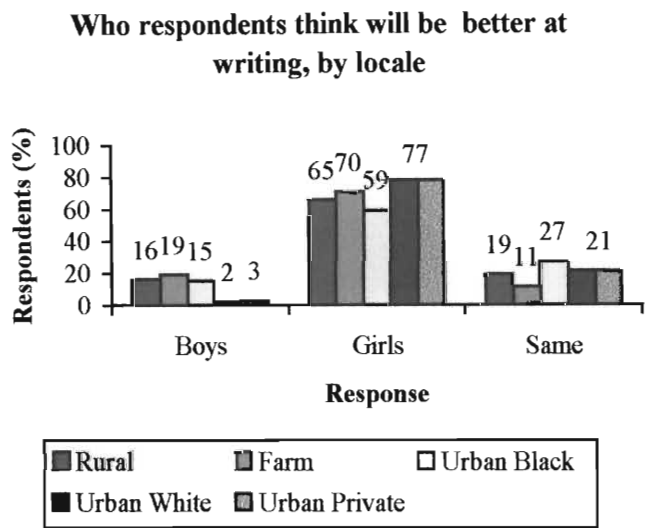
There is a highly significant relationship between race and perceptions of which sex would be better at cooking (chi-square value 48.506, df=6). Almost all black respondents (95%) and three quarters of white respondents (74%) perceive girls to be better at cooking. Those who perceived boys and girls to perform equally at cooking tended to be white respondents (22%) rather than black respondents (3%).

There is no relationship between sex of respondents and perceptions who would be better at cooking (chi-square value 0.542, df=2). Once again male and female respondents hold similar perceptions.

Cooking is very strongly stereotyped with respect to gender.

When it comes to writing, the majority of respondents (68%) think girls are better at writing than boys, and about one fifth (22%) see boys and girls performing equally in this regard.

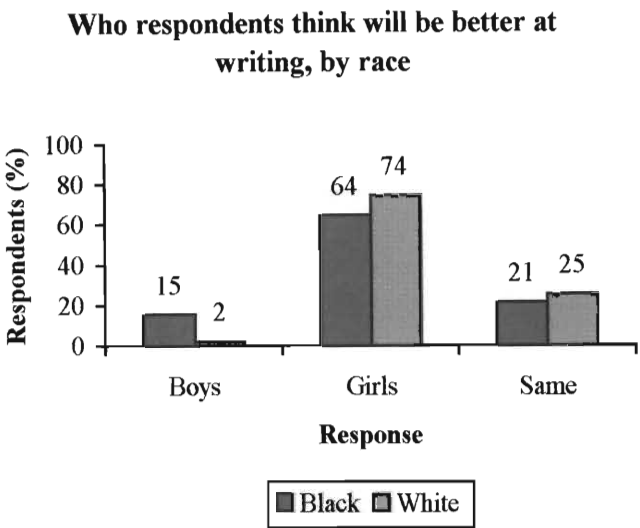
Chart 30



The ability to write is perceived as gendered, with a bias to girls. Interestingly, it is more strongly associated with respondents at urban historically white (77%) and urban private (77%) schools, than respondents at rural (65%), farm (70%) and urban historically black (59%) schools. At the three latter schools, there is also a minority trend, which regards boys to better at writing (16%, 19% & 15% respectively). There is also a minority trend at urban historically black (27%), urban historically white (21%) and urban private (21%) schools which considers boys and girls to perform the same at writing.

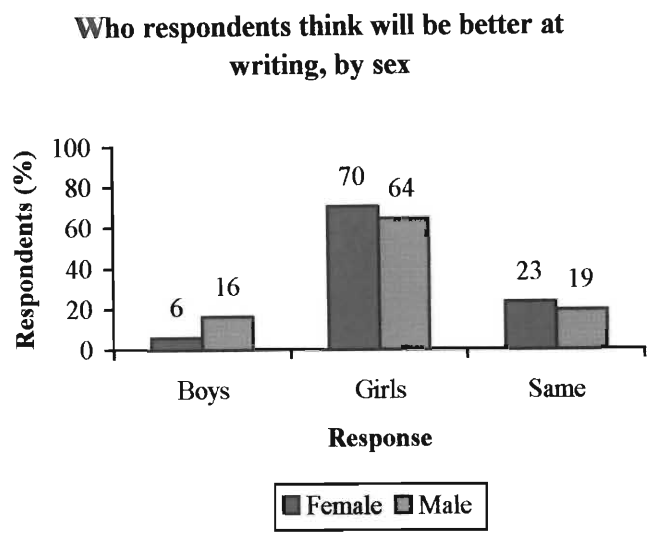


Chart 31



Perceptions of who would be better at writing are also significantly related to the race of respondents (Chi-square value 16.471, df=6). 64% of black respondents perceived girls to be better at writing as did 74% of white respondents. Almost equal proportions of black respondents (21%) and white respondents (25%) felt boys and girls would perform the same at writing. However, when looking at perceptions of boys outperforming girls at writing, more black respondents (15%) as opposed to white respondents (2%) held this view.

Chart 32



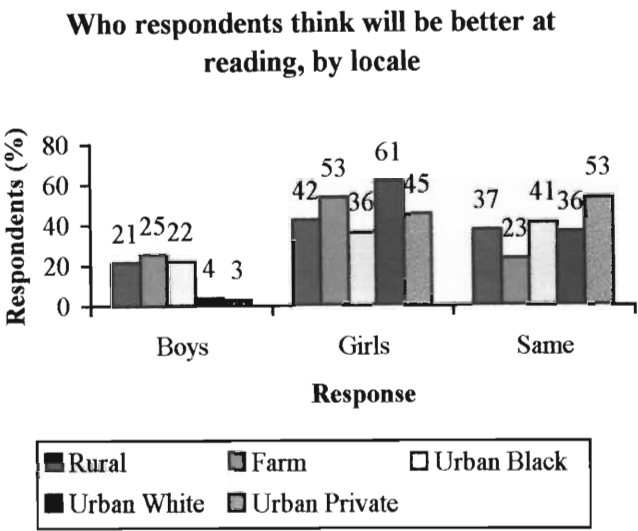
Analysed by sex, there is a highly significant relationship between the sex of respondents and perceptions of writing performance (chi-square value 10.651, df=2). 70% of female respondents and 64% of male respondents said they thought girls would do better. However, 6% of female respondents and 16% of male respondents felt that boys would do better. 23% of female respondents and 19% of male respondents thought boys and girls would perform equally in this arena.

Bringing the race and gender analysis together, the data suggests that black male respondents perceive boys to be better at writing, and that girls across the colour divide generally regard girls as performing better at writing.

When we look at a general overview of the data on perception of reading ability, few respondents (16%) consider boys to be better at reading, while just less than half (46%) think girls to be better at reading. 38% of respondents perceived both boys and girls to be the same at reading. This data still presents a gender bias to girls, but it is less categorical than it was with regards to the data on writing.

Analysed by locality, a highly significant relationship around perceptions of reading performance is revealed (chi-square value 37.101, df=8).

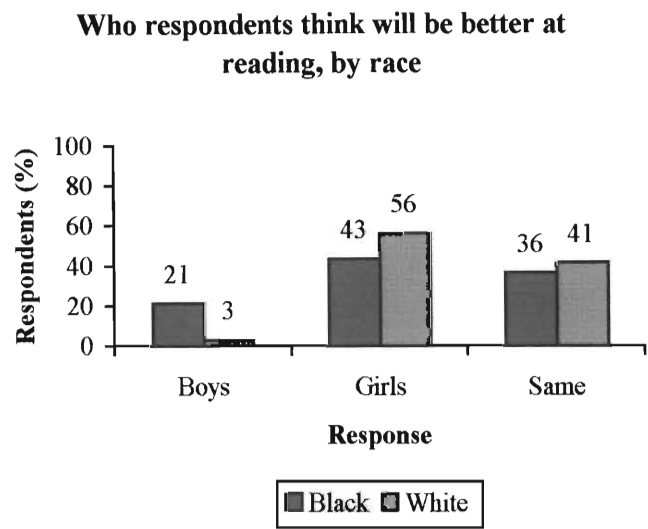
Chart 33



Looking at responses from respondents at rural schools, many respondents (42%) perceive that girls will outperform boys at reading. There were also a substantial minority of rural school based respondents (37%) who felt that boys and girls would perform equally in this regard. Over half the respondents at the farm school (53%) also felt that girls would outperform boys at reading. Looking at respondents at the urban historically black school, 41% felt that they could expect equal performance from boys and girls in terms of reading, while proportionality fewer respondents (36%) felt girls would perform better than boys. The majority of urban historically white respondents (61%) felt that girls would be better at reading than boys. In fact only 4% of respondents at urban historically white schools felt boys would outperform girls in this regard. Just more than half of the respondents (53%) at urban private schools felt that boys and girls would perform the same at reading, with another 41% who felt hat girls would be better than boys at reading.

The chart below indicates that the race of the respondents is also (highly) significantly related to perceptions of reading performance (chi-square value 24.100, df=6).

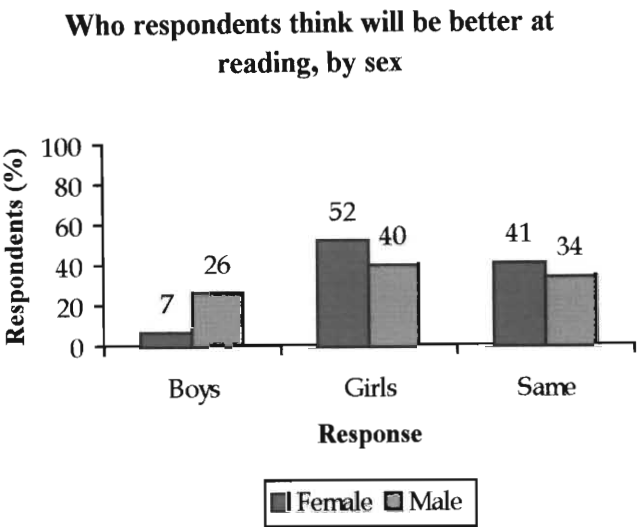
Chart 34



More than half of the white (56%) and 43% of black respondents think girls will outperform boys at reading. There are also many white (41%) and black (36%) respondents who expect boys and girls to perform equally at reading. However, when looking at respondents who consider boys to perform better than girls at reading, over one fifth of black (21%) compared to a mere 3% of white respondents thought boys would be better at reading.

There is also a highly significant relationship between the sex of respondents and perceptions of who is better at reading (chi-square value 26.197, df=2).

Chart 35



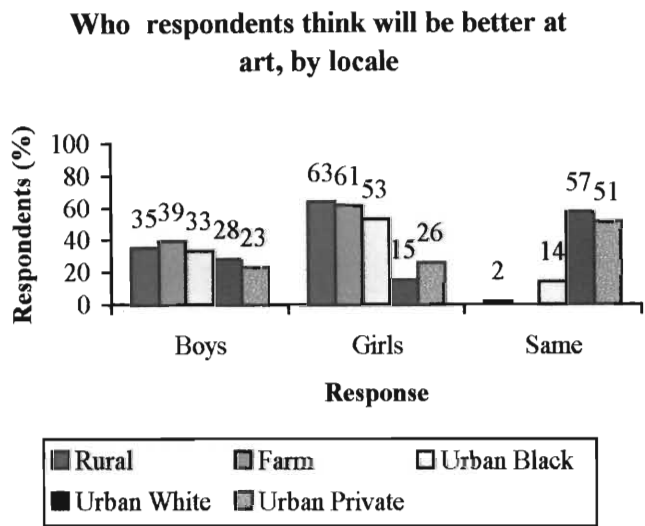
Large percentages of female respondents (52%) and male respondents (41%) perceived girls to be better at reading than boys. 7% of female respondents as opposed to 26% of male respondents thought boys would be better at reading.

Bringing race and gender analysis together, it is clear that it black males who consider boys to be better than girls at reading.

Turing to perceptions around art performance, the overall perception is that girls will be better at art than boys.

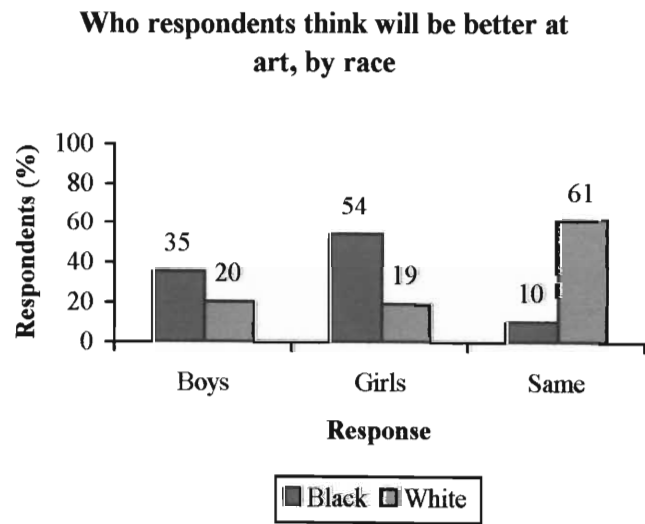
However, when analysing this finding further, a highly significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 122.358, df=8), race (chi-square value 115.336, df=6) and sex (chi-square value 28.720, df=2) of respondents and perceptions around art performance is found.

Chart 36



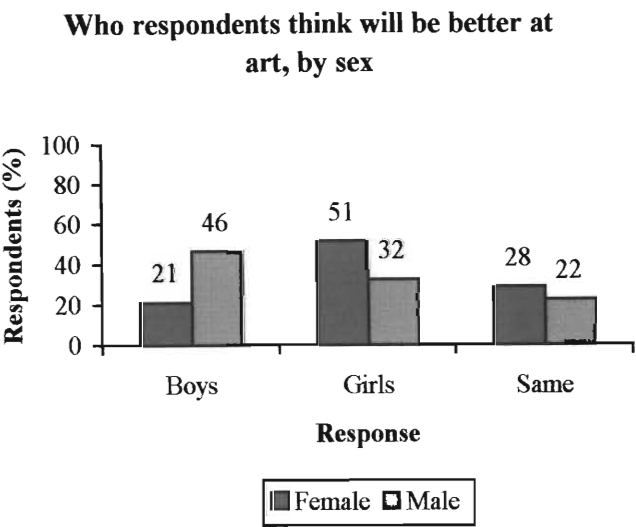
The above chart clearly shows that most respondents at rural (63%), farm (61%), and urban historically black (53%) school expect girls to be better than boys at art, while most respondents at urban historically white (57%) and urban private (51%) schools believe boys and girls will perform equally.

Chart 37



The preceding chart clearly illustrates the racial dimension with respect to perceptions around art performance. Most white (61%) respondents consider boys and girls to perform equally at art, while over half black respondents (54%) think girls, and then boys (35%) will perform better at art.

Chart 38



Interestingly, just over half (51%) of female respondents think girls will be better at art than boys, while just less than half of male respondents (46%) felt boys more likely to perform better at art than girls.

Once again, bring race and gender analysis together, it is that black male respondents regard themselves (males) as better at art, and black female respondents regard themselves (females) as being better at art. In the same way, white female respondents regard both male and females as being able to perform equally at art.

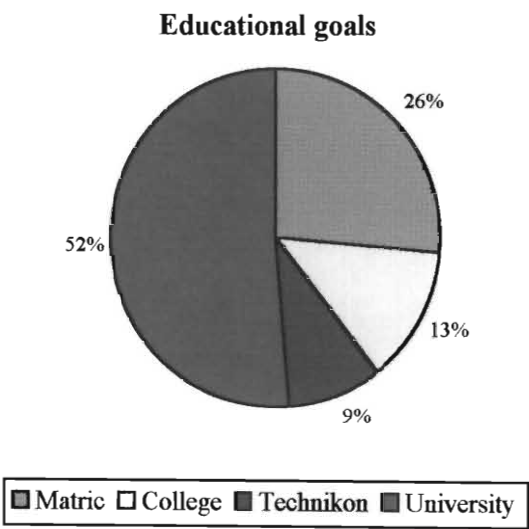
Having examined gender associations around subject performance, it is clear that the so-called hard subjects, such as maths and science, are generally associated with males and the ‘softer’ subjects, such as cooking and writing are generally associated with females.

The other soft subjects like reading and art while largely perceived as gendered and feminine subjects, are also to a lesser extent regarded as something that boys and girls will perform equally well at.

Having explored issues around subject performance and its association with gender, we now turn to respondents’ educational expectations. This analysis combines findings that relate to educational expectations, the number of years repeated at school, the chances of them achieving these and perceived obstacles they face.

Asked how far they would like to go, in terms of their education, a large proportion of respondents (73%) said they want to pursue post-matric studies There was a particular emphasis on attending university (52%), then matric (24%), followed by college (13%) and technikon (9%).

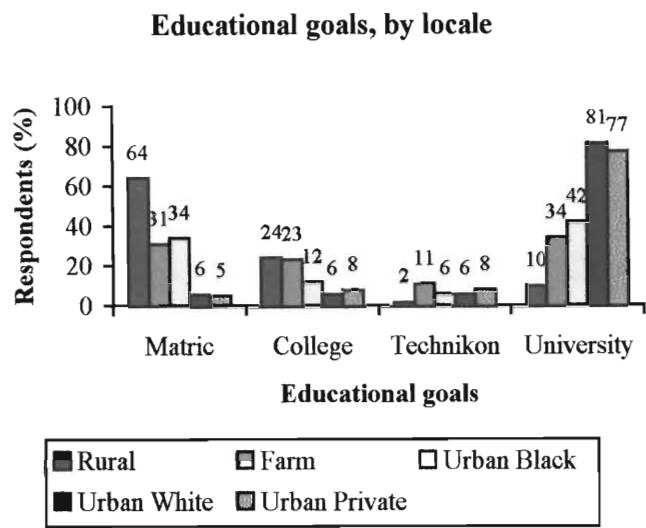
Chart 39



Both locality (chi-square value 125.793, df=24) and race (chi-square value 88.977, df=18) (highly) significantly informed these responses.

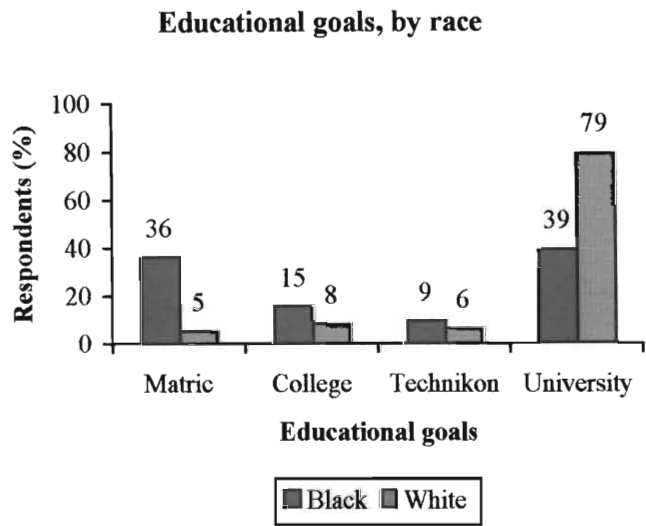


Chart 40



From the chart above, it is clear that, completing matric was emphasised as an educational goal by most rural respondents (64%). Nearly a quarter of all farm and rural respondents (23% & 24% respectively) have set their educational goals on attending college. Respondents at urban historically white (81%) and urban private (77%) compared to a substantial minority of respondents at urban historically black (42%), farm (34%) and rural (10%) schools expect to go to university. So there is a distinct locale difference with regards to educational expectations. Overall, the pattern suggests that the aspiration to attend university increases when moving from the rural/farm to the urban based schools, and this in turn could suggest that aspiration levels increase.

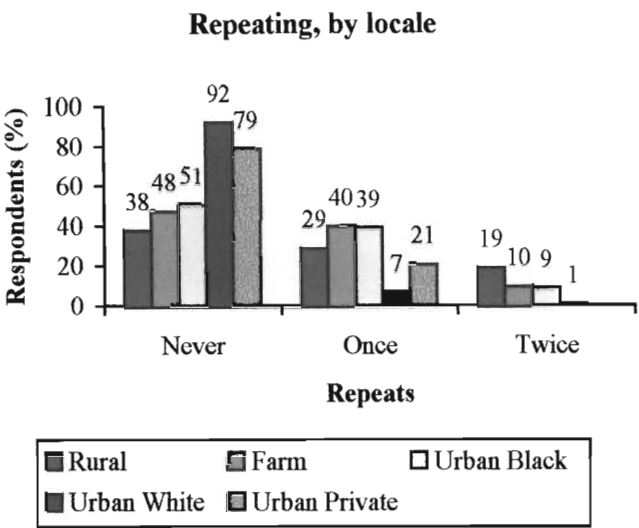
Chart 41



In terms of race, these distinctions become very clear. Many black respondents (36%) aspire to complete matric, but slightly more (39%) aspire to attend university. White respondents (79%) clearly anticipate attending university. It is evident that there is a racial dimension in terms of the respondents’ educational goals they set for themselves.

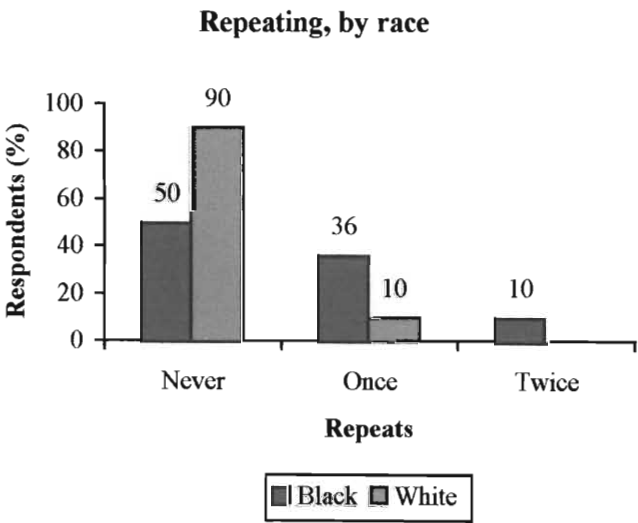
These expectations should not be read in isolation from respondents’ experiences at school, specifically with regard to repeating grades. 63% of respondents have never repeated a year at school. However, 37% of the respondents have repeated at least one, two or more years at school.

Chart 42



Analysed by locality, we see it is almost an exception for respondents at urban historically white (92%) and urban private respondents (79%) to repeat a year of school. But, it is common for respondents at rural (29%), farm (40%), urban historically black (39%) schools to have repeated once, twice or more.

Chart 43



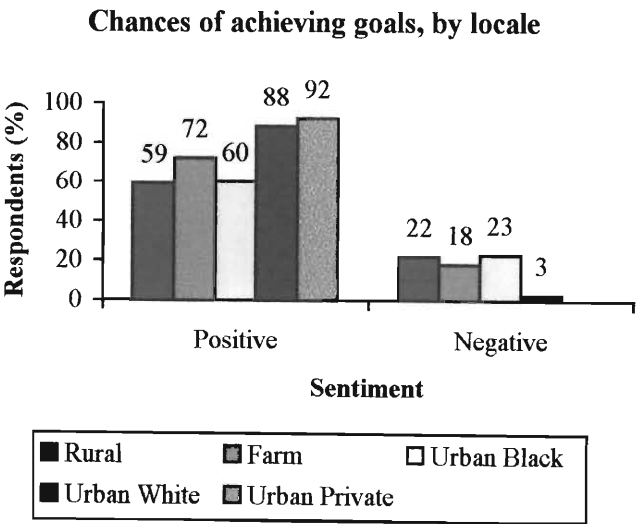
There is a highly significant relationship between the race (chi-square value 66.681, df=21) of respondents and whether they have repeated any years of schooling. Overall, most white respondents (90%), but only half of the black respondents (50%) have never had to repeat a year of school. There is a definite racial dimension when looking at which respondents have repeated years of schooling.

In this study, no statistical relationship can be found between educational expectations and repeating grades (chi-square value 54.714, df=42). Those who have repeated year(s) have similar educational aspirational levels to those who have not repeated.

Asked what their chances of achieving their goals are, and what possible obstacles they may face, the majority of respondents (72 %) felt their chances to be good and very good. Only 28% of respondents felt unsure of their chances or, their chances to be bad or very bad.

These perceptions are (highly) significantly related to the locality of respondents (chi-square value 84.680, df=16).

Chart 44



As the chart above shows, the strongest sense of negativity is amongst respondents at rural (22%), farm (18%) and urban historically black (23%) schools, and the strongest sense of optimism is among respondents at urban historically white (88%), and urban private (92%) schools.

Race is also (highly) significantly related factor (chi-square value 52.275,  $df=12$ ). Nearly all white (86%) respondents and about two thirds of black respondents (64%) felt quite confident about achieving their educational goals. However, more black respondents (20%) than white respondents (3%) were doubtful or negative about achieving their educational goals.

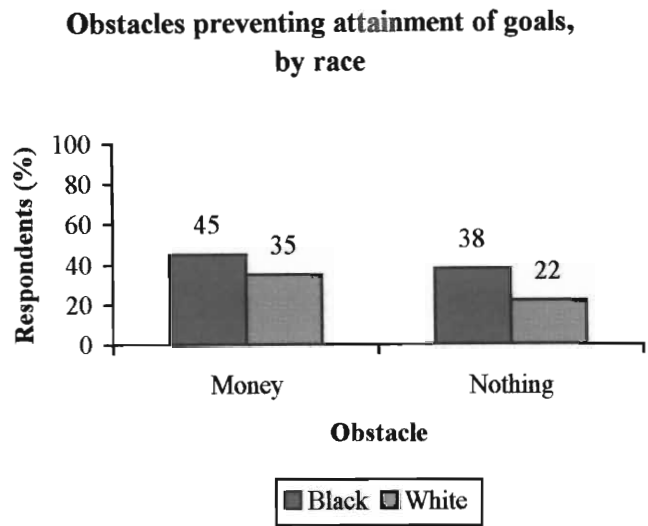
The data on educational expectations showed no statistical relationship with respect to the sex of the respondents, which suggests that these findings discussed above are typical of both male and female respondents.

There is a highly significant relationship in terms of respondents' educational expectations and their perceptions of their chances. (chi-square value 56.673,  $df=24$ ). Three quarters (75%) of respondents, who want to finish matric, attend technikon and university feel positive and confident in achieving their educational goal. Just over half of the respondents who want to attend college also feel confident about achieving their goals.

Asked what they think might prevent them from attaining their educational goals manifested two broad responses: nothing (34% of the respondents) and money (41% of the respondents).

There is a highly significant relationship between the locality (chi-square value 126.383,  $df=56$ ) and race (chi-square value 111.308,  $df=42$ ) of respondents and what they think might prevent them from achieving their goal.

Chart 45



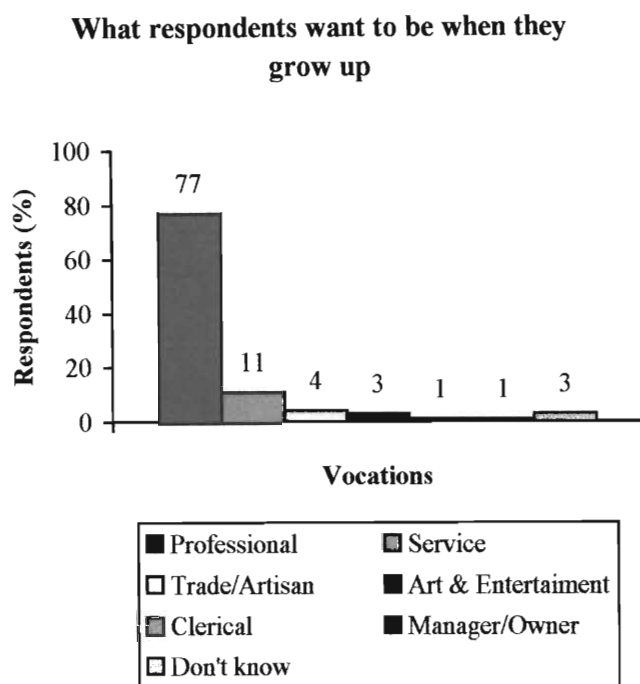
Looking at race, more black (45%) than white (35%) respondents felt money would pose as an obstacle in the attainment of their educational goals. More black (38%) than white (22%) respondents felt that nothing was going to stand in their way of achieving their educational goals.

There is no significant relationship between the sex of respondents and what they think would prevent them from achieving their educational goals (chi-square value 18.200, df=28).

Once children leave school and/or tertiary education systems, they anticipate entering the labour market. From a young age, children have an idea of what they would like to be when they grow up. Past research suggests that vocational choice usually differs across sex. Children often base their vocational aspirations on their parents’ experiences or the work their parents do.

Testing the assumption that boys and girls aspire to different vocations, respondents were asked what they would like to be when they grow up. The chart that follows shows that over three-quarters of all respondents (77%) want to be professionals when they grow up.

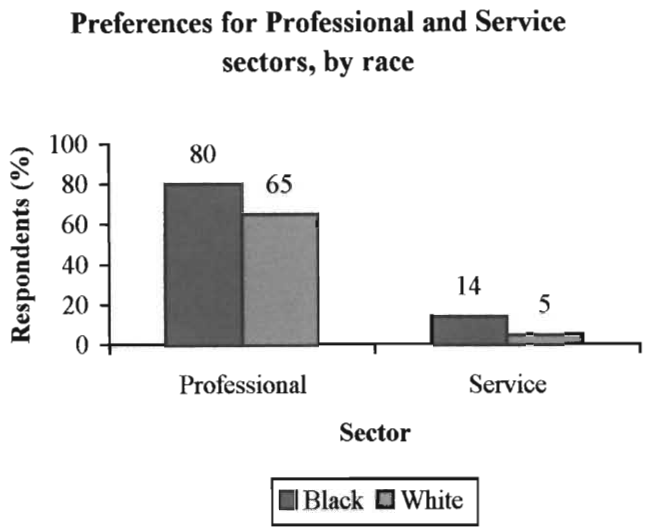
Chart 46



This category includes teachers, doctors, lawyers, accountants, social workers and engineers etc. 11% want to be involved in the service sector, namely - police, sales, coaching and fire personnel. 4% of respondents want to be a tradesman/artisan, 3% want to be involved in arts and entertainment when they grow up. The arts and entertainment segment involves dancing, acting, writing and craftwork. Only a handful of respondents want to be in a clerical, or even management position.

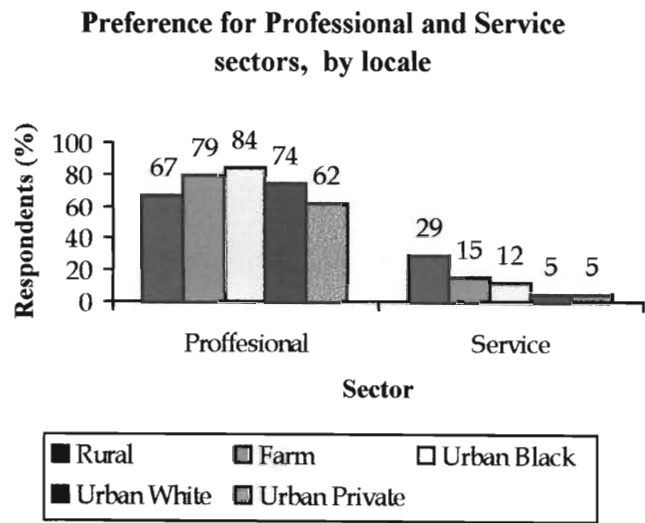
No significant relationship can be found between what the respondents want to be when they grow up, and the sex of the respondents (chi-square value 28.226, df=18). Therefore, in this study, vocational aspirations are not stereotyped with respect to sex, although with further analysis they more prove to be.

Chart 47



Examined by race (chi-square value 65.919, df=27), most black respondents (80%) and many white respondents (65%) aspire to be professionals when they grow up. Also, more black respondents (14%) but only a few white respondents (5%) say they want take up a service-orientated job when they grow up.

Chart 48

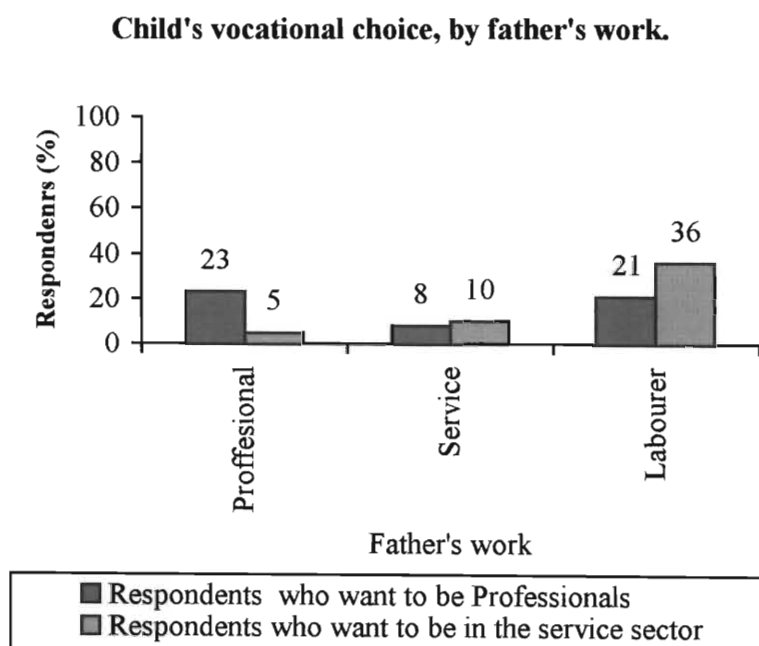




Looking at the locality of respondents in this regard, a highly significant relationship is also found (chi-square value 95.684,  $df=36$ ). Most respondents at all five locales say they want to be a professional when they grow up. Of those respondents who say they want to be in the service sector, more at rural (29%), farm (15%) and urban historically black (12%) want to be involved in the service sector, as opposed to urban historically white (5%) and urban private schools (5%).

What a child wants to be when they grow up is often shaped by their parents' occupation. In this study, there is a highly significant relationship with regard to their father's (chi-square value 302.400,  $df=117$ ) and their mother's occupation (chi-square value 126.756,  $df=96$ ). The following cross-tabulation illustrates the child's vocational choice (professional and service), by the work their fathers' do. The chart that follows shows the relationship of vocational aspiration and fathers occupation.

Chart 49



From the chart above, it is clear that those respondents who want to be professionals when they grow up, one quarter (23%) want to pursue the same career path as their fathers. It is also evident that just over one fifth (21%) want to achieve more than their fathers have (who are labourers and workers). Turning to those respondents who want to be involved in the service sector, while one tenth (10%) want to follow in their father's 'service sector' footsteps, over one third (36%) have fathers who are workers/labourers.

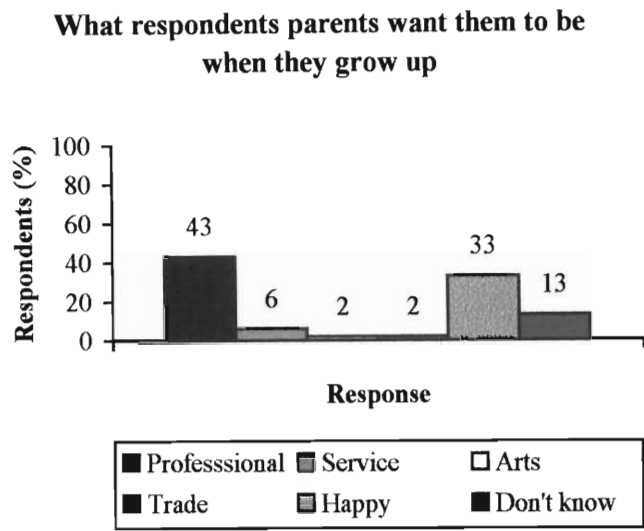
A similar pattern is found when looking at the work their mothers do. Of those respondents who say they would like to become professionals, just over a quarter (26%) have mothers who are professionals, 19% have mothers who are not economically active, 28% have mothers who are workers/labourers. Turning to those respondents who say they would like to be involved in the service-orientated industry, 11% have mothers who are involved in the service industry, 11% have mothers who are professional, 14% have mothers who are not economically active, 54% have mothers who are workers/labourers.

Overall, there is a strong indication that while some respondents aspire to similar occupations as their fathers and mothers, a significant number of respondents aspire to occupations that are not. In such cases, the occupations' respondents aspire to command more earning potential and status than that of their parents' occupation.

Respondents were asked directly, if they would like to do the work their parents do. Most respondents (72% and 75%) said they did not want to do the work their fathers and mothers (respectively) do. This was the case even for respondents whose parents were employed in the professional category.

Parents very often have vocational expectations of their children

Chart 50

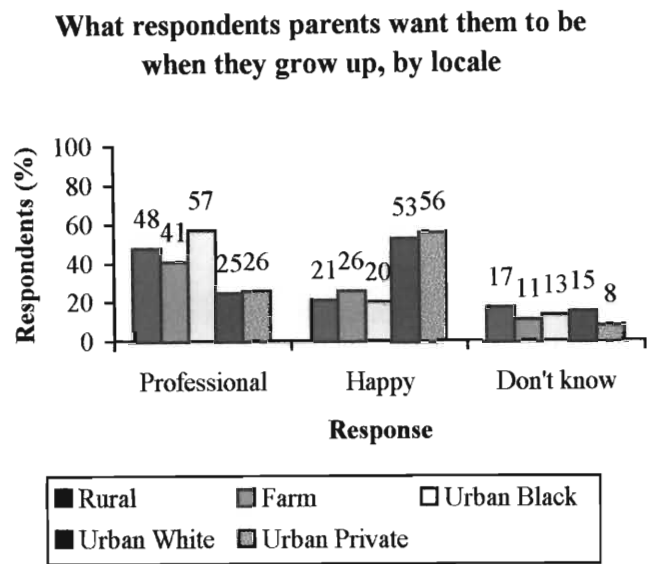


Asked what their parents want them to be when they grow up, 43% of respondents say their parents would like them to be professionals. Another 6% of respondents say their parents would like them to be involved in the service sector; in the arts/entertainment sector (2%); trades women/artisans (2%) when they grow up.

Interestingly enough, 46% of the respondents gave responses suggesting their parents do not impose expectations on their children in this regard. One third (33%) of respondents said their parents would like them to be whatever makes them happy and another 13% of the respondents were not aware of what their parents would like them to be when they grow up.

Examined, by the locality (chi-square value 96.286, df=40) and race (chi-square value 75.500, df=30) of respondents reveals a highly significant relationship. There is also significant relationship between the sex of the respondents and what their parents would like them to be when they grow up (chi-square value 26.055, df=10).

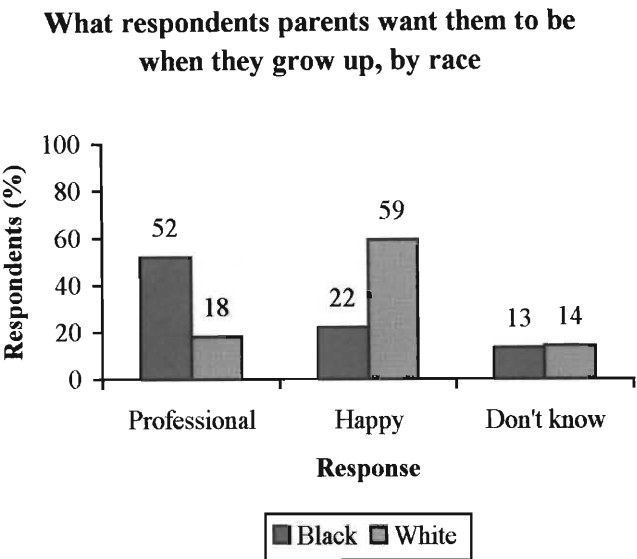
Chart 51



Looking at locality, over half the respondents (57%) at urban historically black, and to a lesser extent respondents at rural (48%) and farm (41%) schools say their parents want them to be professionals when they grow up. On the other hand, over half at urban historically white (53%) and urban private (56%) schools said their parents want them to be whatever makes them happy.

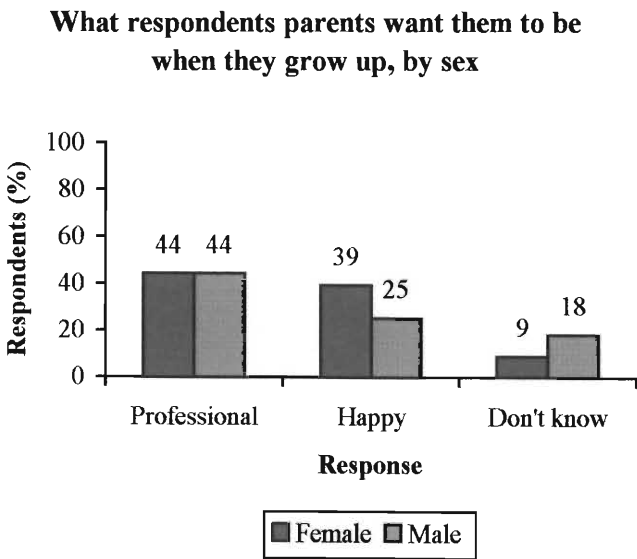
It would appear that at urban historically white and urban private locales, more white than black respondents' parents emphasised personal happiness in the terms of vocational choice. Clearly, more respondents parents' at rural, farm and urban historically black than urban historically white and urban private, place significance on achieving 'professional' status when they grow up.

Chart 52



Looking at the racial dimension to this response, over half the black respondents (52%) as opposed to only 18% of the white respondents say their parents want them to be professionals. Conversely, 59% of white compared to 22% of black respondents say their parents want them to be whatever makes them happy.

Chart 53



Equal percentages (44%) of male and female respondents say their parents expect them to be professionals when they grow up. More female respondents (39%) compared to a quarter of male respondents say their parents want them to be happy with whatever they chose to pursue vocationally.

It is clear that black respondents' parents place high expectations on their children while white respondents' parents place more importance on personal happiness. Clearly, more rural, farm and urban historically black than urban historically white and urban private respondents parents place significance on achieving 'professional' status when they grow up. There is difference found across the sex of respondents, but it is not as extreme as that found with the race and locale of respondents.

When examining parental expectations, by the work the parents themselves do, the data shows that in some cases professional fathers (37%) were inclined to encourage their children to seek job happiness. The data also revealed that some parents such as labourers (33%) urged their children to become professionals – to achieve more than they did in terms of socio-economic status

While vocational aspirations are expected to differ across sex, this was not the case in this study, where most respondents want to be professionals when they grow up. However, this finding may have revealed the contrary if further analysis were conducted. The work respondents' parents do does have an influence on respondents vocational choices, and the general finding is that they do not aspire to pursue the same career paths as their parents. Quite often, and especially amongst black respondents, there is a sense of achieving more than their parents, in terms socio-economic status. Parents themselves are not perceived as being overly ambitious of their children, especially amongst white respondents - where parents emphasise job happiness first. However, for black respondents, there was a sense of encouraging children into professional-related careers or to achieve more than they have.

## CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Working from the thematic conceptual framework set out in Chapter Two, it is proposed to discuss the findings both in their own right as well as in the light of the concepts and empirical evidence presented in the literature reviewed.

Theme one of this investigation explores three hypotheses – gender-associated characteristics and activities; conceptualising what it is to be a man and a woman; and if the desire to be the other sex exists.

With respect to the first hypothesis – that activities and characteristics are perceived as gendered. The findings are mixed. In general, activities such as socialising, having fun, and working are associated with both boys and girls and are therefore weakly associated with gender, if at all. However, care-related activities, such as looking after the sick or children as well as servicing the household are strongly gender associated. Particularly, they are seen as female activities. Similarly, some general behavioural characteristics are also perceived as gendered. Boys are regarded as rough, resourceful and inventive, and girls as sensitive, emotional (they cry) and caring about their appearance (how they dress).

These perceptions differ across race in particular and also locality, for example, when analysed by race while most white respondents associated ‘caring for animals’ with girls, most black respondents strongly associated it with boys.

From this study, it is clear that there are activities and individual characteristics, which are perceived as gendered. However, it is important to note that this is not always the case and does not apply to every activity or characteristic. Also, these gendered perceptions are often qualified by race and locality. They may also be qualified by class position, although the data needs to be further analysed to substantiate this.

The second hypothesis explored is that there are gendered expectations associated with becoming a man or a woman. From the research, the general findings are that responsibility, maturity, puberty, earning and marrying are considered key to becoming a man, while adhering to culturally acceptable behaviour and dress, puberty, menstruation, maturity, marrying and responsibility are central to becoming a woman. Only two characteristics in this repertoire differ across the sexes – earning and appropriate cultural behaviour. This suggests that there is a pervasive stereotype of males as the main or principle breadwinner, on the one hand and, on the other hand, it is also an assertion of culture as a means to socially control and subordinate women.

Once again, these associations of man- and womanhood are racially informed. White respondents conceptualise wo(man)hood in terms of the psychological and physiological maturation of the individual. Black respondents conceptualise wo(man)hood in social terms emphasising marriage, dress and income generation.

The third hypothesis – that there are respondents who would rather have been born the opposite sex – comments further on the hypotheses that have been discussed. Most respondents are happy with the sex that they are. But there were some, almost all of them female, who expressly prefer to have been born the opposite sex. For most of these young women, this preference derives from a fear of falling pregnant and the associated responsibilities that go with child bearing. In fact, the general emphasis on responsibility or its absence, centres around risks of pregnancy and the dangers of being emotionally misused or abused. When respondents say that boys are not responsible, they are largely referring to perceptions around sex and pregnancy. This comes across clearly in terms of what girls and boys perceive as the best things about their own sex. Boys associate their sex with freedom and less responsibility. Girls associate their sex with responsibility, particularly at the domestic level.

From this study, some strongly held gender generalisations need to be qualified. Yes, activities and individual characteristics are often gendered, but this is not always the case.



Further, although it often used the metaphor of culture, the mainstream literature does not seem to adequately account for race or locality as influential factors shaping perceived differences between boys and girls.

As the literature suggests, gender identity is one of the first identities an individual learns, learning a sense of ‘maleness’ and ‘femaleness’ (Abrams and Hogg, 1990:77). From a sociological perspective, boys and girls learn gender roles through the process of socialisation (McKay and Christie, 1995: 125-127).

The grade nine participants in this study, whose mean age is sixteen, appear to be very gender aware. Their responses reflect some of the stereotypical views of society when it comes to gender expectations. As Whitehead (1996) points out, men are stereotypically viewed as being assertive (rough and tough), rational, logical and good at problem solving (and inventing). Women are stereotypically seen as emotional, kind and expressive (domestically inclined, and good care-givers). This study’s findings are consistent with past research (Whithead,1996), but it goes further. It shows that in some respects race first, then locality, precede gender in shaping identity.

Social categorisation is key to social identification. Individuals classify occupants of the social world, and themselves (self- categorisation) on the basis of sociological criteria. In doing so, they have claim to more than one category – each with their own defining characteristics. This study has shown that gender is a social categoriser. However identity is more complex than gender alone. This study has shown that race and locality have often emerged as intersecting factors often accounting for the accentuation of differences between the sexes.

The second theme of this study tests the hypothesis that there are gender differences in play and sport, including gender patterns of play.

Play and sport are integral to the lives of children and young people. These are important sites of learning and sociability, where children acquire social skills. The findings show that while per se games are not defined as 'masculine' and 'feminine', in their practice they are gendered. There is also a clear gender division of sport. Boys are assumed to or do enjoy soccer, rugby and cricket, and girls are assumed to or do enjoy netball, volleyball, basketball and hockey.

The way respondents play – in the sense of with whom they play - games and sport reflects gendered preferences, which are also racially informed. Generally, boys prefer to play with their own sex, while girls are more inclined to play in mixed sex groups than boys. Viewed in the context of a racialized South Africa, for black male respondents, black 'brotherhood' is significant to their identity, more so than it is for the female respondents, where the racial frontiers are not so strongly asserted. In terms of social identity and the sense of 'belongingness', gender is a categorising principle, but it is also one that is racially informed. In light of the above, and in line with Kelly and Smail's (1986) finding, the accentuation between the sexes is exaggerated more for male than female respondents, which suggests that boys are more gender stereotyped than girls.

The third theme of this research tests three hypotheses – that there are perceived gender differences in school subjects; that there are gendered educational expectations and that vocational aspirations are stereotyped with respect to sex.

Subject choice differences by gender has been extensively documented and the general trend is that subjects like maths and science – the so-called 'hard subjects' – are generally perceived to be performed better by boys, while the 'so-called' softer subjects such as reading, writing, art and cooking are regarded as better suited to women and girls (Younger and Warrington: 1996; Whitehead, 1996; Martineau: 1998). Findings of this study generally confirm these trends with the added qualification that perceived subject performance is largely determined by race. Amongst white respondents, the sense of gender difference in subject performance or suitability is weakly accentuated. By contrast

amongst black respondents it seems to be very categorical. The question at the end of the day is whether these gendered perceptions of subjects affect achievement, and how these perceptions are associated with real subject choice?

From this study, it is clear that it is widely held that education is perceived to be the main route for upward social mobility, social and occupational advancement. Almost three quarters of all respondents want to pursue some form of post-matric education, with an overriding aspiration to go to university, which is congruent with the historical legacy of privileges and preferences which has enabled them to enter expensive higher educational institutions. This is the way they can stake their claim to eventual occupational status and earnings. Black respondents education aspirations are more mixed but nevertheless, the majority who aspire to post-matric studies, aspire to go to university. This is despite their own experience of restricted access as a result of racial, social and performance barriers.

In general, irrespective of gender, the overwhelming majority of respondents aspire to be professionals. The category 'professional' includes a wide array of jobs - teachers, doctors, lawyers, accountants, social workers and engineers etc. It is likely that with further analysis within this category gender patterns and/or differences would emerge.

The fact that the findings show no statistical significance between educational expectation and repeating school years suggests that, first of all failing, is not perceived as an enduring negative outcome. Rather, money and therefore the inability to stay in the institutions as long as it takes to complete studies is perceived as the major obstacle to obtaining educational goals. It may influence black respondents aspirational levels in that substantial proportion of black respondents anticipate completing matric only, and many of these respondents are at the rural school where the highest level of repeats is reported. But money remains the primary obstacle, limiting individuals from achieving the educational goals because they either cannot go further with their studies or they simply cannot afford to.

White respondents suggest their parents do not really expect very much of them vocationally and are more inclined to emphasise personal happiness. However and in line with the literature, (Rubinson,1986) black respondents, are strongly encouraged by the parents to become professionals when they grow up. This emphasis is relatively weaker in the farm context.

A criticism of social identity theory is that it does not account for class, race and political contexts. These aspects need to be incorporated in order understand how groups develop their defining characteristics and values. Without accounting for locality, history, class and race, the case of the importance of gender is weakened because assumptions are made around gender, which actually may condition other factors. Gender differences might be one of several and not necessarily the most important. By this process the specific importance of gender is lost to the sweeping generalisation that it is “all gender”. This then affects both action and intervention. Sometimes gender is the key determinant of social identity and sometimes it can be subordinate to other critical variables.

Gender is important, but it is not the only identifier. Social identity theory is useful as middle and micro-level theory but it does not really account for macro relations. Social identity theory directs too much attention to inter and intra-group relations and in doing so ignores the power relations that exist in society. It also overlooks the social context of identity formation. (Campbell,1993:51). Identity formation does not occur in a vacuum. More attention needs to be directed to structural elements, which shape individuals', groups' and societies' sense of identity.

This study research has found that differences do exist between men and women and, boys and girls, and these differences do not occur all the time. When they do occur, they occur within and across social contexts. Other factors particularly race, locality and class also shape gender differences and social identity.

What needs to be understood is that identities, like other social phenomenon, change over time and they are thus historically and socially determined.

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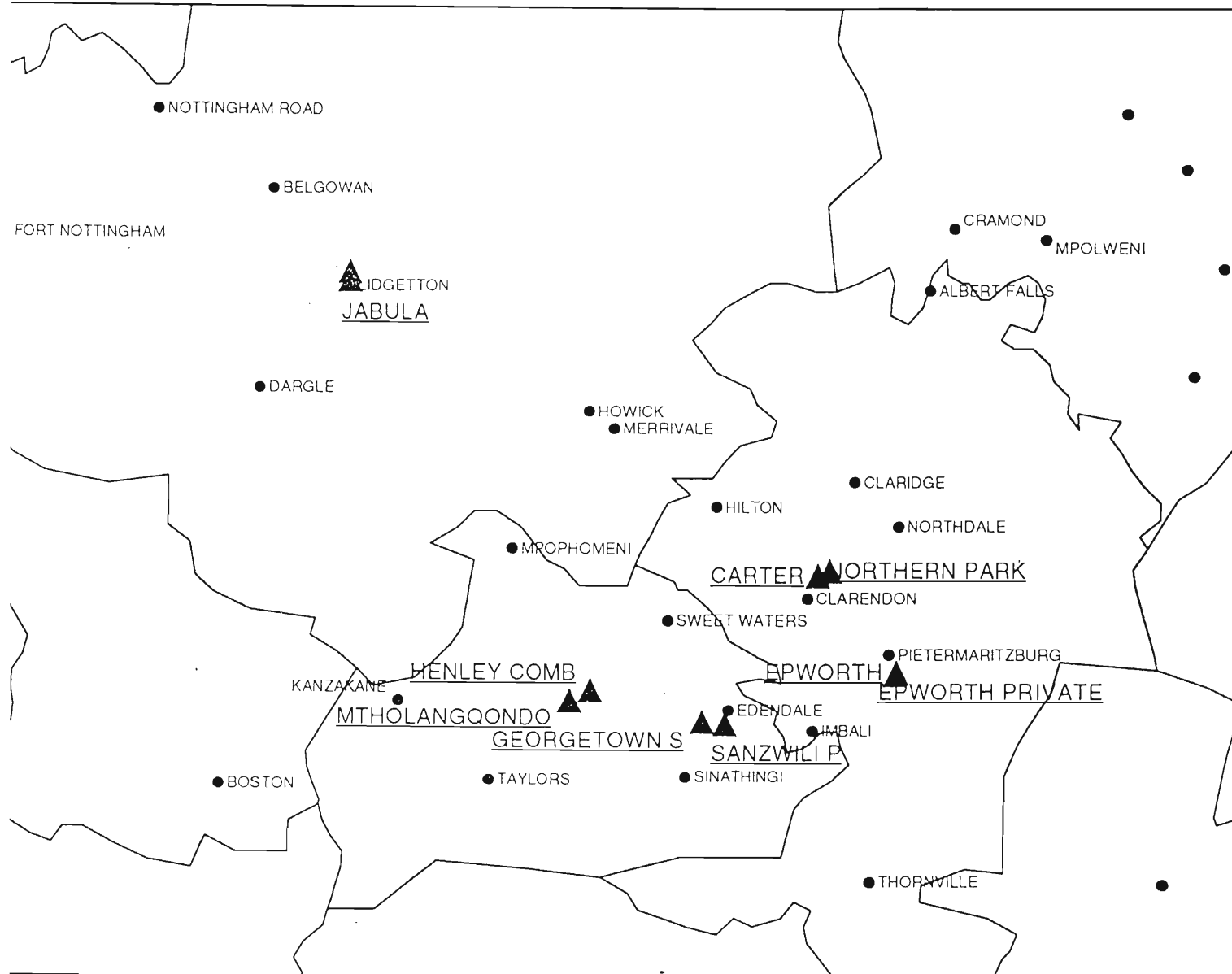
**APPENDIX**



- Signed: ..... Date:.....

# Location of Schools

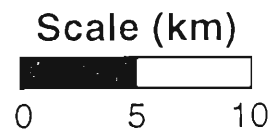
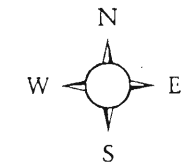
## Community Agency for Social Enquiry project



### Legend

▲ Schools

□ Magisterial districts



GIS Laboratory, Geog. Dept., University of Natal,  
Durban  
Data source: Education Foundation, HSRC.

COMMUNITY AGENCY FOR SOCIAL ENQUIRY

# CASE

Dear Paren/Guardian,

The children will be invited to share their ideas through questionnaires, essays or in discussion. Aspects of the research will be recorded in a documentary film which is designed for public broadcast.

All information arising from the study will be treated as confidential. The findings of the research will be published, referring mostly to the children in general and no publication will include the real names of any of the participating children.

The research is being carried out by a multi-disciplinary team of established academics of national repute who are based at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

We believe that this important study can make a unique contribution to improving the learning environment of children in their schools and in this province. We, therefore, request that you grant your child permission to partake in the research programme.

Should you like more information before giving this permission, please contact your school principal or any of the principal investigators at the numbers below.

We value your cooperation and look forward to your consent. Please note that you do not have to reply to this letter unless you object to your child's participation in the study.

Yours Sincerely,

Prof T Marcus (Sociology)

Programme Manager  
with

Prof E Maunder (Dietetics), Prof B Parker (Education), Mrs B Killian (Psychology)  
260 5453                                  260 6250                                  260 5371

• • • • •

Please return this consent form to the school if you do not wish your child to participate in the study.

I .....(parent/guardian's name), hereby **refuse** my child .....(name) who is in Grade ..... at ..... (name of school) permission to participate in the CRG Research Programme.

- Signed: ..... Date:.....



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

---

Name..... Date..... |\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|  
Respondent Number

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## CRG - 1 - QUESTIONNAIRE

(Instructions to the interviewer are in bold. Please remember to fill in the respondent number at the top of each page)

**(Read Out)**

Hello, my name is **(write in your name)**.....  
..... and I want to ask you some questions about  
yourself and your feelings. There are no right or wrong  
answers, and everything you say is important. We really want to  
know ~~what~~ you think and how you feel. Try and answer as  
accurately as you can. Remember, no one will ever be able to  
find out what you said.

[illegible]

D4	Who, of any of the above, would you say is the head of your house?	1 Mother 2 Father 3 Step-mother 4 Step-father 5 Brother 6 Sister 7 Aunt 8 Uncle 9 Grandmother 10 Grandfather 11 Nobody 88 Other (specify).....
D5	How many brothers do you have?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
D6	How many sisters do you have?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
D7	Are you the first born, middle or last born child in your family?	1 first born 2 middle born 3 last born
D8	How often do you see your father?	1 Daily/nearly daily 2 Once or twice a week 3 A few times a month 4 Once a month or less 5 Once a year or less 6 Hardly ever 7 Never/ never knew him
D9	How often do you see your mother?	1 Daily/nearly daily 2 Once or twice a week 3 A few times a month 4 Once a month or less 5 Once a year or less 6 Hardly ever 7 Never/ never knew him

D10	<p>Who do you spend most time with at home?</p> <p>mother 1</p> <p>father 2</p> <p>sisters 3</p> <p>brothers 4</p> <p>grandmother 5</p> <p>grandfather 6</p> <p>aunt 7</p> <p>uncle 8</p> <p>somebody (not a relative) 9</p> <p>school friends 10</p> <p>nobody 11</p> <p>all the family 12</p> <p>neighbourhood friends 13</p> <p>myself 14</p>	
D11	<p>When you have problems with your school work, who usually helps you?</p> <p>mother 1</p> <p>father 2</p> <p>sisters 3</p> <p>brothers 4</p> <p>grandmother 5</p> <p>grandfather 6</p> <p>aunt 7</p> <p>uncle 8</p> <p>neighbour 9</p> <p>school friend 10</p> <p>nobody 11</p>	
D12	<p>If you wanted something unusual or special, who in your family would you go and ask?</p> <p>mother 1</p> <p>father 2</p> <p>step mother or father 3</p> <p>sister 4</p> <p>brother 5</p> <p>grandmother 6</p> <p>grandfather 7</p> <p>aunt 8</p> <p>uncle 9</p> <p>any one 10</p> <p>nobody 11</p>	

Can we talk about your beliefs?		
D13	What religion or church do you belong to? <b>(do not read out)</b> Anglican, Church of the Province of SA, Church of England Apolistic, Assembly of God, Pentecostalist Baptists, Full Gospel Catholic, Roman Catholic Gereformeerde, Hervormde Hindu Islam/Muslim Jewish Lutheran Methodist Presbyterian NGKA (African) NGKA (Sending) ZCC or other Zionist Churches Other African Independent Churches Traditional African None Other. <b>(specify)</b> .....	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 88
D14	How Often do you go to a place of worship?	1 Every day 2 Once a week 3 2-3 times a week 4 2-3times a month 5 Once a month 6 Seldom/Main festes 7 Never
Lets go back to where you live?		
D15	Which situation best describes who lives in your dwelling (house/hut/flat) <b>(read out)</b> only my family lives there we share with other relatives we share with another family(not relatives) we only have a room in the house other <b>(specify)</b> .....	1 2 3 4 88



	I would like you to tell me about the building where you live.				
D16	Which of these best describes the dwelling where you presently live				
	a house with a yard		1		
	a house without a yard		2		
	a shack		3		
	a flat		4		
	a room		5		
	a shelter on the street		6		
	a hut		7		
	a kraal		8		
	other (specify).....		88		
D17	At the dwelling where you live, how would you describe the toilet? Is it				
	an inside, flush toilet		1		
	an outside flush toilet		2		
	an outside VIP (drop) toilet		3		
	chemical		4		
	pit		5		
	bush/none		6		
	other (specify).....		88		
D18	Does the dwelling where you live have electricity?		1 yes ⇒ go to D20 2 no 3 don't know		
D19	If there is no electricity, what does your family mostly use (read out)		Candles Paraffin Gas Wood Generator		
	for light?	1 2 3 4 5			
	for cooking?	1 2 3 4 5			
	for heating?	1 2 3 4 5			
D20	At the dwelling where you live where do you get water from?				
	a tap inside the house		1		
	a tap in the yard		2		
	a pipe in the street		3		
	a river, well or stream		4		
	a water vendor		5		
	a borehole		6		
	a tanker		7		
	other (specify).....		88		
	Lets talk a bit about the space you have in the house?				
D21	In the dwelling where you live do you have your own room?		1 yes⇒ go to D23 2 no		
D22	How many people share your room with you?		<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>		
D23	Do you have your own bed?		1 yes⇒ go to D25 2 no		



D32	<p>Apart from the maid, can you think of anybody else who does a lot or most of the work in the house?</p> <p>self 1</p> <p>mother 2</p> <p>father 3</p> <p>aunt 4</p> <p>uncle 5</p> <p>brother 6</p> <p>sister 7</p> <p>non-relative 8</p> <p>shared between us all 9</p> <p>other (specify)..... 88</p>	
D33	<p>I want to ask you what work you usually do in the house? Do you regularly (read out).....</p> <p>clean floors/weep/polish or vacuum 1 2</p> <p>make beds 1 2</p> <p>wash and iron clothes 1 2</p> <p>clean the bathroom or toilet 1 2</p> <p>wash dishes 1 2</p> <p>cook 1 2</p> <p>shop for food 1 2</p> <p>look after children 1 2</p> <p>garden 1 2</p> <p>look after animals 1 2</p>	yes no
D34	<p>When do you usually do this kind of work?</p>	<p>1 before school</p> <p>2 after school</p> <p>3 before &amp; after school</p> <p>4 anytime I am free</p> <p>5 at weekends</p> <p>6 when the maid's away</p> <p>7 when my mum's away</p> <p>8 in the holidays</p> <p>88 other specify.....</p>
D35	<p>Comparing the housework you do with other family members, would you say you do most, more, the same, less or least?</p>	<p>1 most</p> <p>2 more</p> <p>3 same</p> <p>4 less</p> <p>5 least</p>
<p>I want to talk about moving house now?</p>		
D36	<p>Have you always lived in the dwelling where you presently live?</p>	<p>1 Yes⇒ go to D41</p> <p>2 No</p> <p>3 Don't Know</p>

D37	In your life time, how many times would you say that you have moved house?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>																																																					
D38	When you last changed house did you move to another dwelling ( <b>read out</b> ) <table border="0" style="margin-left: 200px;"> <tr><td>in the same area</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>in another area</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>on another farm</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>in another village</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>in a township</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>in a town or city</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>in another township</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>in another town or city</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>in another province</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>in another country</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> </table>	in the same area	1	2	in another area	1	2	on another farm	1	2	in another village	1	2	in a township	1	2	in a town or city	1	2	in another township	1	2	in another town or city	1	2	in another province	1	2	in another country	1	2	<table border="0"> <tr><th>Yes</th><th>No</th></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>		Yes	No																				
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D39	Last time you moved what were the two main reasons for changing your dwelling place? ( <b>do not read out</b> ) <table border="0" style="margin-left: 100px;"> <tr><td>father</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>changed job</td><td>2</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>mother changed job</td><td>3</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>father looking for work</td><td>4</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>mother looking for work</td><td>5</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr><td>schooling</td><td>6</td><td>6</td></tr> <tr><td>bought another/bigger house</td><td>7</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>family break up</td><td>8</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>conflict and violence</td><td>9</td><td>9</td></tr> <tr><td>health</td><td>10</td><td>10</td></tr> <tr><td>death in the family</td><td>11</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr><td>money</td><td>88</td><td>88</td></tr> <tr><td>other (<b>specify</b>).....</td><td>77</td><td>77</td></tr> <tr><td>don't know</td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>	father	1	1	changed job	2	2	mother changed job	3	3	father looking for work	4	4	mother looking for work	5	5	schooling	6	6	bought another/bigger house	7	7	family break up	8	8	conflict and violence	9	9	health	10	10	death in the family	11	11	money	88	88	other ( <b>specify</b> ).....	77	77	don't know			Reason One	Reason Two										
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D40	When you moved last time did you ( <b>read out</b> ) <table border="0" style="margin-left: 100px;"> <tr><td>go with your whole family?</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>only go with some family members?</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>go alone ?</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>go to a relative?</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>go to a stranger?</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>go to a hostel?</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>other (<b>specify</b>).....</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> </table>	go with your whole family?	1	2	only go with some family members?	1	2	go alone ?	1	2	go to a relative?	1	2	go to a stranger?	1	2	go to a hostel?	1	2	other ( <b>specify</b> ).....	1	2	<table border="0"> <tr><th>Yes</th><th>No</th></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>		Yes	No																													
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	I want to ask you about where you have lived or visited and where you would best like to stay.	
D41	Have you ever lived ( <b>read out</b> )	Yes No
	on a farm?	1 2
	in a village?	1 2
	in a township?	1 2
	in a town?	1 2
	in a big city?	1 2
	in another country?	1 2
D42	Do you like living where you live?	1 Yes 2 No 3 Don't Know
D43	Have you ever visited somebody who lived ( <b>read out</b> )	Yes No
	on a farm?	1 2
	in a village?	1 2
	in a township?	1 2
	in a town?	1 2
	in a big city?	1 2
	in another country?	1 2
D44	If you had a choice of where you could live would you like to ( <b>read out</b> )	Yes No
	move to a farm?	1 2
	move to a village?	1 2
	move to a township?	1 2
	move to a town?	1 2
	move to a city?	1 2
	move to another part of South Africa?	1 2
	move to another country?	1 2
	stay where you live now?	1 2

	Can you tell me about holidays?	
D45	<p>During the main school holidays in June or December where did you go last year? <b>(do not read out)</b></p> <p> <span style="float: right;"> stayed home 1  away to the sea 2  away to the mountains 3  away to a farm 4  away to grandparents in a village 5  away to grandparents in another town or city 6  to a holiday resort in South Africa 7  overseas 8  home to my family (in SA) 9  home to my family (outside SA) 10  other (specify)..... 88 </span> </p>	
D46	How often do you go on holiday?	1 Very Often 2 Often 3 Seldom 4 Never



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

Respondent Name.....	_ _ _ _ _ _ _
	Respondent Number

Interviewer .....  
\_\_\_\_\_

CRG - 2 PW - QUESTIONNAIRE

(Instructions to the interviewer are in bold. Please remember to fill in the respondent number at the top of each page and fill in all the questions)

**(Read Out)**

Hello, can we talk for a while again because I want to ask you some more questions about yourself. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers, and everything you say is important. I really want to know what you think and how you feel. Try and answer as accurately as you can. Remember, no one will ever be able to find out what you said.

	I would like to talk to you about food.	
P1	Do you eat something before you come to school everyday?	1 always 2 often 3 sometimes 4 never
P2	Do you eat something during the school day?	1 always 2 often 3 sometimes 4 never
P3	Where do you usually get the food you eat at school from?	1 tuck shop 2 hawkers 3 lunch box from home 4 school feeding scheme 5 school meal 6 other children 88 other specify.....
P4	Do you usually eat something when you get home after school each day?	1 always 2 often 3 unsure 4 sometimes 5 never
P5	Can you think of times in your home when there is too little food to eat?	1 always 2 often 3 unsure ) 4 sometimes) ⇨ go to P7 5 never )
P6	Who, if anybody, goes without food then?	1 Everybody 2 Self 3 Children 4 Adults 5 Other (specify) .....
P7	Do you usually eat one hot cooked meal a day?	1 always 2 often 3 unsure 4 sometimes 5 never



P8	Who mostly prepares the main meal for you?	1 self 2 mother 3 sister 4 brother 5 domestic worker 6 father 7 granny 8 shop/take away 9 each in turn 88 other (specify) .....
P9	Would you say that most times everybody at home sits down together to eat at least once a day	1 always 2 often 3 sometimes 4 never
	I want to talk to you about clothes.	
P10	Do you have a uniform for the school where you attend?	1 yes 2 no           )⇒ go to P12 3 don't know
P11	Are there parts of the uniform that you think you should have but your family can't afford? (do not read out)	1 everything 2 shoes 3 tracksuit 4 tie 5 blazer 6 hat 7 jersey 8 socks 9 sports clothes & shoes 10 school bag
P12	Apart from your school uniform, how would you describe the amount of clothes you have? (Probe: eg is "too few" few that you like or just too few?)	1 more than enough 2 enough 3 few 4 too few 5 none
P13	Would you say that you get clothes often, sometimes, rarely or never?	1 often 2 sometimes 3 rarely 4 never

P14	Where do you usually get most of your clothes from?	1 new at shop 2 second hand at the shop 3 from an older/bigger relative or friend 4 mother sews 88 other (specify)..... 77 don't know		
P15	How important are the clothes you wear to you?	1 Very Important 2 Important 3 Undecided 4 Unimportant 5 Irrelevant		
Can we now talk about going to school				
P16	At home, are there any <b>boys</b> of school going age who should be going to school but are not?	1 yes ⇒ get number <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 2 no                   )⇒ go to 3 don't know) P18		
P17	Can you tell me why he/they are not going to school? (do not read out, ask for each boy mentioned)	Boy 1	Boy 2	Boy 3
	can't afford to send him	1	1	1
	failed too often	2	2	2
	don't want to go	3	3	3
	working	4	4	4
	sick	5	5	5
	has to help in the house	6	6	6
	disabled	7	7	7
	other (specify).....	88	88	88
	don't know	77	77	77
P18	At home are there any <b>girls</b> of school going age who should be going to school but are not?	1 yes ⇒ get number <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 2 no                   )⇒ go to 3 don't know) P20		

P19	Can you tell me why she/they are not going to school? (do not read out, ask for each girl mentioned)	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Girl 1</th> <th>Girl 2</th> <th>Girl 3</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>can't afford to send her</td> <td>1</td> <td>1</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>failed too often</td> <td>2</td> <td>2</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>doesn't want to go</td> <td>3</td> <td>3</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>working</td> <td>4</td> <td>4</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>sick</td> <td>5</td> <td>5</td> <td>5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>pregnant/had a baby</td> <td>6</td> <td>6</td> <td>6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>has to help in the house</td> <td>7</td> <td>7</td> <td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>disabled</td> <td>8</td> <td>8</td> <td>8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>other (specify).....</td> <td>88</td> <td>88</td> <td>88</td> </tr> <tr> <td>don't know</td> <td>77</td> <td>77</td> <td>77</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Girl 1	Girl 2	Girl 3	can't afford to send her	1	1	1	failed too often	2	2	2	doesn't want to go	3	3	3	working	4	4	4	sick	5	5	5	pregnant/had a baby	6	6	6	has to help in the house	7	7	7	disabled	8	8	8	other (specify).....	88	88	88	don't know	77	77	77
	Girl 1	Girl 2	Girl 3																																											
can't afford to send her	1	1	1																																											
failed too often	2	2	2																																											
doesn't want to go	3	3	3																																											
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other (specify).....	88	88	88																																											
don't know	77	77	77																																											
P20	Are there days when you miss school?	1 never ⇒ go to P22 2 sometimes 3 often																																												
P21	What is the most usual reason for you to miss going to school?	1 sick 2 look after family member 3 run errands 4 help get the pension 5 have to do housework 6 have to go to work 7 go out with friends 8 no money for transport 9 disabled 10 visit dentist/doctor 11 bored 12 gangs 13 bullying/harassment 14 no reason 88 other specify.....																																												
P22	If you have repeated a year, how many times have you repeated ? (if no, fill in 0)	number <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>																																												
P23	In terms of your own education, how far would you like to go?	1 finish Std 6 2 finish Std 8 3 finish matric 4 college 5 technikon 6 university 7 other (specify) .....																																												

P24	Thinking about your family, would you say that your chances of achieving your goal are	very good good don't know bad very bad	1 2 3 4 5	
P25	What do you think might prevent you from achieving your goal?	1 money/fees 2 expulsion 3 pregnancy 4 have to go out to work 5 no place available in school 6 difficulty in passing 7 gangs/bullying/harrassment 8 boredom 9 initiation/rite of passage 10 violence 11 health 12 family disinterest 13 difficulty with transport 14 marriage 88 other (specify) .....		
P26	Do you think that education will help you	Yes	No	Don't Know
	get a job?	1	2	3
	get the job you want?	1	2	3
Lets now talk about spending money.				
P27	Do you get any spending money just for your self?	1 yes 2 no	⇒go to P31	
P28	How often do you usually get spending money?	1 monthly 2 weekly 3 daily 4 irregularly		
P29	How much do you usually get ?	R <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> • <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> daily/weekly/monthly/irregularly (circle appropriately)		

P30	What do you usually do with your spending money?	1 Buy sweets 2 Buy lunch/food 3 Buy clothes 4 Go to a film, club, rave 5 Save it to buy things 6 Spend it on cosmetics/hair 7 Buy music 8 Pay club fees (sports/recreation) 9 Gamble/horses 10 Save it for holidays 88 Other (specify) .....		
Lets talk about being rich and poor for a bit.				
P31	Would you describe your family as very rich, middle, poor or very poor?	1 rich 2 middle 3 unsure 4 poor 5 very poor		
P32	Would you say that most of the people in your neighbourhood are rich, middle, poor or very poor?	1 rich 2 middle 3 unsure/ don't know 4 poor 5 very poor		
P33	Are there many people who are a lot poorer than you in your class at school?	1 yes 2 no 3 don't know		
P34	Are there many people who are a lot richer than you in your class at school?	1 yes 2 no 3 don't know		
P35	What three things do rich people have that you don't have? (do not read out)	One	Two	Three
	houses	1	1	1
		2	2	2
	clothes	3	3	3
	car	4	4	4
	tv	5	5	5
	friends	6	6	6
	money	7	7	7
	everything	8	8	8
	good school	9	9	9
	computer	10	10	10
	toys	11	11	11
	holidays	12	12	12
	nothing	13	13	13
	food	14	14	14
	places to go	88..	88..	88..
	other (specify) .....			

P36	What three things do you have that poor people do not have?( do not read out)	One	Two	Three
	better/ houses	1	1	1
	clothes	2	2	2
	car	3	3	3
	TV	4	4	4
	friends	5	5	5
	money	6	6	6
	everything	7	7	7
	good school	8	8	8
	computer	9	9	9
	toys	10	10	10
	holidays	11	11	11
	nothing	12	12	12
	food	13	13	13
	places to go	14	14	14
	other (specify) .....	88..	88..	88..
P37	Comparing rich and poor who do you think is likely to	rich poor r&pequal		
	be more responsible	1	2	3
	be more caring	1	2	3
	forced to leave home early	1	2	3
	do better at school	1	2	3
	get a job more easily	1	2	3
	have a career	1	2	3
	get pregnant earlier	1	2	3
	get into more trouble	1	2	3
	be happier with their lives	1	2	3
P38	Would it matter to you if your friends were richer than you are?	1 Yes 2 Unsure 3 No		

P39	How do people become rich?	1 lucky 2 have a job 3 work hard 4 inherit money 5 cheat 6 exploit others 7 own things 8 a good education 9 white 10 Indian 11 Black 12 Coloured 13 God made them 14 Natural order 88 Other (specify)..... .....
P40	Would it matter to you if your friends were poorer than you are?	1 A lot 2 A bit 3 Not at all
P41	Do you think people are poor because	yes no
	they're lazy?	1 2
	they haven't got work?	1 2
	they're stupid?	1 2
	they don't manage things very well?	1 2
	there was apartheid?	1 2
	they have too many children?	1 2
	they're black?	1 2
	that's the way its supposed to be?	1 2
	God made them poor?	1 2
	no good reason?	1 2
	Lets talk about work, starting with your family?	
W1	Does your father work for money now?	yes unsure no 1 2 3
W2	What work does your father usually do?	..... ..... .....
W3	Does your mother work for money now?	yes unsure no 1 2 3
W4	What work does your mother usually do?	..... .....

	Only ask if answers to W1 and W3 are both “no” or “unsure” do W5 - Filter	
W5 Filter	If your father and mother are not working, who brings in money at home?	1 grandmother 2 grandfather 3 uncle 4 aunt 5 older brother 6 older sister 7 self 8 nobody 88 other 77 don't know
W6	How big a problem is money (not having enough) in your home?	1 Very important 2 Important 3 Don't know 4 Unimportant 5 Not important at all
Now lets talk about you and work.		
W7	Do you or have you worked for money?	1 yes 2 no ⇒ go to W10
W8	What work do/did you do?	1 holiday job 2 wash cars 3 garden for other people 4 sell/hawk 5 fetch water 6 sell papers 7 work in shop 8 work in a factory 9 work on a farm 10 make & sell things 88 other (specify) .....
W9	Why do/did you work?	1 to be independent 2 to buy the things I want 3 to pay for schooling 4 to pay for books 5 to help out at home 6 to be able to go out 88 other (specify) .....



W10	In your family, is the expectation that you will go out to work to earn money very high, high, low or very low? (Prompt for now and future )	<b>Now</b> 1 Very High 2 High 3 Unsure 4 Low 5 Very Low	<b>Future</b> 1 Very High 2 High 3 Unsure 4 Low 5 Very Low
	Lets talk a while about work in the future.		
W11	What would you like to be when you grow up? (Do not read)	1 teacher 2 doctor 3 firewo/man 4 police'man 5 singer 6 dancer 7 sports'man 8 pilot 9 nurse 10 secretary 11 domestic 12 housewife 88 other specify	13 scientist 14 engineer 15 farmer 16 lawyer 17 accountant 18 business 19 taxidriver 20 student 21 worker 22 politician 23 tradesman 24 President .....
W12	What would your mother or father like you to become when you grow up? (Do not read)	1 teacher 2 doctor 3 firewo/man 4 police'man 5 singer 6 dancer 7 sports'man 8 pilot 9 nurse 10 secretary 11 domestic 12 housewife 88 other specify .....	13 scientist 14 engineer 15 farmer 16 lawyer 17 accountant 18 business 19 taxidriver 20 student 21 worker 22 politician 23 tradesman 24 President 25 artist 26 anything that makes me happy
W13	Would you like to do the work your father does now?	yes    unsure    no 1       2       3	
W14	Would you like to do the work your mother does now?	yes    unsure    no 1       2       3	
W15	Is there any job you would refuse to do?	yes    unsure    no 1       2       3	
W16	In terms of work, what job would you dislike doing the most?	..... ..... .....	

W17	What do you think you need to do to get the job you would like to have?	1 work hard 2 finish school 3 go to university 4 ask my dad to help me 5 ask my mom to help me 6 go to school elsewhere 7 go live/stay elsewhere 8 don't know 9 nothing 88 other (specify).....
	I am going to read some statements to you and would like you to say whether you think these are true or false	
W18	"there aren't enough jobs for everybody"	1 True 2 False
W19	"it's more important for a man to have a job than a woman"	1 True 2 False
W20	"getting work is just a matter of luck"	1 True 2 False
W21	"a job is just the way you get money to have fun and do the things you want to do."	1 True 2 False
W22	"children should never have to work for money"	1 True 2 False
W23	"its unlikely that whites will be able to get good jobs in the future"	1 True 2 False
W24	"you can only get a good job if you are educated"	1 True 2 False
W25	"if you can't get work, its your fault."	1 True 2 False



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

Respondent Name.....	_ _ _ _ _ _ _
	Respondent Number

Interviewer .....  
\_\_\_\_\_

**CRG - 3S - Questionnaire**

Interviewer Remember: *Make sure all questions are answered.*

(Read out)

Lets talk some more like we did earlier.

	Now can we spend a while talking about boys and girls?	
S1	Thinking about boys, what things do boys like to do that girls don't do? <b>(do not read out, prompt to stimulate a spontaneous response if necessary)</b>	<div>yes no</div> <div>sports1 2</div> <div>play1 2</div> <div>look after animals1 2</div> <div>work1 2</div> <div>go out with friends1 2</div> <div>do housework1 2</div> <div>look after children1 2</div> <div>care for the sick1 2</div> <div>read1 2</div> <div>make things1 2</div> <div>invent things1 2</div> <div>have fun1 2</div> <div>be rough1 2</div>
S2	Thinking about girls, what things would you say girls like to do that boys don't do <b>(do not read out, prompt to stimulate a spontaneous response if necessary )</b>	<div>yes no</div> <div>sports1 2</div> <div>play1 2</div> <div>look after animals1 2</div> <div>work1 2</div> <div>out with friends1 2</div> <div>do housework1 2</div> <div>look after children1 2</div> <div>care for the sick1 2</div> <div>read1 2</div> <div>invent things1 2</div> <div>have fun1 2</div> <div>dress up1 2</div> <div>have their hair done1 2</div> <div>make things1 2</div> <div>cry1 2</div>
S3	What game do you most like to play?	.....
S4	When you play <b>(mention game S3)</b> do you usually play it with girls only, boys only, girls and boys together?	<div>1 girls only</div> <div>2 boys only</div> <div>3 girls and boys together</div> <div>4 alone</div>

S5	What sport do you <b>most</b> like to play?	1 Soccer 2 Rugby 3 Tennis 4 Hockey 5 Swimming 6 Netball 7 Cricket 8 Running 9 Diving 10 Horse Riding 11 Mountain Climbing 12 Hiking 13 Biking 14 Ballet 88 Other (specify).....
S6	In terms of boys and girls, who usually plays ..... (mentioned sport)	1 only boys 2 only girls 3 boys and girls together 4 boys with/against boys teams and girls with/against girls 5 anybody alone
Lets talk a bit about the difference between boys and men and girls and women?		
S7	Can you please finish this sentence for me: “for a boy to become a man he has to .....?”	..... ..... .....
S8	Now I want to ask you the same question about girls. Can you please finish this sentence for me: “For a girl to become a woman she has to .....?”	..... ..... ..... .....
S9	Comparing boys and girls who do you think is more likely to (read out)  be more responsible hurt somebody forced to leave home get into more trouble be happier with their lives become a parent earlier be hurt by somebody use alcohol	boys girls neither  1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3

S10	Thinking about boys and girls, who would you say is better at (read out)	boys	girls	the same
	maths	1	2	3
	science	1	2	3
	cooking	1	2	3
	talking about themselves	1	2	3
	writing	1	2	3
	reading	1	2	3
	sensing what others are feeling	1	2	3
	art	1	2	3
	considering another's point of view	1	2	3
Can we talk about marriage for a bit?				
S11	Do you think you would like to marry when you are older?	Yes	Unsure	No
		1	2	3
S12	Do you think it is all right for people to marry one another if (read out)	Yes	Unsure	No
	they are the same sex (eg. boy and a boy)?	1	2	3
	their skin colour is different (eg)?	1	2	3
	they come from different countries (eg)?	1	2	3
	they have different religious beliefs (eg)?	1	2	3
	they have a physical disability (eg)?	1	2	3
I know you might feel a little shy, but can we talk about love for a while?				
S13	Have you heard about having sex or making love?	1 Yes 2 No 3 Don't Know		
S14	Can you tell me what having sex or making love is?	..... ..... ..... .....		
If respondent does not know S13 and S14 ⇒ go to S19				
S15	How old do you think you have to be to start having sex? (0 = don't know)	number <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>		
S16	Amongst your family or friends who do or will you talk to about your feelings about growing up and sex?	1 mother 3 father 5 sister/s 7 brother/s 9 guardian 11 nobody		2 friends 4 aunt 6 cousin/s 8 granny 10 boy/girl friend

S17	Apart from your family, do you know of any place or people where you can get advice or help about sex or things that worry you about growing up?(name them)	1 nurse 2 teacher 3 clinic 4 doctor 5 sangoma 6 priest 88 other (specify).....
S18	Do you feel you know enough about your body and your feelings and how they change as you grow?	1 Yes 2 Unsure 3 No
Lets talk about contraception or things that can stop a girl becoming pregnant.		
S19	Do you know about contraceptives or things that can stop pregnancy?	1 yes 2 no 3 don't know
S20	Can you tell me the names of the most common contraceptives that are being used?	1 Condom 2 Pill 3 IUD/loop 4 Injection 5 Quinine 6 Don't Know Any 88 Other (specify) .....
If the respondent answers "no" to S19 and S20 ⇒ go to S22		
21	Have you used or do you use any of these contraceptives (read out) Condom Pill IUD Injection Quinine	Yes Unsure No 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3
Can we talk a while about diseases that people get from sex?		
22	Do you know that sometimes you can get an infection or illness from having sex which are called Sexually Transmitted Diseases or STDs?	1 yes 2 no )⇒go to S28 also tell 3 don't know) them what it is
23	Have you heard of any of the following STDs (read out) AIDS? Gonorrhea? Syphilis? Genital Herpes? Warts?	Yes Unsure No 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3

S24	Which, if any of these diseases is incurable?	1 AIDS 2 Gonorrhea 3 Syphilis 4 Genital Herpes 5 Warts		
S25	Can you think of two ways that it would be possible to avoid getting an STD from sex?	<b>Reason 1</b> 1 No sex 2 One partner 3 Virgin 4 Condom 5 Same-sex partner 6 Muti 7 Luck 88 Other <b>specify</b> .....	<b>Reason 2</b> 1 No sex 2 One partner 3 Virgin 4 Condom 5 Same-sex partner 6 Muti 7 Luck 88 Other <b>specify</b> .....	
S26	If you got an STD would you ( <b>read out</b> ) get it treated at a clinic? go to a doctor? go to a sangoma/nyanga? try a “home cure” remedy? continue to have sex while still infected? tell your sexual partner? tell your friends? tell amember of your family? do nothing but hope it goes away?	Yes Unsure No 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3		
S27	Do you know anybody who is HIV+ or has AIDS?	Yes Unsure No 1 2 3		
Lets talk about pregnancy.				
S28	If you can, can you tell me what it means when somebody says that they are pregnant?	..... .....		
S29	How does a girl or woman become pregnant?	1 Penetrative penal/vaginal sex 2 Other ( <b>specify</b> ) .....		
If no response to S28 and S29 ⇨go to S35				



S30	At what age do you think it is bad for a girl or woman to fall pregnant and have a baby? (If respondent gives a number, mark the category it falls into)	1 Pre- teenager 2 Teenager 3 Early Twenties 4 Middle Twenties 5 Late Twenties 6 Early Thirties 7 Middle Thirties 8 Late Thirties 9 Early Forties 10 Middle Forties 11 Late Forties 12 Older than Fifty	
S31	Who, if anybody, have you talked about pregnancy to?	1 same sex friends 2 mother 3 father 4 brother/s 5 sister/s 6 nurse/doctor 7 teacher 8 priest 9 nobody 10 girl/boyfriend 88 other (specify).....	
S32	Is falling pregnant/making somebody pregnant something that worries you all the time, often, sometimes or never?	1 all the time 2 often 3 sometimes 4 never	
S33	When you think of a boy and a girl in love, who do you think should be responsible for making sure that they don't have a baby?	1 the girl 2 the boy 3 both 4 other (specify) .....	
S34	How can you prevent pregnancy?	<b>Reason 1</b> 1 No sex 2 One partner 3 Virgin 4 Contraception 5 Muti 6 Luck 88 Other specify ..... 77 Don't know	<b>Reason 2</b> 1 No sex 2 One partner 3 Virgin 4 Contraception 5 Muti 6 Luck 88 Other specify ..... 77 Don't know

	I am going to read some statements and I want you to tell me if you think they are true or false.	
S35	“Its okay for a girl to have more than one boyfriend at a time?”	1 True 2 False
S36	“when it comes to boy/girl friends sex and love are the same thing”	1 True 2 False
S37	“its never okay for a boy to force a girl to have sex”	1 True 2 False
S38	“its okay for a boy to have more than one girlfriend at a time”	1 True 2 False
S39	“if a girl gets pregnant its her own fault”	1 True 2 False
S40	“boys need sex more than girls”	1 True 2 False
S41	“young people can’t take love seriously”	1 True 2 False
	Lets come back to your own feelings for a moment..	
S42	Have you ever felt that you would rather have been born the opposite sex?	1 yes 2 no ⇨ go to S44 3 don’t know
S43	Why do you think you would prefer to be the opposite sex?	1 liked better by one or both parents 2 better jobs/career 3 happier 4 don’t have to worry about pregnancy 5 more chances/opportunities 6 less chores/housework 7 have more fun 8 have more freedom 9 have more things/money 10 won’t be hurt 88 other (specify).....



S51	How do you feel about boys being called names?	1 Its just teasing/for fun 2 Its degrading 3 Sad/hurt/horrible 4 Angry 5 Nothing wrong/normal 6 Undecided/don't know 88Other(specify).....
S52	What's the best thing about being a girl/boy? (Ask according to respondent's sex i.e. girl for girl)	..... ..... .....