Changing gender roles in the household: A case study of Lamontville in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa

Masters Dissertation by

Puseletso Precious Mofokeng

214536858

Supervisor: **Professor Pranitha Maharaj**

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Population Studies in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal

2021

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION

I, Puseletso Precious Mofokeng declare that:

1. Research reported in this dissertation, expect where otherwise referenced and indicated, is my original work.

2. This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other higher education institution.

3. This dissertation does not contain other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

4. This dissertation does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

   - Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced,

   - Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.

5. This dissertation does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged in-text and in the References section.

Signed: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Date: <u>19 March 2021</u>

ABSTRACT

Gender roles are expectations that individuals, groups, and societies have of people based on their sex. These expectations are also based on each society's values and beliefs. Society is constructed in a way that traditional and cultural norms shape gender roles in societies, and these are expressed in households where men and women are not given equal roles. The overall aim of the study was to investigate the construction of gender roles and the factors that lead to gender inequality within households in townships, specifically in Lamontville in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The qualitative data used in this study was collected from in-depth interviews with twenty men and women in Lamontville township, in the south of Durban. The findings of this study showed that women tend to be side-lined when it comes to decision making in the household. Participants noted that inequalities are deeply rooted after marriage and women are denied the opportunity of pursuing their studies to empower themselves. In addition, this tends to result in unequal power relations and gender inequities that originate from male domination and socio-cultural structures in the society. As much as there are minor improvements in gender relations in some parts of South Africa, women are still disproportionately burdened by the realities of gender inequality, gender stereotypes and structural violence within households. During the interviews, participants also showed that socio-cultural structures, education, geographical setting, poverty and economic status are major factors that reinforce the unbalanced gender roles in societies today. Additionally, the lack of education for some women has led to the exacerbation of gender inequality, as many households in Lamontville are headed by men. Experiences of gender-based violence and domestic abuse was also noted by a few female participants but they emphasized that they would not leave their husbands because they are financially dependent on them for survival and for those of their children. This study points to the importance of ensuring that the safety of women in households is maintained by promoting greater equality.

Keywords: gender roles, gender inequality, households, patriarchy, education

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my grandparents; Mrs. Phildah Dlamini, the late Mr. Meshack Dlamini and my mother; Rosemary Mofokeng – ngibonge boJama.

& my father; Mr. Meshack Mofokeng, I've seen you trying to be the father figure that I've always wanted you to be when I was young, so thank you too phoka.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At long last, this epic chapter of my life has come to an end. It has been filled with trials and tribulations of every sort, and I certainly could not have made it through on my own.

Thank you, GOD, for giving me strength when I was not strong enough to pick myself up.

To my supervisor; Professor Pranitha Maharaj, I do not know how many times I have looked at the bits and pieces of this dissertation and felt like giving up but I will always look up to an email that you sent me on the 8th of March 2019 encouraging me not to quit because I am the beacon of hope for other students. Thank you for not giving up on me, God bless you always.

To the two amazing women in my life my mother (Rosemary) and grandmother (Phildah), thank you for being a constant reminder to not ever give up on my dreams. Thank you for the support and the prayers when things were not going my way in 2018 and 2019. Thank you for always being there.

To my late grandfather (Meshack), thank you for looking out for me. Your passing left a mark, I am grateful that you are out there looking out for all of us. Growing up, I have always looked at you as my father and trust me you were and will always be.

To my dad (Meshack Mofokeng) - thanks for the phone calls, trust me; bit by bit they are making up for all the childhood memories you missed of me. I love you; I might not express it that much to you but I do.

To Shanaaz Rademeyer, bumping into you at Woolworths this year was no mistake, thank you for stopping and encouraging me to submit.

To my best friend, Sthembiso Pollen Mkhize thank you for guiding me throughout this entire dissertation. No amount of words will be enough, honestly. I love you so much.

To Phumla, Palesa and Teboho; you are literally the best siblings one can ever ask for. Thank you for the support and love.

To my niece Asiphile Mthembu who is 3 years old, I know you are probably too young to understand but this one is for you too.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS   Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AAEEA   Affirmative Action and Employment Equity Act

EST   Ecological Systems Theory

CEDAW   Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

CGE   Commission of Gender Equality

DVA   Domestic Violence Act

FGM   Female Genital Mutilation

GBV   Gender Based Violence

GWG   Gender Working Group

HIV   Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IPV   Intimate Partner Violence

ODI   Overseas Development Institute

PEPUDA   Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination

SAPS   South African Police Services

UNICEF   United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

VAWG   Violence Against Women and Girls

WB   World Bank

WHO   World Health Organization

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLE

CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION

"I think the most important thing to be teaching young girls of today is leadership. It is something that has been lacking in young women and girls for a very long time, not because we don't want to but because of what society has labelled women to be. I think we are the most powerful beings in the world and that we should be given every opportunity. And that is what we should be teaching these young girls- to take up space, nothing is important than taking up space and cementing yourself." (Zozibini Tunzi, Miss Universe 2019)

1.1 Background of the study

Gender is constructed in interactional and structural ways to create environmental constraints and opportunities that usually benefit men more than women (Blackstone, 2003). While sex refers to a set of biological attributes in humans built into organisms by chromosomes, genes and hormones, gender derives from socially constructed roles, behaviours, expressions and identities prescribed from particular characteristics for males and females on the basis of their assigned sex (Vaughter, 1976; Unger, 1979). According to Oakley (2016), gender is defined as a biological division of sex into male and female, and remains a concept that humans create socially, through their interactions with one another and their environments, yet it relies heavily upon biological differences between males and females. Gender is mostly linked to the social phenomenon of gender inequality that exists through roles that are assigned to men and women in societies. Research suggests that gender roles are based on the different expectations of men and women based on their sex (Blackstone, 2003; Eagly, 2009).

According to Eagly (2009), gender roles are shared beliefs in society that apply to individuals on the basis of their socially identified sex. Gender roles can either be descriptive or prescriptive, where the descriptive aspect tells men and women what is typical for their sex in particular contexts and this is also known as gender stereotypes (Eagly, 2009). While the prescriptive aspect of gender roles tells men and women what is expected or desirable (Rudman and Glick, 2001). Gender roles are not necessarily harmful to the well-being and development of girls and women, as they enable girls to develop specific skills and knowledge that can be useful to them during their transition to adult life. However, research

suggests that stereotypical gender roles often disadvantage women and girls the most (Boserup, 2007).

Society has been constructed in a way that traditional and cultural norms shape gender roles in societies, and these are expressed in households whereby men and women are not given equal roles to play in the household (Wood, 2019). These social norms include actions, attitudes and personality traits that are human-made and are predominantly considered within a family context and within a particular society. Moreover, these social norms also bring to mind how women are treated relative to men in South African societies. Customarily, societies perceive women and men differently, and women are normally limited and excluded when it comes to accessing resources, economic activities and decision-making processes in their households and communities. This suppresses women and leads to high levels of poverty among women (Wombeogo, 2007).

Society has particular expectations for each gender, assigning appropriate and inappropriate behaviour for males and females, and this process is called 'gender-typing' (Sigelman and Ryder, 2006). The process of gender-typing begins as early as two or three years of age where children absorb behaviours and ideologies assumed appropriate by their culture for each biological sex. Parents, teachers, peers, and the media play a role in the gender development of a child (Harrison and O'Neill, 2002; Sharf, 2008). As children grow, they often gain a sense of being a male or female and social expectation that distinguish expected behaviours on the basis of gender. For example, girls are given the primary responsibility for domestic chores in the household. Girls play with dolls, learn to prepare food and clothes and everything that is associated with duties that are socially constructed to be duties of women. While boys on the other hand play with small cars, weapons, and are encouraged to practice different sports. Each society has particular expectations for each gender and this is what constitute gender roles.

A multi-country study by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (2015) in Ethiopia, Nepal, Vietnam and Uganda on gender norms among adolescent girls revealed that the traditional roles of masculinity were in opposition to norms of femininity. The study suggested that 'good' men in society were expected to be breadwinners. Boys were expected to learn skills and study hard from an early age so that they could fulfil their future role of being breadwinners (ODI, 2015). This role gave men the position of being the head of the household and ultimate decision-makers, with women and children deferring to them. The

study also showed that girls were expected to earn some income, but this was secondary to their main role as mothers and homemaker (ODI, 2015). Additionally, adolescent boys and girls were expected to contribute to the household through some form of domestic work or farming (ODI, 2015). The workloads of boys are generally lower, and they tend to have greater freedom than girls to go meet with friends outside the home and to move around their communities independently. This exposes boys to norms of masculinity and manhood modelled by adult men and by their peers, and these include how they should treat girls, being virile, and to perform physical violence against girls and women in certain circumstances, and especially once a woman is married (Jensen et al., 2003).

Patriarchy has become an ideology that places the benefits and preference of men and masculinity before that of women and femininity, leading to marginalisation, exclusion and oppression of those who do not fit the normative ideal of masculine power (Ortner, 2014). It is an ideological and social construction that considers men as superior to women and a system of practices and social structures in which men dominate and oppress women and children (Walby, 1990). In terms of gender, patriarchy imposes femininity and masculinity stereotypes in a particular society. South Africa has been fighting the battle of patriarchal practices that have existed in the household, communities and the workplaces for years. The Global World Report 2018/19 reported a shocking picture of women who get paid 28% less than men in South Africa, and it was clear that this further devalues women's worth and perpetuates subordination in the workplace (Statistics South Africa, 2018). The unemployment rate has also been severely impacted with women constituting the largest proportion of the unemployed, increasing from 30.9% in 2008 to 37.2% in 2018, with both of these rates higher for women than men (Statistic South Africa, 2018).

Gender roles that have been assigned to men and women have not only created gender inequality in the household but have also created a social imbalance in communities (Cerrato and Cifre, 2018). The suppression and control of women varies from one society to the next due to the differences in social constructions on the basis of religion, ethnicity and socio-cultural practices. In addition, in some societies the role of women is to guard the household and also take care of the children with any task outside the household prohibited. Patriarchal practices propagate the ideology of women bearing children and this in turn burdens them with responsibilities to take care of the home and children, and this gender stereotype has been culturally rooted in traditional societies today. Although South Africa has quite a

number of policies that were implemented to decrease gender inequality amongst the sexes, these policies are not as effective when protecting the rights of vulnerable groups. The Equity Act was implemented to promote equal opportunities for both men and women but instead they are still women who receive unfair treatment within the households and workplaces (Walby, 1990). Nonetheless, there is still a long way to go to achieve gender equality for all in South Africa. For the purpose of this study, the researcher is aiming to explore gender roles in the household to better understand household responsibilities among men and women living together.

1.2 Statement of research

Traditionally, women were assigned primary responsibility for household chores, while men went to work to take care of the family (Kalabamu, 2005; Stier and Mandel, 2009). Globally, research on power in households are often the same when it comes to the question of gender roles and the main decision-making authority in the household. Men are more likely to take primary responsibility for decision-making in the household than women. Often in most households, decision-making is centralised, as women in developing nations are assigned gender roles by society that they have to abide to, these gender roles include motherhood and wifehood.

South Africa has tried to improve the status of women and children since they are the most vulnerable in the household. Women's entry to the labour market was established to increase women's economic position in the household and workplace (Kalabamu, 2005; Stier and Mandel, 2009). Research suggests that when women have economic independence, they have the power to influence decisions in the household and workplace (Stier and Mandel, 2009). The amount of income one is paid at work can also influence decision making in the household, but in some parts of the world, men have the final say in the household regardless of the amount of income they earn at work, and this is because some women are socialised from an early age to respect men as heads of the household. The status of women in South Africa has changed over the last 25 years of democracy, but it has not changed for the better. The oppression of women and children in South Africa is still an ongoing issue because it has deep cultural roots in societies.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overall aim of the study is to investigate the construction of gender roles and the factors that lead to gender inequality within households in a township in South Africa. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To ascertain the nature of gender roles in households.

- To investigate the factors that influence the construction of household gender roles.

- To determine the role of patriarchy in influencing gender roles.

In line with the objectives of this study, the following are the research questions guiding this study:

- What is the nature of household gender roles in Lamontville?

- What are the factors that influence the construction of household gender roles?

- What are the factors that influence the construction of gender inequality?

1.4 Motivation of the study

The work described in this dissertation was conducted in a township situated in the south of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal called Lamontville. This study was motivated by the wide array of socio-economic challenges facing the Lamontville township, with particular focus on gender inequities and disparities. With the researcher's awareness of changing gender roles in general, this study looks at how gender roles in the household influence child development and future gender disparities that may exist in households and within the workplace environments. While gender inequality persists in households and society, gender-based violence, poverty and unequal allocation of resources such as education and employment are prevalent and harmful in different spheres of society. The cultural norms in the Lamontville township has embedded gender inequality practices which has led to the subordination of women. Lamontville, being situated in South Africa, where all people are meant to be treated fairly regardless of the colour of their skin, language and gender enshrined in the Bill of Rights. This dissertation covers how gender norms and roles that occur within the household can have serious consequences for societies. Additionally, it will explore how gender roles

have affected households and how gender issues between men and women are deemed as acceptable in society.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the ecological systems theory (EST) developed in 1979 to understand human behaviour in the social context. This theory views an individual as part of an organised whole of their situation in the terms of five spheres (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The BES theory was formulated by Urie Bronfenbrenner and posits that human development is a transactional process in which an individual's development is influenced by his or her interactions with various aspects and spheres of their environment (Swick, 2006). The ecological system consists of five sub-systems namely; microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, chronosystem and macrosystem. These systems help to understand and interpret how social behaviours such as families, community and politics influence individuals.

For the purposes of this study, the theory will help identify the factors leading to gender inequality in the households in Lamontville, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The BES theory will be used to explain the concept of culture and traditional norms and how they affect gender roles in the household. Most young people have been taught from an early age that men are the head of a household and women are household managers. Furthermore, the society is teaching young boys and girls that gender roles are fixed and cannot be changed. Bronfenbrenner believed that the type of society or environment that the child grows up in affects the development the child (Tudge and Hatfield, 2009). In addition, the five sub-systems that were introduced critically explain how each of them affected the development of a child. However, for the purpose of this study the focus is on the three main systems that are linked to the study which are the microsystem, mesosystem and the exosystem.

The microsystem is an environment where the child is most comfortable and has daily interaction with this environment (Paquette and Ryan, 2001). This could be schools, day-care centres and home, and these environments can affect how the child grows since there are daily interactions. The child grasps what he or she is taught at school and/or at home, and the people around the child are influencers on the child's development. Gender inequality stems from the daily interactions that the child has with family, friends and daily influencers. Hence, children's perceptions of roles are triggered by internal and external forces which can

influence gender inequality if it exists in that particular society. This subsystem will help the researcher to understand the different factors that lead to gender inequality in the household.

A system closely linked with the microsystem is the mesosystem. This is the second most immediate system to individuals which includes relationships between individuals and the broader society at the microsystemic level (Paquette and Ryan, 2001). This system involves the relationship the child has with the parents and teachers, but the parents take an active role in the life of the child's development. Furthermore, this has an important and positive impact on the development of the child because the different elements of the child's microsystem are working together in the development process of the child (Paquette and Ryan,2001).

The mesosystem is closely linked to the exosystem, which encompasses government and civil organisation guided by policies and how the organisations' implementation of policies at the grassroots that affect an individual's behaviours (Paquette and Ryan, 2001). The exosystem does not involve the parents, students and teachers as active members of the child's development. This happens when either the parents relocate without the child, or the parents move to another location after receiving a promotion at work. This has a negative effect on the child's development, as the child is forced to grow up in an environment with no parent and this may add to anxiety and disturb the development of the child.

Figure 1.1: Bronfenbrenner Ecological System Model
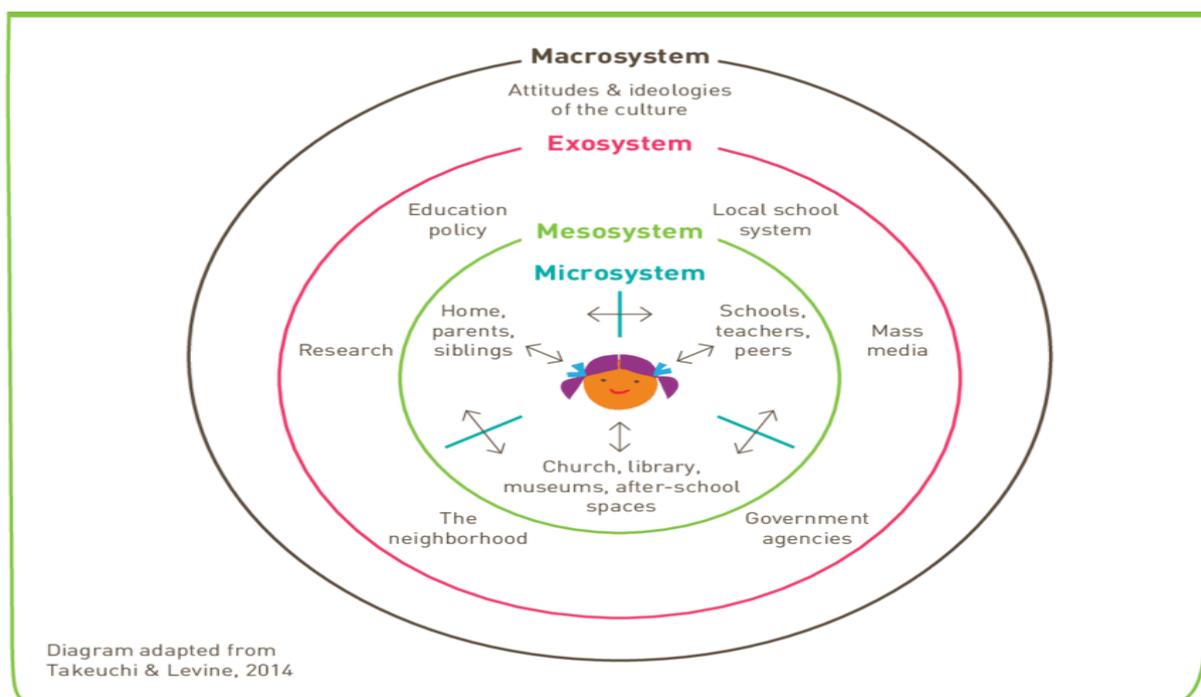
Source: Jordan and Romer (2014).

7

The emphasis of the Bronfenbrenner Ecological Systems theory on the relations, roles and activities within social contexts provides a valued avenue to explore how people's circumstances and understandings influence their daily behaviour within society. Therefore, it is easier to identify why people behave the way they do in households or communities. The theory is broken down into systems that make it easier to classify people according to the type of environment they were brought up in and how it affects them.

The relevance of the Bronfenbrenner ecological systems model to the research study is that it provides suitable lens for viewing the experiences of the participants in the research study. The theory emphasizes numerous factors that influence gender norms in the household, while assisting in understanding the reasons for gender inequality in the household. Additionally, it also assists to address all the objectives of the research study. This will give a brief understanding of the motives for gender roles creating inequalities in the household. The different sub-systems are broken down to help understand why these inequalities occur, they all (sub-systems) provide an overview of how the individual interacts with their community, education institutions and the society as a whole and how these factors influence the result of gender inequality in the household.

1.6 Structure of the dissertation

This chapter consists of five chapters. The first chapter provides background information about the topic. It also outlines the objectives and motivation of the study as well as the theoretical framework that guides the study. Chapter two reviews relevant literature on the factors that exacerbate gender inequality, drawing from different global perspectives. Chapter three provides in-depth overview of the methods used to collect data and the strategies used to analyse it. Chapter four provides a detailed overview of the main themes from the interviews. The final chapter is a discussion of the study results, and also the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, the overall aim of this study is to investigate the construction of gender roles and the factors that lead to gender inequality within households in townships in South Africa. The term gender refers to the difference between men and women created through ongoing social interactions within society (Morris, 2006). Further, gender also refers to the cultural and social distinctions involved with being female or male and the characteristics, meanings and values that society ascribe to different sexes. On the other hand, sex is a term that refers to the biological differences between men and women. This chapter reviews literature on gender roles conducted both locally and internationally.

2.2 The influence of gender roles

Both boys and girls are socialised to think and behave in a certain way from early childhood. This usually occurs with limited exposure to other ideas or influences therefore they may not be able to imagine different ways of doing things in relation to gender aside from their process of socialisation. Gender ideologies set the boundaries influencing how adolescent boys, girls, and adult men and women think as well as what they do. Hence, inequalities of resources and power seem natural and unchangeable. Values, beliefs and norms about who can speak out or make decisions also directly affect how power is distributed in society and this is to the disadvantage of children and girls and women in particular. Men are taught to be energetic, assertive, masterful and independent, while women are taught to be submissive and allow men to lead (Godsil et al., 2016; Marcus and Harper, 2014). In addition, women are generally taught to be friendly, sociable, warm, unselfish, interdependent and emotionally expressive. These attributes serve to reinforce male superiority and female subordination (Jost and Kay, 2005; Rudman and Glick, 2001).

While gender norms help maintain inequalities in resources and opportunities, many people have a vested interest in maintaining and upholding discriminatory gender norms (ODI, 2015). Adult men benefit most clearly from gender roles, but adolescent boys also have a stake in norms that makes them more privileged than girls, including factors such as more freedom, greater power, better access to resources, and a promise of more power in adulthood (Jost and Kay, 2005; Rudman and Glick, 2001). Women that are older can also have a stake in upholding discriminatory gender norms, especially if they have a daughter-in-law to share

or take on the burden of domestic chores (Narayan, 2013). Most people within societies see these inequalities brought by gender roles as natural and not open to change (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009).

Discriminatory gender norms are upheld through the norms of behaviour in everyday life, as children quickly internalise these behaviours at home, school and in the workplace (ODI, 2015). Social institutions such as the family, organised religion, traditional social structures, education systems and the media contribute in socialising and communicating the reproduction of some of these discriminatory gender norms. Therefore, efforts need to be intensified to change discriminatory gender roles and replace them with more equitable ones across all social institutions and structures (Ferree, 2010).

Gender roles in the household also influence the creation of patriarchy. The word patriarchy existed long before related systematic values were recreated to further analyse the conditions of oppression of women (Kamarae, 1992). Patriarchy implies that men hold the power and women are excluded from it. Additionally, patriarchy has also been used in the 1960s to refer to the system of the subordination of women (Kamarae, 1992), and has been defined as a system of male supremacy which oppresses women through political, social and economic institutions. The division of labour by sex means that the work group becomes also a sex group (Bernard 1981: 3). The very nature of maleness and femaleness becomes embedded in the gendered division of labour.

2.3 The nature and manifestation of gender roles

2.3.1 Households

Women across most families play a double role, including reproduction and engagement in the affairs of the community (Hertneky, 2010). Apart from bearing children, women perform other roles of providing and maintaining scarce resources for collective consumption such as water, health care and education (Boserup, 2007), and this is usually unpaid and voluntary. However, community management roles performed by men tend to be more visible and given higher social value such as the administration of local justice. Women's reproductive roles are often perceived to be natural, as they do not generate income in the household, they are often invisible at the national economic level, even though the same tasks do constitute a professional profile in other instances. Boserup (2007) observes that a mother taking care of children during working hours is not financially rewarded; however, professional care givers

receive remuneration for the same job and are considered in economic statistics. The domestic responsibilities performed by women include child bearing, looking after and educating children, washing clothes, cooking food, growing food for home use (Hochschild, and Machung, 2012).

Gender inequalities persist in the domestic sphere as shown in a study conducted in Spain by Fernández et al. (2014). In this study, it was found that activities within the domestic sphere are largely still determined by gender, with women being more likely than men to do activities such as cleaning the house, washing, ironing, sewing of clothes and caring for children and adults, which requires more time and these women tend to be less valued in the society. Women perform the majority of the work in the household, and this makes them more likely to not be employed in competitive occupations that were traditionally occupied by men (Lippa, Preston and Penner, 2014). Furthermore, Smee and Woodroffe (2013) asserts that early marriage pushes women into greater dependency and caregiving with limited opportunities to participate in other spheres and sectors of the society.

There has long been a gendered division of labour, and this has existed both in traditional and modern societies (Wood and Eagly, 2012). A study conducted by Milkie et al. (2009) in the US found that women with young children who are fulltime working mothers work an extra five hours a week in comparison with working fathers. The study showed that almost 20 years later, fulltime working women in transitional marriages still seem to work a 'second shift' of domestic and childcare duties after working during the day.

2.3.2 Economic participation and opportunities

The marginalisation and unequal treatment women face is historical. These inequalities have in turn produced a significant cultural, social and economic disparity between men and women. Women are observed to be dominant in areas of economic activities closely linked to their domesticated gender and these roles are usually not remunerated. While there has been some progress in addressing these disadvantages in recent times in South Africa; women and girls are still disproportionately affected by poverty and they often get less food and education. (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2017). The poor quality of girls' educational experiences and the consequent negative impacts on their learning outcomes, including performance in national and international examinations, remain problematic (Rarieya, 2014).

The distribution of household income reflects economic inequalities. Statistics South Africa (2016) shows that men earn almost twice what women earn annually, with about 56% households in the lowest expenditure per capita quintile headed by women. The reasons for this under representation of women in the workforce are strongly linked to the traditional expectation of women as domesticated. Women are more likely to be employed in care giving jobs such as nursing than in jobs that require manual labour. Also, women are more likely to be in low-paid jobs and in many occasions, they receive lower wages than men for similar work, this is known as the gender wage gap. South Africa being one of the countries with gender inequality, they are still women who are economically disadvantaged in the workplace. The South African labour markets exhibit a "sticky floor" effect which is a pattern that keeps a certain group at the bottom of the job scale, and women rarely occupy the highest paying positions in the economy (UNU-Wider, 2019).

2.3.3 Unpacking the relationship between prevailing gender roles and education

Women are less literate than men in many African societies, and this has implications for their development, as illiteracy further marginalises women in the public sphere where women are unable to participate in literacy programs (Smee and Woodroffe, 2013). The historical injustices that do not prioritise the education of a girl child is still a challenge in many developing countries (Tuwor, 2008). A study suggested that giving women the opportunity to go to school will not have any economic returns for the household, as these costs are a significant disincentive for many poor families who when weighing the costs frequently choose to educate boys in favour of girls (Alabi and Durowaiye, 2017). The role of girl children in the household chores is often described as particularly useful for families, and it leads to low female student enrolment in education institutions.

Families are discouraged from educating girls and young women in some countries due to marriage systems which place the daughter in the care of the husband's family after marriage. This causes parents to see educating a girl child as a waste of money since it is like investing in someone else's family (Alabi and Durowaiye, 2017). The boy child is seen as carrying the family legacy and therefore parents prefer for them to be educated. Furthermore, in some places where practices such as early marriage is prevalent, the education of the girl is of secondary importance (Smee and Woodroffe, 2013). Alabi and Durowaiye (2017) noted that the social expectations placed upon women such as the need to get married at certain age is part of the fundamental reasons why they are under-represented at postgraduate levels of

education. The essence of these narratives further establishes that the gender roles within societies produces varying implications for men and women.

2.3.4 Differences in legal status and entitlements

Gender role stereotypes lead to the incorporation of discriminatory legislation preventing women from acquiring ownership of land and allowing only the head of the household's authority to sign official documentation (Hallward-Driemeier and Hasan, 2012). Some other instances include unequal rights to personal status, inheritance, security, land, and employment opportunities, as women are denied access to law in some countries. In addition, regardless of gender, an individual has equitable access to services, goods, resources, and opportunities relative to their needs (Symington, 2004). This means that certain laws and policies are not to be created to reinforce unfair privileges for a particular sector of the community to gain more than a fair share of the same privileges, goods and opportunities that should be enjoyed by everyone (Symington, 2004).

Family gender role stereotypes are reflected in societal property arrangements and property rights, which also affects gender relations in the family. In some places, women and children are regarded as the property of men and their lives are dictated and regulated by marriage and labour practices (Musembi, 2007). The degradation of common property resources through larger institutional changes in land tenure and property rights often results in unfair gender divisions of labour within the household, in most cases increasing women's workload. Research shows that there is a need to change the deeply entrenched social institutionalisation of sexual differences (Okin, 2004).

Women could not inherit property for so many years in many African societies. In Uganda, inheritance exclusively by males is clearly connected to women's lack of power, control, and decision making in marriage (Joireman, 2008). There are stories of widows being mistreated by their in-laws even before the funeral of their spouse and later excluded from inheritance. Inheritance in Swaziland is passed through the male child; denying women ownership rights, and forcing women to be dependent upon males for access to land (Griffiths, 2005). In Kenya, girls are often discriminated against in land inheritance from their birth families and when a woman leaves her husband, or a man leaves his wife, ownership of the land stays with the man (Harrington and Chopra, 2010). Depending on the region, between 12% to 95% of

poor families pass the majority of land to their sons and upon death of the father, in-laws are entitled to seize the land, and may grant the widow limited cultivation and harvesting rights.

There is a relationship between female asset ownership and women's empowerment. Studies suggest that women's asset ownership is associated with lower levels of domestic violence and women's earnings or participation in economic activities are associated with greater decision-making power (Vetten, 2005). Women in Canada with personal assets have the ability to take care of themselves and also leave a marriage in case domestic violence or infidelity persist in order to cope with to invest and expand their earnings and economic opportunities (Vetten, 2005). The economic status of women, as affected by poverty and dependence on men for economic security are strong barriers to them leaving an abusive relationship (Vetten, 2005). However, improvements in women's economic position in the family can also challenge social norms on women's role in the household and society (World Bank, 2011).

Ever since young girls were more exposed to education, there has been an increase in their assets, income and their legal status in developing nations. In India there has been changes in inheritance laws which has resulted in delays in marriage for girls to give them more time to participate in education and invest in their future (World Bank, 2011).

2.4 Factors influencing gender roles

In most African countries, discriminatory gender norms and practices are a result of three major factors a) 'son bias', which places more value on boys than girls; b) ideologies of femininity, which dictate and affect perceptions of how adolescent girls should behave and their transition from girlhood to womanhood; and 3) ideologies of masculinity, which not only govern the behaviour of boys and young men but also perpetuates some form of injustices against women (Overseas Development Institute, 2015).

For so long, the son bias in China has influenced cultural and religious perceptions of the relative roles and values of men and women in the society with women assuming primary responsibility for childbearing and childcare (Attane, 2012). Son bias is common in the Middle East where parents prefer to have male children instead of female children. Furthermore, parents' preference of the male child draws from the beliefs and realities that men tend to have a much higher earning wage capacity, and usually takes responsibility for their parents in old age and illness (Attane, 2012). The reasons for son bias in China are the

deep-rooted patriarchal family systems which draws from Confucian values that are widely supported (Hesketh, 2011).

In other communities when a parent dies, the son usually inherits all the properties and is often more involved in the burial processes. Son bias is often exercised in communities where a girl is perceived to be an economic drain on the family (Attane, 2012). Some families believe that the girl will join another household upon marriage, so it is often no use investing in a girl child. Son bias is also influenced by the fact that economic opportunities are often gendered, and parents perceive that it is more worthwhile to invest in boys as they will bring better financial returns to the family. Son bias has denied the girl child rights and privileges in the household due to norms and practices that lead to negative outcomes for girls such as assets and bringing in resources upon marriage, unequal access to education for girls since parent's regard boy's education as a better investment. Even after marriage, girls often encounter pressure to continue childbearing until a son is born, as supported by Palamuleni (2007: 120) who observed that "when all women enter marriage, fertility will rise to a level of total marital fertility rate."

Ideologies and norms of femininity emphasize the importance of service to one's family, maintaining family honour and deference to husbands and in-laws. These values translate into commonly accepted roles and standards of behaviour for women. Girls are expected to do much of the household chores, as compared to boys. When females do household chores, they get trained to acquire skills that they will need when they become wives and mothers. Across most African cultures, a hard working women is seen as a good woman (Bhana, 2016). In addition, chastity and virginity at marriage is considered important for the girl's personal and family honour (Bhana, 2016). This limits girl's mobility in order to avoid situations where they could be accused of unchaste behaviour and they are also at risk of sexual harassment, which affects their access to education and influences child marriage in some communities.

Traditional norms of masculinity require men to be the breadwinners and the head of the household and the ultimate decision-maker. Also, being virile (freedom to have more than one sexual partner and fathering many children) and condoning physical violence against women particularly once a woman is married is prevalent in some cases (Jones, Presler-Marshall and Tran, 2014). Researchers have found that there is a strong link between violence and polygamy, this is evidence in Papua, New Guinea. Researchers found that there

is a high rate of violence by husbands, first wives are usually neglected and are often beaten for refusing sex (Jalal, 2009). The practice of polygamy violates a woman's right to gender equality and it is also inherently discriminatory. Polygamy is more of a tradition and is common in Mali. Polygamy has detrimental effects such as gender inequalities where men are the heads and use their powers to control the household and this can lead to gender-based violence (GBV) occurring within the household, this has been going on for years in Mali and women and children are still affected by it (Heath, 2020)**.**

Poverty remains another significant factor that perpetuates gender narratives. Poverty has influenced the decision to take children to school, as families prefer taking sons to school more than daughters because sons have better earnings prospects and their natal family benefits from their earnings. Poverty reproduces many gender roles that control choices that position girls at a disadvantage within families and societies at large (Jones, Presler-Marshall and Tran, 2014). Poor households also have less access to the media and to communication materials that might reshape discriminatory gender perceptions, and this means they miss out on new ideas and practices which can also contribute to changing gender norms (Marcus and Harper, 2014). There is a digital divide between developed and developing nations when it comes to technology, Somalia being the poorest country in Africa with limited access to technology; people are not kept in the loop of what is happening around the world (Elmi, 2015). It becomes harder for them to keep up and learn new things, hence they have always done things traditionally. In these communities, women and girls are and will always beneath men and young boys (Marcus and Harper, 2014).

Children learn about gender norms and what it means to be a male and a female from the culture that they live in, and the family has the primary job of socialising children. Socialisation of children into gender roles starts early when parents treat their baby boys and girls differently. Parents are more likely to allow the boy to try new things and activities such as learning to walk and explore different things than girl children. Children look up to their parents and other adults within the family as role models to shape their behaviours in the society. Furthermore, male children would want to be like their fathers and female children would want to be like their mothers (Archer and Lloyd, 2002; Santrock, 2005). It is through the socialisation process that children acquire 'for me' or 'not for me' thoughts based on their gender (Ricardo, Eads and Barker, 2011). Through the socialization process most children in Ethiopia do not have much to survive, because most of them grow up in poverty and are

forced to live in such realities, a few of them manage to escape poverty through education (Abebe, 2007). It is a daily struggle for most since they have parents who are poor and do not have anyone to look up to in order to escape the harsh realities of their lives (Abebe, 2007).

The western traditional colour of clothes for baby boys to wear is blue while the baby girl is expected to wear pink clothes (Koller, 2008). Children often try to conform to expectations of parents or other adults in the family, as they start with perceiving these expectations even without being taught and pattern their behaviours accordingly (Archer and Lloyd, 2002; Santrock, 2005). An earlier study by Miller and Budd (1999) showed that children learn gender roles as early as pre-school times. The study further revealed that as children develop, they acquire gender identity as well as gender stereotyping roles which differentiate boys from girls and which are further reinforced by toys, games, television programs, children's books, teachers and significant others within societies. Additionally, children start learning of gender stereotyping roles from the time they start playing with toys. Often the toys boys play with are cars and guns while girls play with dolls and dishes. From an early age, children are taught what is expected of them and what is not expected of them as boys and as girls.

The gender relations that exists between women and men in the family influence the development of gender roles in children in that family. If a boy sees his father washing clothes, he adopts this image of his father as a caregiver in his definition of masculinity (Archer and Lloyd, 2002; Santrock, 2005). Children develop the belief that certain activities are either appropriate or inappropriate for girls or boys through their families, such as playing football is for boys and domestic work such as cooking is for girls. Parents tend to pass their gender ideologies to their children from very early stages of their lives (Bem, 1985). Stereotypes of gender roles on toddlers appear to be less pronounced when the mother is unmarried, or the father is absent (Hupp, Smith and Coleman, 2010; Tenenbaum and Leaper, 2002). Discrimination against women involves differences of treatment that exist because of stereotypical expectations, attitudes and roles that are gender biased. Various research has established that these often produce diverse implications for girls and women especially when it comes to access of education (Sang et al., 2012). In Kenya, women are progressing steadily in the education system, but still encounter gender inequalities from policies that are implemented Sang et al, 2012).

Stereotyping gender norms sometimes persist because of misinformation, either about the costs of adhering to a gender norm or about the extent to which others are doing so. Providing

correct information is the key to changing sticky stereotyping gender roles (World Bank, 2011). In some contexts, education is strongly associated with greater decision-making power; education gives more freedom and increases earnings. Implications of technological change for gender relations impacts on economic opportunities and on exposure to information (Unterhalter, 2011). The factors discussed thus far, and the illustration provided mostly speak to how discriminatory gender roles are reproduced through various cultural practices, norms and expectations. Implicatively, these factors create a gender stereotype that impact women's identity.

2.5 Factors influencing the amelioration of gender inequality

Even though the challenges discussed in the previous section are very relevant to the discourse of women emancipation and they continue to hamper women's progress, the pursuit of better socio-economic empowerment, greater educational access and a more equitable gender role performance has gained significant progress over the decades (Sulla, 2018). Some of the factors have contributed to the improvement of the status of women including greater access to education that has enhanced labour market participation, as well as increasing use of social media and progressive social networks promoting the causes of women.

Education remains a crucial determinant of women's empowerment, social welfare and development. It is evident that to end the continued inequality and vulnerability that beset women in different spheres of life, more women need to gain knowledge and acquire capacity through education (Unterhalter, 2007). Studies suggest that access to quality education is important because it ensures that women and men have full access to work opportunities, decent health care system and representation in socio-economic and political processes (Unterhalter, 2007), this is evident in Canada. India being one of the countries with a higher level of gender inequality in education have initiatives that were put in place to mitigate and eradicate gender inequality in access to education. Between 2006 and 2010 in India, 50% of young boys made it through secondary school while only 26% of young girls completed (Darrah, 2020). This emphasizes that gender inequality is more noticeable in lower income families and needs to be eradicated so that both girls and boys can have equal access to education.

Sundaram, Sekar and Subburaj (2014) noted that in other to address socially constructed biases limiting women, education will position women as competitive partners in all walks of life like their male counterparts. Women's increased access to education greatly transforms developing nations by responding to challenges posed by gender inequality and confronting traditional roles to change their lives, it will also give women the ability to become independent, this is evidence in Central Asia where education is not used only to teach but to also change the future of girls and women, this has the greatest impact in developing nations since women are able to have a voice in their communities and also make positive changes in their country (Central Asia Institute, 2018). Channawar (2016) mentioned that education is crucial for knowledge transformation, as it creates a platform for equitable social, economic and political relations, and gives women the opportunity to contribute to national development. Despite improvements in access to education in South Africa, various socio-cultural factors still hinder women's progression in the education sector (Shackleton et al., 2006). It is therefore important that access to equitable training platforms is provided to all, as a fundamental human right irrespective of gender, race and sexual orientation. Once the importance of education for all is prioritised, it becomes easy to reach out to all and roll out initiatives and policies that will be holistic.

Women's increased access to education has resulted in greater representation within the economic sector. When women are qualified enough to earn money, they are able to support their families and also build up the economic status of their country (Sharma, 2016). Interestingly, women's participation has gone beyond informal trade to include taking up employment in formal economic systems. It is also important to highlight that South Africa has made some progress in the inclusion of women in the economic sector, however, gender representation is still below 50% for positions that come with significant influence. Women comprised 32% of judges, 31% of advocates, 30% of ambassadors and 24% of heads of enterprises owned by the state (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

Another important factor contributing significantly to the emancipation of women is the influence of social media (Gordon et al, 2016). The world has become a global village of information and ideas across all geographical spaces. Gordon and Trammel (2016) noted that with the rise of internet use across countries of the globe, the concerns of women now enjoy global solidarity, and this is done by connecting with other women in social media platforms who are also affected by gender inequality around the world. This gives young girls and

women the platform to voice their opinions on challenges that affect and beset women in society, this is usually difficult for women living in poorer countries such as Somalia as they have less or no technological access whatsoever; this affects women as they cannot grasp on to new ideas that are happening around the world. They are automatically forced to live under discriminatory gender roles (Channawar, 2016). Additionally, social media has become a tool for many to decrease gender inequality by addressing it to the mass. Various organisations focusing on ameliorating the conditions of women incorporate social media in the pursuit and accomplishment of their goals (Gordon et al, 2016). Social media has the power to educate the masses about creating a society that is not driven by stereotypes, prejudice, sexism and gender bias.

2.6 The effects of gender roles

2.6.1 Escalating gender-based violence

Stereotyping gender roles expose women to different forms of violence. Violence can be in the form of domestic violence, intimate partner violence, sexual assault and exploitation through human trafficking and sex trade. Power inequalities caused by unequal gender roles often lead to more severe forms of control such as gender-based violence (GBV). GBV manifests in many forms because it is not only about physical assault but also includes sex-selective abortion to intimate partner violence (IPV) (Interagency Gender Working Group, (2014). There are linkages between the widespread practice involving violence and coercion and traditional norms that regard women as subordinate to men.

Moreover, it is widely recognised that there is a substantial underestimation of actual figures of reported rape cases, given that many cases go unreported. GBV has serious human, economic, and social consequences. However, it is more disturbing to note that women are socialised to accept and tolerate any type of violence, especially when inflicted by their intimate partners (Giustina, 2008). Women often tolerate GBV due to reliance on their family or their husband's family for help in addressing violence, costs associated with seeking services and fear of violent reprisals or loss of financial support often discourage women from seeking legal action (McCleary-Sills et al., 2013). Globally, 30% of women who have been in an intimate relationship reported experiencing some form of physical or sexual violence inflicted by their partner (World Health Organization, 2013).

Globally, almost all societies have higher levels of gender-based violence and South Africa is no exception. Some cases of GBV are underreported because of the difficulty to obtain reliable statistics. The highest reported incidences are of intimate partners who are living together and it is the most common form of violence against women (Abrahams, 2013). A report by Saferspaces (2020) shows that just under 50% of women report having ever experienced emotional or economic abuse at the hands of their intimate partners in their lifetime. Gender-based violence is mainly driven by gendered power inequality which is deeply rooted in patriarchal beliefs. In most South African cultures, men's violence against women is considered correct and acceptable, and this notion makes it hard to address issues relating to GBV (Abrahams, 2013). As mention by Jewkes et al. (2010) "Poverty, patriarchy, alcohol or aggression; are the most causes of intimate partner violence and have been contested by social scientists for decades", this has become normal in the provinces of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu- Natal where more women than men have been murdered by their partners. A belief in male superiority can manifest in men feeling entitled to sex with women, strict reinforcement of gender roles and hierarchy (and punishment of transgressions), women having low social value, power and associating masculinity with control of women (Saferspaces, 2020).

Statistics South Africa (2016) estimated that 21% of women above the age of 18 in South Africa have experienced violence from an intimate partner. Violence against women is relatively commonplace. The statistician general of Statistic South Africa, Risenga Maluleke, revealed that almost two thirds of victims of sexual offences in South Africa are women. There are 138 women who report rape per 100 000 in the country, which is one of the highest in the world (Statistics South Africa, 2018: 9). The rates are continuing to rise every single year in South Africa, and more recently, a young girl named Uyinene Mrwetyana was raped and murdered by an employee from a post office in the Western Cape on her way to fetch a parcel. Ironically, this tragedy happened during women's month of August 2019 when South Africans were commemorating the anti-apartheid march to the Union buildings by more than 20 000 women, adding more fuel to the fire (National Business Initiative, 2019). These cases revealed the main cases of women and young children being murdered by men. GBV continues to be a threat to societies in South Africa.

2.6.2 Early marriage

As highlighted in the previous sub-section that the internalisation of social responsibilities influenced by gender roles often prepare women to be domesticated. This has been argued to be one of the promulgating factors for early marriage in some part of the world (Mahon and Fernandes, 2010). Cultural practices such as the bridal price has placed an economic value on women such that in many cases, young girls are often given to older men in marriage by family patriarchs for financial reasons (Plan International and ICRW, 2013). Early marriage leads to early childbearing, which affects the health of the mother as well as the baby and is linked to many social, economic, and emotional consequences (Maholtra et al., 2011; Plan International and ICRW, 2013). Research shows that early marriage is strongly associated with low contraceptive use, unsafe abortions, high fertility rates and unwanted pregnancies which have serious health consequences (Diamond-Smith et al., 2008; Kaye et al., 2005; Rastogi and Therly, 2006).

Women who experience sexual assault are at higher risk of HIV/AIDS (Garcia-Moreno and Watts, 2000). A study conducted by Dunkle et al. (2004) in antenatal clinics in South Africa revealed that women with controlling male partners were at increased risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV. GBV and intimate partner violence contribute to low use of sexual and reproductive health (SRH) services and maternal health services, adverse child health outcomes and increased risk of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) among both survivors and male perpetrators (Dunkle et al., 2006; Jewkes et al., 2010; Population Reference Bureau, 2010; Silverman et al., 2008; Townsend et al., 2011; Rahman et al., 2012a; Rahman et al., 2012b; Silverman et al., 2011).

Early marriage refers to a union between two people in which one of the partners is below the age of 18. Early marriage is usually common for girls who are not physically, physiologically and psychologically ready to shoulder the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing (Judith-Ann, 2012). While women in developed nations are likely to get married in their thirties, 20% to 50% of women in developing nations are likely to get married at age 18 or below (Judith-Ann, 2012). There are major factors and contributors perpetuating early child marriages; and the most common determinant of early child marriage is poor socio-economic structures in communities and poverty has played a huge role in this behaviour (Otoo-Oyortey and Pobi, 2003). Many households are living under the poverty line and early child marriage is seen as a "good thing" since the family is relieved of the responsibility of

clothing, feeding and protecting the girl in an insecure and uncertain society. In other societies, girl children are forced to marry an older man for the sake of reproduction because they are still young and therefore have higher chances of fertility. Insecurity is also one of the contributors to early child marriages, many parents allow their daughters to marry as a very young age because they feel it is in their best interest since they will not be victims of sexual assault or physical harassment. In addition, parents also feel that they will be much safer when married, and literature on nuptiality and gender roles suggest that traditional societies have the greater likelihood of girls marrying young (Jones, Presler-Marshall and Tran, 2014).

2.6.3 Female genital mutilation and harmful traditional practices

Harmful traditional practices imposed on women such as female genital mutilation (FGM) or cutting have serious effects on women's health. It is argued that aside from these health implications, it is also an approach to control and regulate women's sexuality and curtail their sexual agency (Hilber et al., 2012). Female genital mutilation is prevalent in the Middle East and West of Africa, where UNICEF estimates that more than 125 million girls and women alive have undergone the process (UNICEF, 2013). FGM is deeply rooted in gender inequality brought about by gender roles and it breeds serious consequences such as severe bleeding, infections, problems urinating, infertility and complications in childbirth (World Health Organization, 2014a).

The priority placed on virginity and chastity is founded on both religious and cultural beliefs and this means that a woman's body is seen as less worthy if certain sexual acts are engaged before marriage (Bhana, 2016). Closely related to this belief is the practices such as *ukuhlowa*, where a young woman is required to prove her virginity through inspection and this is mostly prevalent among the Zulus in some part of South Africa (Moletsane, 2010). Some of these practices have been institutionalised and are becoming avenues through which the social relation of women is engaged. Furthermore, virginity is now linked to a particular scholarship scheme in South Africa called the maiden bursary which only financially support women who are still virgins and are attending school or tertiary institutions (South African Human Rights Commission, 2017). These bursaries require recipients to demonstrate their virginity, meaning the bursary will be withdrawn should the woman fail such a test (Commission for Gender Equality, 2016). These practices that are often justified by gendered cultural expectations that have adverse effects on women's reproductive health and restricts

their sexual agency and sexuality within cultural spheres which is not the same for their male counterparts (Adhikari, 2010; Thin Zaw et al., 2013).

2.6.4 Education of the girl child

Inequalities in gender roles lead to a division of labour within households that often result in poverty for women and lower levels of education. In many low-income families, children have limited access to education, and this is evident in Kenya where school fees are not paid in primary schools, but young boys and girls are still expected to practice child labour to sustain the family's income (Admassie, 2003). As explicated earlier, families classified as poor prefer to educate sons than daughters because sons have better earnings prospects and because their natal family will benefit from their earnings (Garg, Goyal and Gupta, 2012). Economic opportunities are often gendered, and parents perceive that it is more worthwhile to invest in boys as they will bring better financial returns to the family. Girls are regarded as assets who can provide labour or bring in resources upon marriage (Mahon and Fernandes, 2010).

A study conducted by Osadan (2014) on the enrolment of girls versus boys in the Sub-Saharan Africa region found that male students have higher enrolment in schools and their completion rates were also high. The study also revealed that for every three students who were denied full and equal primary education, two of them were female despite the fact that educating girls has a higher investment return for a country's economic development. This basically positions girls to the traditionally-held gender roles of staying at home and doing household chores, also taking care of younger children, and performing other unpaid work. Some of the reasons for low enrolments of girls in school are noted in the work of Rankin and Aytac (2006) who did research on gender inequality in schools in Turkey. In this research, one of the main reasons for the gender disparity in education was due to restricted employment opportunities for women in developing countries which discourages families from investing in their daughter's education.

The labour market is occupied by more men than women, since societal gender roles influence future occupational aspirations (Nhundu, 2007). In most African countries, the division of labour between males and females still exist (Nhundu, 2007). Most often males are socialised to work in the public spheres while females are socialised to participate in childbearing and care giving work. In the Islamic religion in Egypt, it is expected that men's

role is to provide for his family and women's role is to care for her family and house (Santrock, 2005). According to Santrock (2005), in many cultures in countries where the Muslim religion predominates, the gender specific role is pronounced, and females are not given access to high status positions. Beliefs about gender roles are stereotypes that significantly influence children's future occupational aspirations.

A study conducted by Bleeker and Jacobs (2004) in Michigan involving male and female young people working in part time jobs revealed gender differences in the choice of occupation. Jobs such as manual labour, bus conductors and gardeners were held almost exclusively by male youth, while other jobs such as housemaids and baby sitters were held exclusively by female youth. Additionally, the study also found that only 5% of female participants chose careers in computing and physical science, while 14.4% chose careers in life sciences and business. Similarly, 12% of male participants chose careers in computing and physical science, and only 4.3% of males chose careers in life sciences and business. This shows that male and female career choices are normally different because of the differences in the self-identity developed as they grow up within society. Gender differences in attitude and behaviour is visible in early childhood and continues throughout middle and high school. Despite girls having higher grades than boys, they are less likely to choose a career in computing or physical science (Almiskry, Baker, and Mohamed, 2009). These differences are also observed in various careers where girls tend to opt for a very narrow range of stereotypical feminine occupations. Studies show that the influence of gender roles on occupation of men and women is not only limited to developing countries but also is occurring in the developed world (Hensley, 2003). Evident in the United Kingdom, the traditional gender beliefs and expectations were predicated to correlate with gender traditionalism of job choice, whereby masculine gender roles were predicated to have more career aspirations than feminine role genders (Hensley, 2003).

2.7. The transition of gender roles

Changes in gender roles occur as people in the community start to challenge the traditional behavioural, social and cultural characteristics that are linked to womanhood or manhood. In order to achieve gender equality, characteristics and structures that govern the relationship between men and women and the power differences that impact choices need to be assessed. These behavioural, social and cultural characteristics that are linked to womanhood or manhood are not innate but rather learned, and men and women embrace some cultural,

25

social, and environmental norms that may encourage inequalities (Booth and Nolen, 2012). Gender roles are typically most resilient in areas that are directly affected by power or control, and therefore, those who lose power under a change in the social norm actively resist change, and those who would gain often are too weak to impose change (World Bank, 2011).

A study conducted in two Shona communities in Zimbabwe by Jackson (2012) found that in the recent years, women overwhelmingly saw themselves as more autonomous than in the past. Intra-household gender relations are not under the rule of societal gender relations, as marriage is a social relationship that may either deepen or diminish the effects of wider gender roles. Both women and men actively create their own marriages and the institution of marriage through actions that are only partly patterned by norms, and not necessarily by a rigid set of determining rules. The study also shows how the cumulative actions and choices of women in marriage, over a number of decades have changed the character of marriage in ways that reflect their gendered preferences and interests (Jackson, 2012). Additionally, marriage has largely become a matter of open choice for both men and women, with women preferring employed spouses. The decline in bride price put women in a strong position with regard to rights to retain children, freedom to divorce and the potential to benefit as a wife from resources. Jackson (2012) further explains that since the 1980s, wives have captured the right to receive and control remittances, whereas previously men used to send their remittances to their parents, and it has been clear that separate residence makes wives' claims on remittances stronger.

Women's participation in different societal domains, including educational attainment, economic opportunities, political empowerment, health and well-being is influenced by gender roles (Blanchfield, 2010; World Bank, 2012). While gender equality is for the benefit of the whole nation and that the status of the nation is intimately tied to the roles of women, studies show that achieving gender equality is not only a woman's issue (Blanchfield, 2010; World Bank, 2012). Men are also need to be involved in promoting gender equality (Maksuha and Richter, 2014). According to the World Bank (2012: 3), "gender equality matters intrinsically, because the ability to live the life of one's own choosing and be spared from absolute deprivation is a basic human right and should be equal for everyone, independent of whether one is male or female, and gender equality matters instrumentally, because greater gender equality contributes to economic efficiency and the achievement of other key development outcomes."

In the present day, women continue to experience daily gender-based challenges such as sexual harassments and GBV in the household, despite the efforts made towards changing gender roles and achieving gender equality (World Bank, 2012). Despite the progress made toward gender equality, women in African countries still live in unequal distribution of opportunities and poor outcomes in education, health, employment, and social services (World Bank, 2012). South Africa still experiences disparities in women's participation in traditionally-claimed male occupations and their participation in policy making, and to date a limited number of women have been able to get in the corporate industry as men (Lesejane, 2006; Makusha and Richter, 2014; Strebel et al., 2006). There has been little improvement in women's access to economic opportunities, control of resources, sharing of political voices and experiences with domestic violence (World Bank, 2012), and they are often not given platforms to express how they survived and escaped gender-based challenges.

South Africa is one of the countries in which the government and various non-governmental organisations implemented policies and interventions promoting gender equality (Barker et al., 2007; Khewu and Adu, 2015). The period of apartheid in South Africa resulted in many social ills, including poverty and family disruption which highly influenced gender roles (Bond, 2014). Moreover, South Africa has become a highly patriarchal country in which traditional gender roles were normalised, and young men and women are taught about their roles from a young age (Jewkes and Morrell, 2010; Lesejane, 2006). However, research shows that gender roles have been changing over time (Lesejane, 2006; Mkhize, 2006). Since 1994 when South Africa's transitioned into democracy, traditional gender roles in South Africa have been challenged by the formulated and established policies and interventions that are implemented to empower women and to promote gender equality (Lesejane, 2006; Makusha and Richter, 2014; Strebel et al., 2006). The government and NGOs created a climate in which people are becoming more aware of equality, human dignity and freedom (Budlender and Lund, 2011). In addition, the implementation of these policies and interventions have led to a 'crisis of masculinity', as men are becoming more disempowered, and women empowered. Young men are taught to be leaders of the household whereas young women are taught to be nurturers (Hunter, 2006; Walker, 2005).

A study by Strebel et al. (2006) on the construction of gender roles of men and women in South Africa showed that in many households, women are no longer staying in the house and are participating in the labour system. The idea that women should stay at home and take care

of children is slowly fading. This is also caused by increased unemployment rates among South African men, which required women to become the main breadwinner and the head of the household in some cases (Strebel et al, 2006). The study further revealed that this has made women to be more powerful in relationships with respect to their male partners and men are losing their status of being powerful and the main provider in the family (Strebel et al., 2006). Changes in gender roles are also observed in the increase in the participation of women in politics. In 2009, the South African government news agency reported that South Africa ranks third in terms of female representation in parliament. According to the report, South Africa has moved from seventeenth place to third position in the global ranking of the number of women in parliament. Further, the empowerment of women in South Africa is evident through the increase in political participation, especially in the economic sphere and bringing about a 11% increase in representation of women in the National Assembly from 34% to 45% and 3% pre-1994 and 27% post-1994 (Bathembu, 2009).

2.8 Summary

This chapter has presented literature on gender roles, drawing on case studies from different countries. Research shows that women continue to suffer the disproportionate burden of gender roles, which impacts family structures. However, it is clear that contemporary society is experiencing some changes in family structures. Increasingly, families are moving away from nuclear families to more individualised families. Other changes within the family include the decline of fertility rate, where childbearing occurs later and more often outside marriage. These changes have led to the increase in the complexity of family structure and to a growing diversity of family forms and relationships. Changes in family structures have been accompanied by changes in gender roles. Approaches to the upbringing of children have also become very dynamic and as such the traditional gendered division of labour is increasingly under challenge. The participation of women in the labour market have highly increased over the past few decades, therefore, families with economically active partners are increasing at a faster rate than ever before. This has implications for gender roles especially from the traditional point of view. Even with these changes within the household, women with young children continue to assume primary responsibility for the bulk of unpaid care and household chores. Notwithstanding, it is compelling to examine the changing gender roles within contemporary families.

CHAPTER 3 - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted factors leading to gender inequality in the household and also provided an overview of literature from a wide range of international and local scholars. This chapter outlines the methods used in the study. It starts with a description of study context, and outlines the main method that was adopted. It presents the sampling criteria and recruitment strategy to identify potential participants. The chapter also provides a discussion of the data collection and analysis technique that was used. Ethical considerations are emphasised with a focus on the protection of the participant's right to dignity. Finally, the chapter consider the major limitations of the study.

3.2 Study Context

This study was conducted in Lamontville, named after Reverend Archibald Lamont. It is approximately 20 kilometres away from the Durban central business district and a few kilometres from the second biggest township in South Africa, Umlazi. Lamontville is one of the oldest and smallest townships in Durban, with a population of 32 421 (Statistics South Africa, 2011) and is classified as an urban area. This area was built specifically for the African middle class and those working in nearby industries in Clairwood (Smit, 1998).

The township is faced with a number of social challenges such as high levels of rape, HIV/AIDS, poverty, domestic violence, crime, unemployment, GBV and drug abuse that affect most of its population (Torr, 1996). The difference in unemployment rates amongst men and women in Lamontville is high, women are more likely than men to be unemployed, and this pattern is found across all types of geographical areas. In 2011, the national unemployment rate for women was 5,4% which was higher than the national unemployment rate for men (Statistics South Africa, 2018). This is also the case with GBV, where 51% of women in South Africa mentioned that they have experienced GBV. Approximately 76% of men mention that they have perpetrated GBV at one stage in their lives (Statistics South Africa, 2018).

Figure 3.1 Map of Lamontville
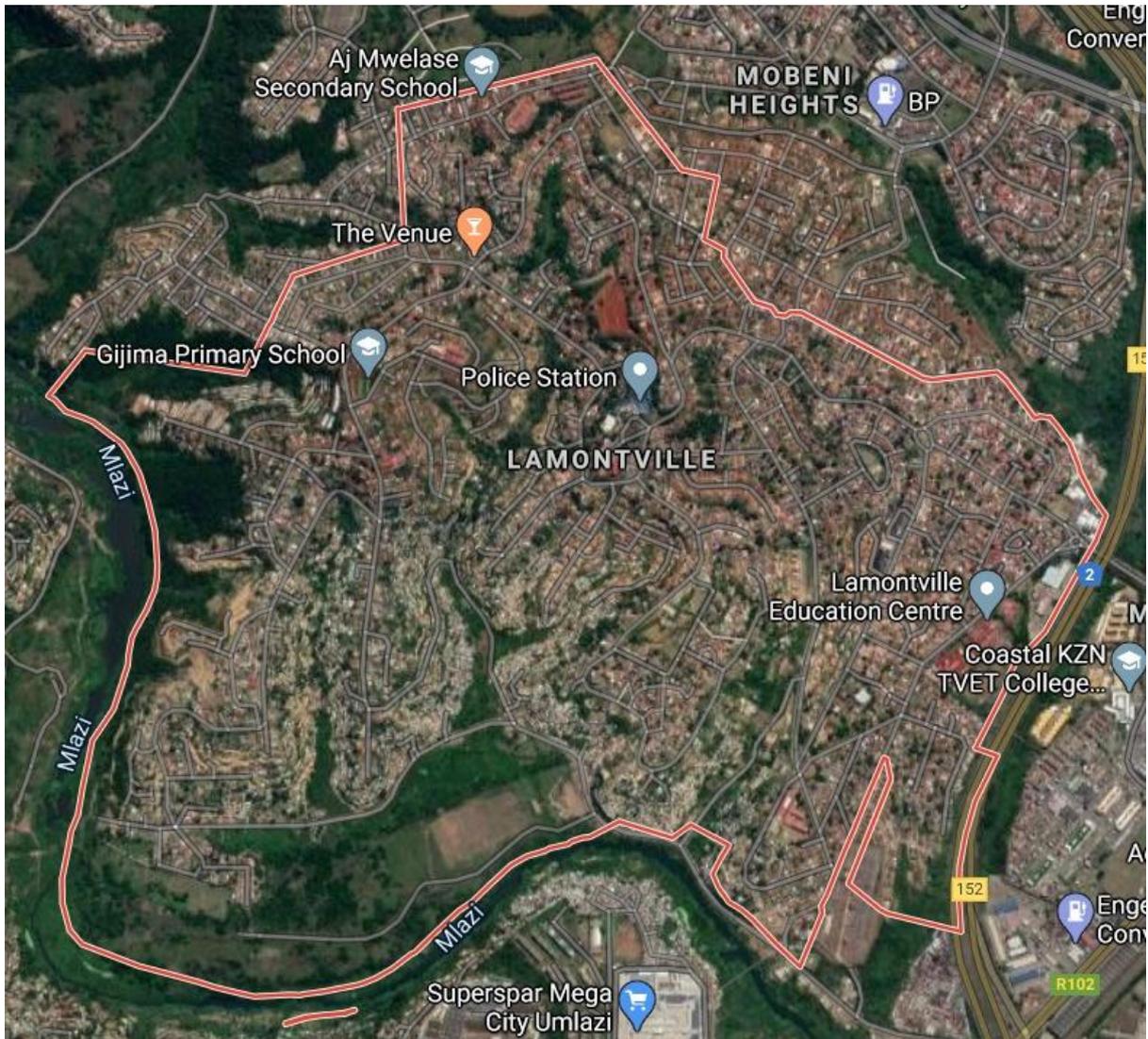
Source: Google Maps (2020)

3.3 Research methods

3.3.1. Qualitative research method

This study was conducted using the qualitative research method. The qualitative research method was chosen because it provides an in-depth and interpretive understanding of the social world through learning about people and their social life, experiences, perspectives and life histories facilitated by interacting with the participants (Ritchie et al., 2013). Qualitative research studies phenomena in their natural settings, attempts to make sense of, or interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. The qualitative research methodology implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and

meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (Maxwell, 2004). The qualitative research methodology is an inductive research strategy that allows interaction between the participant and the researcher, and it is from these interactions that various themes can be identified (Guest and McQueen. 2012).

The qualitative research method gave an opportunity for participants to provide an in-depth narration of their experiences. In addition, this method made it possible to explore and identify the factors that influence the construction of household gender roles in Lamontville. This study also made it possible to explore men's and women's views and perspective, by engaging them in in-depth interview and listening to their opinions and insights to ascertain the nature of gender norms within their household. According to Rodda (1991), the positions women occupy in households and communities is often determined by traditional values and customs shaped by patriarchy. Cuddy (2015) opined that women have not been economically active and their duties are usually centred around domesticated activities such as to conceive, look after children and do household chores. The interaction with male and female participants opened-up a space for different views, opinions on different gender roles in the household in Lamontville. The qualitative research method also helped to understand the dominance of patriarchal values within households to highlight issues of discrimination, marginalisation, and oppression. In line with the observation of Throne (2016), it is crucial for qualitative researchers to seek to understand the perceptions of the members concerned. For that reason, the study attempted to understand the nature of gender roles in the household. In this way, the qualitative research method enabled the researcher to comprehend participants' views and narratives of gender role construction within households.

The benefits of using the qualitative research methodology are rooted in its emphasis on the thick description of participants' narratives, which includes obtaining rich, real and deep data which describes the everyday real life and patterns of actions and meanings from the perspective of the sample studied. Qualitative research methodology emphasizes gaining first-hand information regarding the lived experiences of the sample studied. Kennedy (2014) indicates that the purpose of qualitative research methodology is to provide the researcher with the perspective of target audience members through immersion in a culture or situation that involves direct interaction with the people under study. Thus, the objective of the qualitative research methodology is to promote better understanding and increase insights

into the human condition that increases understanding of human behaviour and experience. This method gives remarkable insight into the social problems.

3.3.2 Study Design

This study used the exploratory research design. The present study is a case study, and investigates gender roles in the household among community members in the Lamontville township. The study explored the perceptions of the community members by detailing their feelings, insights and some of their emotions as described. The exploratory research design was chosen to explore a certain social phenomenon with the aim of identifying specific solutions to the research questions related to the phenomenon (Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee, 2000). The exploratory research design focuses on collecting either primary or secondary data using an unstructured formal or informal procedure to interpret them. In addition, the explorative nature that this study adopted allows the use of an exploratory research design to explore gender roles in the household. Using an exploratory research design helped to address the main objectives of the study to ascertain the nature of gender roles in the household in Lamontville township. It is within this social concern about gender roles that the study is interested in adding to the current debate and seeks to obtain voices of household dwellers in Lamontville township. Therefore, using the exploratory research design helped the study to investigate the factors that influence the construction of gender roles in the household and explores how economic and educational access perpetuates gender inequality in the household.

3.3.3 Sampling

The population of the study consisted of residents from the Lamontville township. The sample size consisted of 20 participants from Lamontville and included both males and females to obtain diverse views of participants in Lamontville. Choosing a small sub-set sample size reduces time cost and accessibility which often prohibits the collection of data from every member or about every item (Lewin, 2005). Conducting research among the entire population can be time-consuming and costly. According to Spring (2007), most research conducted among human beings, places and things focus on a small sample size, as the chances of studying the whole population are limited. Therefore, a representative sample of the population is selected, and the information gathered from the selected sample is used as data (Spring, 2007).

The sample size of the current study is twenty and the study employed a non-probability sampling technique. Non-Probability sampling is defined as "a sampling method which members of the population have the same and equal chance of participating in the study, each member of the population has a known chance of being selected" (Spring, 2007). The study initially planned to interview 10 men and 10 women who were above the age of 18 years and resided in Lamontville. However, men were not available during the day, they were employed, and the researcher, therefore only recruited 5 men and 15 women. The study engaged men and women about the factors influencing the construction of gender roles and the nature of gender equality within households. The interview process was carried out in Lamontville to the convenience of the participant. The interview involved one-on-one interaction with each participant, which created a prompt interaction with the participant and the researcher in order to avoid conflict between the male and female participants involved in the study.

The study employed a convenience sampling technique. Convenience sampling was the most appropriate sampling technique to recruit participants for this study because it was cost effective, easy and participants were readily available for interviews. Convenience sampling is a one of various types of the non-probability sampling technique, where members of the target population require to meet certain practical criteria such as demographic characteristics, accessibility, geographical proximity and availability at a given time or the willingness to participate are included in the purpose and convenience of the study. Farrokhi (2012) affirmed that convenience sampling is also referred to researching subjects of a population that can easily be accessible to the researcher. Thus, the convenience sampling method was selected for the study on the principle that these allowed easy access to the participants, availability of participants and the selection of individuals who are proficient and well-informed of the phenomenon of interest. The selected participants provided data that represented their personal views and opinions on the study. Further, the justification for choosing this sampling technique to study the population to help the researcher to access the participants easily in order to save time, costs and to approach participants in their spare time and in places convenient to them.

3.3.4 In-depth interviews

The data for the study was collected using one-on-one in-depth interviews to allow interaction between the respondent and the researcher using specific questions of this

research. Rowley (2012) defined in-depth interviewing as a one-on-one interaction between the researcher and the informant, directed towards achieving and understanding the participant's view and perspective of the social phenomena of interest. Additionally, the nature of the study requires participants to freely express their perceptions and views towards the topic.

The interview was conducted with 20 participants who were carefully selected for the study using a convenience sampling strategy. The interviews were conducted during May 2019. The researcher had to travel down to Lamontville to conduct the interviews, which was easier for the researcher due to awareness of the culture and customs of the people in Lamontville. Each of the participants was visited at the agreed convenient place with the interviews, and this was usually taking place in the home of the respondent. This process made it easier for the researcher to be accessible to each participant. The target sample size was 20 participants. It was felt that this was sufficient in order to have diverse interaction and different views on the role of gender in the household. After a careful selection of the sample, each participant was asked for permission to be interviewed. The purpose of the study was explained in English and/or IsiZulu, and was understood by the participants before consenting to partake in this study. Hence, each participant was asked to sign a consent form to acknowledge that they understood the purpose of the research. The participants who understood the research had no objection to participating in the study and they agreed to be interviewed.

Each participant was requested to participate in a one-on-one in-depth interview where several questions were posed with regard to their knowledge of gender roles in the household. Interviews took an average of 25 to 45 max minutes. This was due to the expression of each participant, particularly women on gender roles within the household. Therefore, the in-depth interviewing research instrument helped participants to express themselves better. Both English and IsiZulu were used based on which language the participant felt comfortable to express themselves. Meanwhile, conducting the interviews, some participants were digressing from the research topic to gender-based violence and the kidnapping of females. The role of the researcher was to allow participants to express themselves and pose follow up questions again. The researcher was familiar with the area and this encouraged the participants to open up about the issues happening in the community.

During the interview the role of the researcher was to conduct the interview and note some unspoken expressions of men and women on the role of gender in the household. This

involvement as an insider helped the researcher to be welcomed by the residents in Lamontville because of the familiarity with the culture and life experiences of some of the interviewees who participated in the study. Consequently, rich information and clear expressions from the participants was obtained.

3.4 Ethical considerations

When conducting studies using humans or animals as subjects, ethical principles must be adhered to, and research may not be conducted if those ethical processes are not followed. Conducting research may not be approved if certain processes and procedures are not followed, and without full approval by the ethics committee of a concerned institution, it is unacceptable to conduct research and such study cannot be published in reputable reviewed journals (Platt, 2014). To comply with ethical standards, the researcher first sought ethical approval and permission from the UKZN Humanities and Social Science Research Committee (HSSREC) on 05 June 2018 and approval was granted on 31 August 2018 with a protocol number HSS/0601/018M. The study was then carried out in Lamontville township in the Durban south of the KwaZulu-Natal Province. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and the rights of the participants in the consent form because it is of importance in research for people participating in a study to know what the research is all about, and they also have the right to know if they are going to be implicated in any way by participating in the research (Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee, 2006). Hence, it is important to be aware of the risks and benefits of participating in the research.

Each participant was presented with an informed consent form with details of what was expected of them. It was also mentioned that they have the right to withdraw from the research if they are not comfortable in any way. Each of the participants was also made aware that an audio tape-recorder would be used during the interview. Additionally, during the process of the interview, the researcher took handwritten notes to write down some points of interest.

An application for permission to conduct the research was submitted at the Councillors' office in Lamontville on 01 September 2018 and was granted on 06 September 2018. As a citizen of South Africa and an insider who resides in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, it was possible to gain access to the participants because the researcher resonated with the language mostly spoken in the area, culture and traditions practiced by the Lamontville township dwellers. In

conducting this study, the researcher spoke both English and IsiZulu, which allowed a free flow of information by the participant and this helped them to express themselves freely. All participants voluntarily participated in the interview after the purpose of the study was explained to them. After reading the important ethics documentations to the participants, they all agreed to sign the consent form and were interviewed at the time that was convenient for them.

Data collection began towards the end of May 2019 after ethical approval was obtained. The researcher conducted a preliminary meeting with the participants before the commencement of the interviews. This process was to create a mutual interaction between the researcher and the participant which enabled the participants' partaking in the interview to express themselves better when the interview is held. Gluck (2002) agreed that a preliminary meeting between the interviewer and the interviewee is crucial since it helps to break the ice and create confidence. After the preliminary meeting with each participant, an appointment was made for the interview, which took place in the homes of participants in Lamontville Township in KwaZulu-Natal. People participating in research have the right to know what the research is all about. Hence participants have the right to know if they are going to be implicated in any way by participating in the research (Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee, 2006). This process was done by informing the participant that information that could be traced to an individual who participated in the research will not be used, nonetheless, pseudonyms instead of the original names will be used for the report writing.

Participants who took part in the interview were assured of their confidentiality and that their identity would be kept anonymous. This process was done by informing the participants that pseudonyms would be used instead of their original names. Participants were also assured that their participation is voluntary. The participant who took part in the study were also assured that audio recording would be stored in a safe place for a period of five years, after which they would be destroyed. Moreover, the ethical aspect of the research also entailed guaranteeing all those who participated anonymity and confidentiality regarding the information they disclose during the study. Following the ethical consideration, the researcher took full responsibility for the well-being of the participants during the interview. Additionally, participants were assured that they would be provided with a copy of the thesis once completed, as Smith (1999) noted that it is important to report back to participants who

shared their knowledge regarding the study, and this maintains the principle of reciprocity between the researcher and the people who provided the information.

3.5 Positionality, reflexivity and trustworthiness

The researcher was familiar with Lamontville, having grown up in the area. The researcher was able to conduct the interviews as an insider, and this made it easier to approach people from the area who were willing to be interviewed. Reflexivity is often a considered integral aspect of qualitative research, and it involves the researcher's understanding of the processes of conducting research, so personal bias would not interfere with its outcomes (Hardy et al., 2001). Reflexivity pertains to the analytic attention of the researcher's role in qualitative research (Dowling, 2006). As a concept, it refers to a certain level of consciousness. Reflexivity entails self-awareness which means being actively involved in the research process (Lambert, Jomeen and McSherry, 2010). As a female, and researching gender roles construction within the households, it was important to not impose personal bias on the participants. During the process of the interview, the research identified some challenges and ensured that the objectives of the study were achieved without compromising the validity and reliability of the findings.

Trustworthiness in qualitative research ensures reliability and validity of the data collected, and is always considered in designing a study and analysing of results and judging the quality of the study (Patton, 2001). Golafshani, (2003) also noted that reliability and validity in qualitative research can be obtained through trustworthiness and authenticity. To make a study a reality, the researcher builds a bond of trust with participants. Thus, within this study, individuals' characteristics were carefully obtained through the consent form in which the participants were given enough information about the study. To ensure reliability, audio recordings were supplemented with additional details jotted down on a notepad, and this were shared with the respondent to validate if the information written down is the same information that they provided during the interview. Hence, validity and reliability in this research was ensured by allowing respondents to also be part of this study and by allowing them to validate if every information jotted down was true.

3.6 Data analysis process

Data analysis started immediately after the researcher gathered the qualitative data from the study participants. The study adopted the thematic analysis to code the qualitative data collected from the field into themes. According to Alhojailan (2012), thematic analysis is a procedure of analysing data according to themes and patterns aligned with the key points raised by participants during the interviews. Additionally, thematic analysis remains a qualitative analytical technique comprising of patterns or themes embedded in the data, and reporting on the emerging themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The emerging themes and patterns were identified and analysed. Data analysis started by listening to the interview clips and transcribing of the interviews. This procedure was carried out by the researcher in order to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the questions and the responses provided by the participant. Most of the interviews were conducted in IsiZulu but were later transcribed into English, which is the main languages of instruction at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The translation was done by the researcher based on proficiency in both languages and was also proofread by a trained personnel who are proficient in both languages.

According to Slembrouck (2007), transcription in research involves a translation or transformation of sound or image from recording to text in a study. Transcription involves close observation of data through repeated careful listening, and this is an important step before commencing data analysis. This process helps the researcher to familiarise themselves with the data. Each participant's interview audiotape was listened to repetitively in order for the researcher to become more familiar with the content and to be able to remember the content of the information provided by each participant. This procedure was carried out several times to ensure reliability in decoding the information from the audio recording of the interviews. The valuable and rich information from the interviews resulted in the identification of essential themes and topics. Moreover, similar ideas and shared information that emerged were examined. Therefore, related and opposing ideas and patterns were identified and analysed according to their significance to the objectives of the study, and emerging themes were identified and irrelevant themes were discarded.

3.7 Limitations of study

One of the challenges that were identified was obtaining permission from the municipality. The researcher had to communicate with the head of the municipality several times until the

permission was granted. This process was achieved by sending emails and making phone calls to the municipalities, and often times the emails and calls were not attended to. Another challenge which was identified during data collection was ensuring that interviews were conducted at the convenience of the participants. Considering that the researcher is female and this study was conducted in a township where there is high rates of crime and sexual assault, it was difficult to sometimes agree to the proposed location to conduct an interview. The researcher had to go door to door to interview participants in their residence which was strenuous. Nonetheless, this was achieved within the time frame of the research.

There were a few other limitations that the researcher came across while collecting data. The other limitations included the number of participants chosen for the study. Initially 10 females and 10 males were supposed to be interviewed but the researcher found mostly women during the day. Men were not available to be interviewed during the day due to work or other commitments. Hence, the researcher was only able to interview 5 men out of the 10 that were supposed to be interviewed, and as a result, the findings of this study might have not fully captured the position of men. As much as it was easier to recruit the participants because the researcher knew most of them, it was difficult to ask the participants questions as some felt as if they were being interrogated about their personal life. The researcher tried by all means to make the participants to feel comfortable first before asking the interview questions.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has discussed all the research methodological processes and procedures used in this study. The researcher elaborated on each type of research method and process that was chosen for this study. The qualitative research method implemented by the exploratory strategy was adopted to allow the researcher to gain insights into each participant's views and perceptions of gender roles in the household. This study draws on one-on-one in-depth interviews conducted with twenty men and women residing in Lamontville. These participants were recruited using convenience sampling because they had to be available at home during the time when the researcher was recruiting participants. Every participant who participated had to be sure about the terms and conditions of this research, and they formally signed the consent form compiled by the researcher which was approved by the HSSREC. In addition, the researcher submitted all ethics forms to the HSSREC for review and was

granted ethics approval to conduct research. As a result, the next chapter reports the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS

4.1. Introduction

The overall aim of this research study was to investigate the construction of gender roles and the factors that lead to gender inequality within households in Lamontville. This chapter begins by providing the characteristics of participants and then outlines the main findings from the interviews. This chapter then discusses some of the main themes that emerged from the interviews including household structures, women's participation in community projects, access to education of children, economic opportunities for women, experiences of domestic abuse, and the influence of legislation on gender equality. The then chapter ends with a brief summary of the main findings.

4.2 Sample characteristics

Table 4.1 displays the sample characteristics of participants. For this study, twenty participants were sampled including five males and fifteen females. The sample included more women because they were most likely to be available in the households during fieldwork, and they had reported that their partners (men) were at work. Table 4.1 shows that a majority of women were unemployed and mostly were over the age of 40 years and married. The sample of this study included participants over the ages of 30 years, and it was clear that the most recruited participants were over the ages of 40 years. It was interesting to see that most participants recruited were either married or had divorced or widowed. In terms of the highest education level achieved by the participants, 16 participants had achieved matric, but only 8 participants had matric and a higher education qualification.

Table 4.1: Sample characteristics

Participant identifier	Sex	Age	Occupation	Marital status	Education level
Participant 1	Female	45	Unemployed	Married	Matric
Participant 2	Male	33	Engineer	Married	Diploma
Participant 3	Female	32	Unemployed	Married	Matric
Participant 4	Female	47	NGO worker	Married	Matric
Participant 5	Female	41	Unemployed	Married	Matric
Participant 6	Female	50	Unemployed	Married	Matric
Participant 7	Female	54	Retired teacher	Married	Degree
Participant 8	Female	47	Lawyer	Married	Degree
Participant 9	Female	44	Unemployed	Widower	Matric
Participant 10	Female	55	Retired soldier	Married	Diploma
Participant 11	Female	45	Unemployed	Married	Grade 10
Participant 12	Female	46	Housewife	Married	Matric
Participant 13	Female	47	Unemployed	Divorcee	Degree
Participant 14	Male	49	A gardener	Married	None
Participant 15	Male	50	Lecturer	Married	Masters
Participant 16	Female	45	Unemployed	Married	None
Participant 17	Female	40	Unemployed	Married	None
Participant 18	Male	45	Engineer	Married	Degree
Participant 19	Male	36	Construction worker	Married	Diploma
Participant 20	Female	48	Unemployed	Married	None

4.3. Household structure

Households in Lamontville consisted of larger nuclear families that are a combination of both the nuclear and extended families. In this area, there are nuclear families with fathers, mothers and children living together. In addition, there are also uncles, aunts, grandparents and other relatives of the extended family living together. Interestingly, the number of family members within a household determined the number of duties that is required to be

performed and reflects to a great extent how gender roles operates within this space. This was explained by one female participant.

> *"Just like places around here, the family is very large. From the farm to our daily lives, we usually share the roles we perform. Women and young girls have their own duties and the men and young boys have theirs."* (Participant 12, age 46, female)

The performance of household roles within families are often gendered as noted above. Most times and in line with the arguments in literature, women are assigned responsibility for household chores. Women are required to perform household roles as primary care givers including cooking, cleaning, washing and tendering to the many domestic needs of members of the household. Moreover, women perform tasks that are often very exhausting and time consuming within the home front but are not given sufficient credit economically for these duties (Alabi, Seedat-Khan and Abdullahi, 2019). Furthermore, women have more duties to do at home such as cleaning, cooking and looking after the children while majority of men go to work only this shows that women are still regarded as household managers even after the implementation of democracy.

> *"We are a large family and that puts me more under pressure, I work tirelessly to provide food for my children and my husband when they leave and come back from school and work. It is just one cycle every day."* (Participant 3, aged 32, female).

In the interviews, it was also clear that women in households with fewer members are more likely to receive support from their male partners and therefore perform less tedious domestic roles. Men were more likely to share in household duties in smaller households. Thus, one can argue that household composition may affect women's perception of gender roles. In addition, meeting the economic needs of smaller households tends to be easier because there are not so many dependents that needs to be fed, clothed and catered for. It is also noticeable from the narratives of women from these smaller households that, it is more of a nuclear family set up, and men and women are more collaborative in the running of the household.

4.3.1. Poverty and gender inequality

Women spend a disproportionate amount of time on activities in the households but their contribution is not properly recognised. For instance, despite the large amount of energy dispensed in the execution of these domesticated responsibilities, these are not calculated in the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) index because it is not remunerated. It is better we build on the economic value women contribute. The International Labour Organization (ILO, 2010) also reported that the generic assessment of domestic work globally is that it is undervalued, underpaid, unprotected and poorly regulated in spite of the enormous contribution that is made to the welfare and wellbeing of the home from this quarter. It must be remembered that most of this work is carried out by women and children. Because not much value is attached to this type of work, recognition is not given to the commitment and hard work that goes into keeping the home front functional. In fact, in some instances these physically draining chores are dismissed by spouses. It is important to add some social and economic value to these types of responsibilities as it will significantly influence gender relations between spouses within familial terrains.

> *"It is unfortunate that all the household duties we do as women are not recognised. I spend so much of my time, taking care of everyone in the household and with that time; I should be doing something else that is valuable and beneficial for myself like investing in my future through education." (Participant 3, aged 32, female)*

Trivialising women's domestic contribution in Lamontville further deepens the gendered nature of economic inequality. Additionally, poverty and gender inequality are closely related, especially in developing countries where women perform unremunerated domestic responsibilities within large families (Dormekpor, 2015). While there is a close relationship between poverty and gender inequality, these social ills manifest in unequal hierarchal structures within societies where women are usually at the bottom and men at the top. Supporting this argument is one of the female participants who mentioned that:

> *"We have been doing our best and sacrificed a lot for family by cooking, cleaning and catering for children, husband and other members of the family. It is draining and time consuming but nobody really recognises us. Women are not*

given much recognition are not valued enough for the amount of work we do at
home." (Participant, 20, aged 48, female)

Kraus (2002) argued that women take care of a family of eight or more living in one household, and they make sure that everyone is fed equally whilst the only duty that men have within these homes is the provision of money which sometimes is not enough. Larger households in Lamontville usually include multiple family members from the extended family other than biological children as Participant 12 had mentioned. When a family member passes on and leaves behind children, these children are usually taken to live with their aunts or grandmother. Subsequently, this often increases the responsibility of caregiving that these women perform. It was not uncommon in this community that children who have lost their parents become the responsibilities of relatives. Zuo (2000) argued that as family size increases, the amount of domesticated responsibilities women have to perform also increases. It is tantamount to adding up the workload without compensation or recognition. Women often have to be creative to manage scarce household resources and have to improvise to make sure everyone is catered for. This puts an enormous stress and pressure on women but often they rise to the challenge in order to fulfil their expected roles in the household. One participant noted:

"If the family members are large in numbers and there is not enough food in the
house, as a woman; you always find the means to make more. My children, nieces
and husband will never go to bed hungry, while I am still alive." (Participant 6,
age 50, female)

Lamontville is a small township with large family structures in one household. Larger families are vulnerable to poverty because they require more money since there are more people to feed in the household. Furthermore, since men are usually the breadwinners of these large families, they do not contribute much and that leaves the wife with the burden to try to make ends meet and find ways to feed the whole family. Interestingly, some women interviewed in this study find the performance of domestic roles as biological or natural. Women who believe in this perceived these responsibilities as part of their cultural responsibility. One of the participants noted that:

"I as a woman, it is a natural instinct to look after your children and husband
and do laundry and other duties in the house." (Participant 8, age 47, female)

45

4.3.2. Uneven distribution of household resources

Gender roles also affects the distribution of resources and opportunities within the household. The distribution of resources in the household are not allocated evenly. Resources are often gendered and generally favours men above women. For instance, it is not just that women might not have the finance to purchase land, some cultural practices and beliefs also prevents women buying land. In addition, women are often considered within the 'secondary right' domain when it comes to land ownership and acquisition, they can only inherit the land when their husband passes on. Also, other women were not allowed to own land. These inequalities are very rampant in all sphere of society and affect resource distribution. Social privileges put men at an advantage over women. One participant noted:

> *"When my husband passed, I was left with nothing. He did not leave a single cent for his children to further their studies. We were forced to move out of his mother's house because I could not inherit the home since it was my husband's family house and as a woman, it was passed down to the brother that comes after him, I had no say in the matter."* (Participant 9, aged 44, female)

> *"My husband did not buy the house that we live in now. It was inherited from his father. His sisters did not inherit anything from their father. This goes to show that in the olden days, men were the only people allowed to own land."* (Participant 20, aged 48, female)

Despite the fact that society has evolved and is more urbanised, certain cultural practices continue to be prevalent in guiding how the social life of people are organised. The narrative above shows that men express their patriarchal traits by not giving women rights to ownership of land and in return women feel left out in society. In most contexts, men exert enormous control in the household, and they are the primary decision-makers and this can be linked to their control of what happens within the household and the land that they own. Women and men are not given the same treatment within the household, men tend to be treated with more respect than women and they get more of everything served in the household such as food.

4.3.3. Gendered responsibilities in the household

Women have always been characterised as "homemakers". Their normative cultural responsibilities include taking care of children among other domesticated roles. Hence, women within households work tirelessly for hours, because they have many responsibilities to take care of at home as explained above. This research explores how the domestic roles and responsibilities such as caring of children are highly gendered in the Lamontville township. It is important to understand why male hegemony persists within the community. The narratives of the women interviewed in this study shows that they are usually under pressure to carry out enormous household responsibilities. Hence, they are required to wake up very early while others are still sleeping to cook, clean, do laundry and get children ready for school. For these women, their lives are completely consumed with household responsibilities and they have less time on other activities. One of the participants described her daily routine in the following manner:

> *"I am a full-time house wife and mother. I cook and clean the house and make*
> *sure that when my husband arrives at home all tasks are done. I was trained at a*
> *young age how to do house chores. I did not just choose to be like this, this is how*
> *I was trained and what I was taught to do."* (Participant 6, aged 50, female)

From this narrative, it is evident that gender roles are reproduced in the socialisation processes because of the way women are brought up. They have internalised their social positions and affirm that it is a normative natural responsibility for women to be domesticated. Through the process of gender socialisation, members of societies associate certain behaviours and roles with specific genders and have expectations of them (Alabi, Seedat-Khan and Abdullahi, 2019). There are men that assist women in the household by taking care of the children, but this is not very common among the sampled participants in Lamontville. Two male participants had differing views. Participant 19 believes that women should be assisted in the household while participant 14 believes that a man should bring money in the household rather than helping with the chores. These views all come from a personal point of view of how a person was brought up, this can be derived from the microsystem which was defined as the environment that an individual is most comfortable in when growing up, this is the cause of having different views in the society about gender roles.

"The house chores should not be limited to women alone. I assist my wife with daily chores when she cooks, I clean, there is a division of labour which makes it easier for us and not all burden of the home duties is on one person. I believe men should assist their wives or partners in all areas but a lot of my friends and male colleagues will tell you that the duty of men does not belong in the kitchen or household duties." (Participant 19, aged 36, Male)

"How do you expect a man to be in the kitchen? I don't buy that idea. Normally men go to work and earn money for the family and not stay at home. Women do not have a lot on their backs. The only way to assist is to sort out the bills." (Participant 14, aged 49, Male)

In most households there appears to be a clear division of labour with men expected to go out and earn a wage and women expected to stay at home and take care of household chores. Most of the men interviewed in this study do not contribute to carrying out various tasks within the household because they believe it is not their duty, and this makes it difficult for women to juggle all the household chores. The involvement of men within households is crucial to the reduction of gender inequalities. With the reduction of these gender role inequities, there is likely to be a reduction in women's marginalisation and exploitation, as much as they are initiatives that are implemented to reduce gender inequality in South Africa, but household gender inequalities still exist even after democracy.

4.4. Women's participation in community projects

This study also examined women's participation in community projects to assess gender mainstreaming. Interestingly, there are community projects within Lamontville that are targeted at empowering women and educating them on gender related issues. These projects are designed to ameliorate deepening levels of gender inequality and poverty especially amongst women and children in the community. One such projects are Thembalethu Care Centre that just recently changed its name to Florence Madlala Organisation. Florence Madlala Organisation was established in 2002 with the aim of eradicating poverty and marginalisation of women in the community. The organisation feeds children that cannot afford nutritious daily foods whilst also strengthening the community by raising issues that affect them, one of them being gender inequality. The organisation also employs the services of women in carrying out its activities. One of the participants mentioned that:

"Having been unemployed for over 10 years, the Thembalethu Care Centre had appointed me to cook for children every morning. Having to make my own money in the side helped me to support my family since my husband was retrenched at work." (Participant 4, aged 47, female)

Most of the women in Lamontville who are breadwinners in their family are either doing piece jobs on the side or engaging in community projects. The projects that take place in the community empower women to voice their opinions on issues that occur in the community and take part in the decision-making process. Women are engaging in such projects to help strengthen the people of Lamontville by feeding the poor and addressing issues affecting the community. Most women in the community are not aware of such projects in Lamontville, this can be due to being trapped in the household as highlighted by one participant who had mentioned that she felt trapped in her own home. These projects give women an opportunity not just to earn some money but to also participate in the micro decision-making process.

Women empowerment can be enhanced through the provision of greater access for women to get educated and the creation of opportunities for them to participate in decision-making processes like what is observable at the Lamontville community projects. These social and economic capital investments in women goes a long way in addressing the inequities at the home front. Women in the past were not allowed to participate in community projects since they were only perceived as homemakers, hence; there is gradual change because it is evident that more women are getting involved in community projects and other aspects of society they were historically dominated by men. One of the female participants described how this has led to women empowerment.

"These projects help women to acquire skills, some of us can now do things we couldn't do before. We learn how to do business, enjoy support and advice. When we acquire these various skills like tailoring and fisheries; they also give us money to start the business and support us all through. As women we can now make some money and support our family and children. It is a very good thing and we need more of this." (Participant 11, aged 45, female)

4.5. Gender role and access to education of children

Education is a necessity for every individual in the world, as stated by the United Nations that everyone has the right to education (Caswell et al. 2008). Education has the power to

eradicate abuse, rape, gender inequality and all issues that affect the today's society. However, Alabi and Durowaiye (2017) argued that women's access to higher education is impeded by various socio-cultural factors. Educating a woman in a highly patriarchal society is not seen as a worthwhile investment, compared to educating a man because they are often likely to become a housewife and perform household duties. This perception was supported by one participant who stated that she felt trapped within the household. She felt seriously disadvantaged because she was not able to continue with her education. It was clear that in some instance marriage often puts an end to education and career aspirations of women.

> *"I was not allowed to continue with my studies after I got married. I was forced to become a wife and a mother, so I did not get the chance to further my studies. This has left a mark in my life; it has made me realise that I shouldn't have gotten married at such a young age."* (Participant 11, aged 45, female)

From this participant's perspective, the value of education cannot be overstated especially for women that seek to be incorporated in broader spheres of the society. This participant brings to light how marriage makes women's educational dreams short-lived. In some cases, women become too invested in their marriage they forget to pursue their own dreams first and it also not as easy to pursue these dreams after getting married. Women need to be supported to attain the level of education they desire like their male counter parts, and this will give them an opportunity to compete favourably in the labour market. Recognising the gender gap in education, the World Bank (1998) mentioned that there are various stereotypes within societies that place women far below men in social status, educational attainment and vocational operations. Moreover, like Alabi and Durowaiye (2017, p.2) who argued that "enhancing women's full participation in the educational sector as well as other units of the society will be recognising the weight of benefits and contributions, they could bring on board." Furthermore, another female participant highlighted the importance of education to achieving inclusivity within society.

> *"For women to break out of the shell of subordination by men, it will take courageous minds and the empowerment of notable women in the society by creating a free access to education, educating women on gender equality and making us have that notion that we are not just home makers, we can actually have good outstanding careers and can get to the peak of their career. We need to empower women by investing in their education."* (Participant 7, aged 54, female)

Access to education does not only give women a qualification but also makes them more enlightened and informed members of the population and society at large. Gender transformation cannot fully materialise until women enjoy the same support, opportunity and skills in all sectors including education like their male counterparts. Creating more opportunities for women's economic independence is a crucial tool for addressing the gendered nature of poverty. However, it is important to examine narratives that describes women's economic empowerment as threatening to hegemonic masculinity. Women in townships such as Lamontville are not supported enough when they take up jobs that will make them economically independent. This implies that even until now, children are taught to see boys and girls differently. Women also respect and adhere to gender norms in the household. One of the participants mentioned that:

> *"I am a lawyer and my husband is a traffic policeman. As much as I hold a higher academic status, when I am home, I become a mother and a wife. I do not have a helper; I do all chores in my house alone. We both contribute in the household and I never make him feel less of a man because he does not have a law degree."* (Participant 8, aged 47, female)

In some households, status does not matter as long as there is respect for each other. As much as this participant's husband agreed for her to go to school, things were not changed in household, she finally obtained that law degree. The education of women thus gives them better economic opportunities but, in most cases, does not relieve them of their domestic responsibilities in the home. In fact, most career women, like the participant above, juggle their jobs and their household responsibilities. This opens up a new conversation around the effect of gender roles on women's opportunities. While women might have a better opportunity to be educated and enter into the world of work, it does not necessarily mean that they are less committed to their domestic role. Mainstreaming gender in this case would imply the performance of tasks within the household without gender labels.

4.6. Economic opportunities available to women

The emasculation of men due to women's economic empowerment is a narrative that is recurrent among the women interviewed in this study. They noticed that most times men are the breadwinners in the home and women are dependent on them. A participant narrated this in the following manner.

"It is good for women to be able to earn their own money and be independent but you must think of how this will make your man feel. What will he think? This tarnishes the image of men sometimes. This can be disturbing for most men, and that is why some men do not want their partners to work. If the woman depends on them for everything, then they can control her and tell her what to do." (Participant 19, aged 36, male)

From the narrative above it is clear that some of the women in this study believe that women's economic empowerment may not only represent a threat to the male dominance in the household but may also result in violence against women since women who earn more than men are likely to be victims of GBV especially if they are involved or married because a majority of men are intimidated by women who earn more than them so they, in return become violent. Furthermore, some other factors that could further exacerbate this is pay difference, and these women believe that there is more tension within the home if the woman earns more than the man does. It is typical for men to want to be in control within the household and community. Normative characteristics of masculinity embraces bravery, superiority, leadership qualities and show of strength among others.

4.6.1. The concept of 'breadwinner'

A breadwinner is defined as a person who earns an income to support his or her family (Vapnek, 2009). Participants in this study believed that while it is traditional to think of men as breadwinners within households, however; in contemporary society, a bread winner is anyone irrespective of gender that contribute most significantly to family income, someone who provides for the needs of their family. For instance, the following participants effectively describe this:

"Breadwinners are mostly men in the household, but there is a pattern of women that have entered the labour market to provide their families and this is gradually altering the economic composition of households within townships." (Participant 15, aged 50, male)

"A person who is superior, who is in charge of all activities and provides all households needs. Breadwinners are usually males in the family. Breadwinners are the providers in the family, so you look up to them and these people are

usually the most consulted when family decisions need to be made. Their opinions matter the most." (Participant 10 aged 55, female)

According to Patel and Hoch Feld (2011), most men in South Africa are providers to their families, and money that they earn is used for food and essential goods needed in the household. While this narrative might be consistent with normative expectations, findings of this study suggests that women are also beginning to occupy this position of being economic pillars within household.

"I am currently contributing more in groceries than my husband since I get paid more. It is never an issue to me because I know that he also contributes where he can. We help each which is what I think all married couples should do, I never belittle him when it comes to the money he contributes at home" (Participant 8, aged 47, female).

Hence, it is no longer about gender but about the person who possesses the most resources. As described by Lall (2006), the economic privilege men enjoy is influenced by the migration of men from rural areas to urban centres in search of good paying jobs to support their families. However, it has now become very prevalent that men and women relocate to urban centres for better economic opportunities. While men still dominate as breadwinners, women are becoming more aware of the opportunities available in utilising their skills in remunerated employment and are migrating for better opportunities.

The aforementioned narrative about men being the sole breadwinner is considered as increasing pressure faced by men, a view that is widely supported by the male participants. They feel this puts men under a lot of pressure, and sometimes all of their salaries go to the household including black tax, which is also a strain on them. One of the male participants in this study has the following to say about the economic burden men face within households.

"As a man I feel weak if I cannot provide for my family, which is why I try by all means to work hard even though sometimes I feel as if I am failing. We as men carry out this persona as if we are strong just to make the people around us happy." (Participant 2, aged 33, male)

Men as providers are under pressure, everything in the household that needs financial assistance are often directed to men. As explained above, the need to provide for the financial

needs of their families constantly put them under pressure to work extra hard, and not been able to meet these needs often drive several men into seeking solace in alcohol which potentially leads to varying forms of abuse within the household. Women on the other hand as household managers manage the house and look after the children at home but are not regarded as breadwinners in most cases.

There is a slight increase in the number of women entering the labour market and becoming breadwinners, notwithstanding that this is still minimal. More interestingly, family structures are being altered by certain factors like the loss of the family breadwinner, which is usually the man or husband in most cases. Hence, women are usually left with no other option than to step outside the home to fend for their families and attend to their financial needs. This reflects changes from the normative traditional practice where the widowed woman is usually required to marry her brother-in-law (Zuo and Tang, 2000). In this regard, Lesthaeghe (2007) noted that it used to be the role of the man to provide for the family, but as women became more liberated, they also become breadwinners of the household. One of the participants, who had lost her husband explained in some detail.

"Since my husband died, I was forced to go look for employment so that I can provide for my children. As much as I would be wrong if I said I am glad my husband passed, but I feel more liberated since I can go to school even at an older age and earn a living and provide for my children." (Participant 9, age 44, female)

Most women in marriages are forced to live in a certain way because they need to abide to the traditional norms of the society, and this often limits the opportunities women have for social and economic mobility. Women still occupy secondary rights in communities today, hence; in most rural areas land is in the custody of the head of the household (Walker, 2005). Some of these are evidence of the level of gender inequalities experienced within rural communities. As much as men are traditionally regarded as "breadwinners" in the household, it is observable that the majority of these men do not support their families.

"They spend their money on nearest taverns in the Lamontville; this causes strain on women in the household since they are expected to find means to provide for their families, even if they are unemployed. Work within the household is

demanding and I feel that men also need to assist if they are at home rather than
drinking with their friends in taverns" (Participant 5, aged 41, female)

Most households are forced to live under such conditions where men do not support the households. Money coming in the household is used for alcohol consumption. The household is forced to look for other means to make money and support the family. In this case women make means to provide for their families – some women do this without the consent of the head of the household. One of the participants described how many men are breadwinners that only provide for the family, but are not family oriented and never show empathy and love towards their loved ones. Their salaries do not go towards supporting their families but instead they use it to purchase alcohol consumption and other meaningless articles. He narrated:

> *"You see we are actually indirectly producing men that do not care as much. So, what*
> *we see these days are men who have money but do not take care of their families,*
> *rather all they think of is themselves. They will now tell you taking care of family is an*
> *unfair taxation. It is very funny but the reality of our society."* (Participant 15, aged
> 50, male)

In addition, it was observed that due to the economic gap between men and women, older women noted that marriage gave them a sense of financial security. For them getting married to much older successful men meant that they had secured a certain level of economic security for themselves and their children. For these women, empowerment was not necessarily about entering the economic institution to sell their skill for wages but about getting married to wealthy older men that could take care of them and their children. One of the participants noted that,

> *"One thing I regret not doing when I was young was to further my education. As*
> *much as my husband works and provides for us, he also shows his masculinity at*
> *home because we depend on him. He is the decision-maker and breadwinner in*
> *the household, my opinion does not matter."* (Participant 16, aged 45, female)

Many women get married at an early age because they want to secure their future, especially by marrying older men. This type of marriages can be harmful in the end considering the fact that men enjoy a higher social status within society. Implicatively, the woman will have to be completely reliant on the man for everything. The percentage of breadwinners that are men in

Lamontville is quite higher than women. Out of the 20 participants that were interviewed in Lamontville, 17 households consider men as breadwinners. This reveals that within many homes in Lamontville, women are still very dependent on their male spouse for financial support. As clarified earlier, this is due to the fact that many of these women perform domesticated responsibilities that are not remunerated but rather seen as natural roles for women. Nonetheless, both men and women are capable of being breadwinners and as a result offer strong financial support within the household if they are exposed to similar opportunities and life chances.

The influence of patriarchal cultural beliefs that privileges men is very evident within this community and it is one of the factors impeding gender equality. For that reason, it is important to re-examine socio-cultural beliefs and practice that are gender exclusive and limiting for women's emancipation. Considering the fact that men are the major breadwinners and economic pillars of families, the onus of decision making is not just culturally wielded to them but structurally favours them. Hence, the decisions within households in particular and society in general is an exclusive privilege of the male gender.

4.6.2. The gendered nature of decision making

Men are often the privileged members of households. They enjoy privileges that put them above women at the cultural, social, political and economic spheres of society. Notwithstanding, various progressive approaches have sought and still continue to advocate for gender mainstreaming and the inclusion of women in various cadre of decision making within society. Catacutan, McGaw and Llanza (2014) argued that several women are excluded from decision making processes within households, community and society at large, and there is a need to intensify measures and initiative directed at empowering women. However, regardless of the enhanced opportunities and inclusion of women within the spheres of the economy, there is still a great gender divide. One of the participants mentioned that:

> *"When it comes to household affairs, I don't get involved because I am not the head of this family, my husband is. I cannot make simple decisions such as choosing schools for my children because I am not the one paying the fees and my husband makes that very clear to me. I cannot work and engage with activities*

done in the community; my duty is to look after the household, anything beyond that is disrespecting my husband." (Participant 11, aged 45, female)

Strongly influencing the dominance of men within the household and society at large are cultural beliefs and practices that legitimise the performance of gender roles. However, these gender roles are disadvantageous to women in most cases and very limiting and hindering of their progress and empowerment. Kraus (2002) noted that gender inequality further exacerbate poverty among women as poverty is more feminised because it affects more women than men. Interestingly, some men during the interviews believes that the women empowerment requires a collaborative effort. Moreover, it requires that men recognise the privileges they have culturally enjoyed over the years, and must do everything to ensure gender balance. One of the male participants noted that:

"Women can work in corporate places, mines and be engineers other than being at home and doing household chores. Men can resolve these disparities by changing their attitudes and engaging women in decision-making, labour markets and other tasks done by men. The attitude of men need to be shifted and changed in order to achieve gender equality. The men that resist changing their behaviours in the household are the ones that abuse their partners." (Participant 15, aged 50, male)

It is very interesting to engage men who think that gender equality is progressive in society. These group of men believe in the enormous potential women can contribute to all spheres of society and they are opinionative and believe that women can make a difference if they were given an equal platform as men in society and within the household. Another participant corroborated this and stated:

"I do whatever it takes for my wife to participate in decision-making in the household, we are married after all. I believe that men and women should work together to solve household issues. A man alone cannot function well enough without a woman." (Participant 18, aged 45, male)

So many gendered issues are a product of gender inequality in the society and they affect women more than they affect men. Interestingly, the promotion of gender equality is a discussion that is problematic for most men. As the call for gender equality deepens, it is important to note that it will definitely require the removal of certain cultural norms that have

been practiced over the years that reproduce gender inequalities in society. Also, in order for this to be a success societal and household responsibility, there will be a need distribute skills and contribution, and not by gender.

4.7. Experiences of domestic abuse

Gender-based violence (GBV) remains a barrier towards achieving gender equality for all citizens of South Africa. Of the 15 female interviewed, two of them mentioned that their partners had physically abused them. In the interviews, female participants expressed their views and perceptions on domestic abuse within the households in Lamontville. One of the female participants mentioned that:

> *"My husband is 10 years older than me and we have been married for 12 years. My husband used to exercise his power on me physically especially after we got married. He lost his job in 2014, and things started getting out of hand. He went through depression and had a drinking problem. You stay in marriage not for yourself but for your children to grow up with both parents and ensure they live in a stable home where there is a mother and a father. Some women stay because they are scared that they will be the talk of the town when they get divorced."*
> (Participant 17, aged 40, female)

This narrative brings to the fore some essential points that needs to be explored about the prevalence of domestic violence within households. The participant narrated that domestic violence is more persistent within homes when women are not economically empowered. This narrative was unpacked earlier in this chapter, especially how the use of alcohol could exacerbate the spate of GBV and abuse within households. Interestingly, an emerging perspective is how socio-cultural stigma and gender cultural expectations keep women trapped in abusive relationships. One participant noted that women are culturally expected to get married and stay married, this implies that divorce is culturally stigmatised and usually considered the failing of a woman within the marriage. In addition, children are one of the major reasons, as women remain in some abusive relationships because they have limited economic power to take care of their children if they were to leave their husbands. The upkeep of their children is usually the sole responsibility of men, hence; divorce will imply putting the children through financial stress.

Addressing gender inequalities will go a long way in addressing issues facing women like intimate partner violence (IPV) and other abuses based on gender. The reproduction and performance of discriminatory and subjugating gender roles will continually put women and children at arm's length within household especially in rural areas and townships. A female participant had the following to say:

> *"It all starts when partners within the household do not respect each other and chores are not done fairly, violence start abruptly. We hear of the number of women murdered in this country every day by their partners; the number of children assaulted or beaten by the fathers. This is very disturbing honestly. And children are learning, especially young boys, imagine children growing up in a home where the father abuses and beats the mother, the boy is being taught being aggressive is part of being a man, and the girl is accepting that life is just unfair to women like this."* (Participant 6, aged 50, female)

Based on the narratives of participants in this study, GBV within household in Lamontville though not completely eradicated, is declining. The majority of the participants showed a concern for domestic violence within the households in Lamontville, while some other participant expressed serious concerns for the very limited households where GBV is prevalent, one of the participants noted that:

> *"The abuse started when he got a job – He used the money on his friends and he would come back home drunk and start using me as a punching bag. I was in denial thinking it would stop until it came to a point where my children could no longer take it too…Abuse is abuse; it can never be sugar coated!"* (Participant 5, aged 41, female)

From the findings of this study, socio-economic dependence as well as various socio-cultural factors expecting women to be submissive, tolerant and keep her home are part of the factors perpetuating IPV, and trapping women in abusive relationships. Gender inequality remains a major issue in South Africa, and it perpetuates other issues such as GBV and IPV.

4.8. The influence of legislation on gender equality

The government of South Africa had implemented a number of legislations to address and alleviate the levels of gender inequality within the household. The Domestic Violence Act

(DVA) and Affirmative Action and Employment Equity (AAEE) were amongst the few that were implemented by the government to secure and to protect the rights of citizens (Mathur-Helm, 2005). Women and children were the main focus when implementing these legislations since they are the most vulnerable group within most households. While these acts have helped ameliorate the conditions of women and children in the household, it is important to examine the lived experiences of women. Additionally, the government of South Africa has set targets to alleviate poverty and gender inequality by the end of 2015, and studies indicate that the road to equality in South Africa is quite challenging because of eminent socio-cultural beliefs that subjugate women in particular (Hills, 2015). The AAEE was put into play to put all designated groups within the labour market, and this was done to try to alleviate the marginalisation of women and the black population in South Africa in order to involve them in decision making processes (Mathur-Helm, 2005). However, these goals have not been holistically achieved.

In order to achieve equality for all, South Africa has implemented gender mainstreaming to make men and women the centre of development in striving to achieve equality not only within the households but in communities too. Men and women both have the potential to eradicate gender inequality by working together in creating a more gender balanced society. Gender mainstreaming was implemented for men, women and children who were and are still affected by gender inequality. As much as it has been implemented to improve the lives of citizens, not everyone shares the same sentiments that it has to improve their lives. Hence, there is a need for more gender inclusive initiatives that are targeted at women in urban townships. Some participants mentioned that:

> *"The government is not doing enough to help women. Almost every day they are new cases of abuse. There are not a lot of projects that happen within the townships, the government needs to look at strategies that will benefit us too. We are tired of hearing the laws says this and that when nothing changes. Practical initiatives must be implemented to assist women."* (Participant 13, aged 47, female)

> *"Being a young man in South Africa, you need to accept that people are going to box you with men that have abused or raped women. My parents taught me the power of respect, they taught me to respect and never lay a hand on women even if she is wrong. Women are not given much support in townships because the*

townships are neglected. The law should punish offenders, that is if they get to the court but do not really address the factors that makes these gender inequalities continue. For me, that is a gap that needs to be filled." (Participant 2, aged 33, male)

The participants mentioned how women can be psychologically affected when they are neglected or treated unfairly, and this often leads to depression and anxiety. These are some of the problems that women in Lamontville go through on a daily basis. Domestic violence remains a serious problem in South Africa and it needs to be addressed accordingly. The government needs to engage with communities about the issues of gender inequality to develop initiatives that will not just reprimand those who commit these acts but initiative that will address the socio-cultural conditions reproducing gender inequality within communities.

4.9. Summary

It was evident from the findings that men are the breadwinners within the households of Lamontville and this affects the nature of gender inclusivity within the households. In cases where women relied absolutely on their husbands, their opportunities became very limited. This contributes to limited contribution to the decision-making processes of the household, and women's voices are usually not heard since they do not contribute significantly to the economic capital of the household. In addition, the chapter provided narratives around domestic violence in Lamontville, and it was argued that gender inequality exacerbates the prevalence and incidence of domestic violence in general and intimate partner violence in particular. Finally, the experiences of women in Lamontville was discussed in relation to gender equality legislation in South Africa. While there are significant improvements in the gender relational processes, there is a need for initiatives that will address the socio-cultural conditions reproducing gender inequality in societies and in the household.

CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study investigated the factors exacerbating gender role disparities within households in Lamontville, Durban in South Africa. This chapter provides an overview of the key findings from the in-depth interviews. This study draws on the three systems of the Bronfenbrenner Ecological Systems Theory (EST) to understand human behaviour in the social context. In this chapter the key findings are compared with previously published literature to show if there are any consistencies. The chapter ends with an outline of key recommendations pertaining to this research and also highlights future research in this field.

5.2 Discussion

In this study, it was clear that gender roles are very diverse, and the practices and responsibilities assigned to people based on their biological sex are culturally rooted and socially constructed. This implies that gender roles are dynamic and varies across cultures, socio-economic backgrounds, places and time (Dormekpor, 2015; Ferree, 2010; Walby, 1990). As noted, the overall aim of this study sought to understand the factors deepening gender role disparities within households.

Previous research show that gender role is often influenced by the structure and composition of the household (Dormekpor, 2015; Ferree, 2010; Walby, 1990). The EST theory suggest that women and men are likely to embrace the gender roles that they were taught when they were younger (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). From an early age, children are trained or taught to gender role at home or at school (Paquette and Ryan, 2001). It was clear from the participants that most households in the Lamontville township are made up of extended families, and are made up of uncles, aunts, grandparents and other relatives living in the same household. Interestingly, this study found that as household size increases, the deeper the disparities of gender roles and the more likely women are to perform domestic responsibilities in the household. Women's roles within households are largely considered domestic, as they are expected to take care of all members of the household. In line with a study by Ali et al. (2011), the power gradient between men and women was found, with men holding a superior

62

position in relation to women and the role of the extended family were considered to interact to suppress women.

Women are continually expected to perform a range of household chores including cooking, cleaning and doing laundry. Female participants in this study noted that household chores tend to be tedious to be carried out as they are expected to look after the whole family and ensure that children were fed, the house was clean and the husband comes home with dinner ready. Consistent with previous literature; women are expected to do household chores, care for children, husband and in-laws (Ali et al., 2011). The way women behave in the household has a direct impact on the child's development. The microsystem is relevant in today's society, as it has a huge impact on the development of men and women. Consequently, it highlights that gender roles that are practised by men and women are influenced by the traditional roles that were practised either at home or schools (Bronfenbrenner, 1986).

The trivialisation of women's roles and responsibilities within the home front is argued in the literature to deepen the economic gap between men and women. In line with the study conducted by Hochschild, and Machung (2012), which found that the domestic responsibilities performed by women include child bearing, looking after and educating children, washing clothes, cooking food and growing food for home use. In addition, a mother taking care of children during working hours is not financially rewarded, while professional care givers receive remuneration for the same job and are considered in the economic statistics (Boserup, 2007). Furthermore, during the interviews; female participants mentioned in the interviews that they wake up early in the mornings to prepare children for school, clean the house and cook, they take on more responsibilities in the household than men and hardly get compensated for the work they do. In addition, the men in the household mainly bring in the income for the family and hardly contribute towards house chores.

One of the main concerns mentioned by female participants in this study was that their contribution within the home front is not recognised as economically significant. This is well explained by Alabi (2019) who argued that women perform tasks that are often very tiring and time consuming within the home front but are not credited economically for these duties. Moreover, despite the large amount of energy dispensed in the execution of these domestic responsibilities, their contribution is not adequately captured in economic statistics. As the gender economic gap becomes wider between men and women, it is important to note the effect it has on visibility of social structures and political cadres. It was clear in the study that

the close relationship between gender inequality and poverty entrenches unequal structural hierarchies across various spheres of society where women are usually at the bottom and their male counterparts at the privileged top.

While most of the participants in this study consider the gender roles that women perform as demanding and unfair to their personal aspirations, economic growth, social standing and political recognition; some women in this study believed that these roles and responsibilities are natural and instinctive. This clear distinction of gender roles is explained by Blackstone (2003), who found that gender roles are often discussed in terms of an individual's gender role orientation, which is typically described as either traditional or non-traditional. Traditional gender role orientation emphasizes differences between men and women and assumes that each sex has a natural affinity to particular behaviours, and those who maintain a traditional gender role orientation are likely to be influenced by the rules and rituals of the generations that came before them, by their parents and grandparents (Blackstone, 2003). On the contrary, individuals with non-traditional gender role orientations are more likely to believe that an individual's behaviour is not or should not be determined solely by his or her sex (Blackstone, 2003). This was clear in the study, as participants had different perceptions on gender roles orientation because some women were against these roles, whilst some were for these roles.

During the interviews, the construction of gender roles was noted to impact the distribution and allocation of resources within the household. In line with a variety of studies, which found that societies perceive gender roles for men and women are not the same and women are normally limited and excluded when it comes to resources, economic activities and decision-making processes within their households, and this often leads to higher levels of poverty and lack of security for women (Kraus, 2002; Wombeogo, 2007). Several female participants emphasized that men do not provide enough money to cater for the domestic needs of a large number of family members in their households. Therefore, this becomes the responsibility of women in the household to support their family.

While men are considered more privileged and deserving in the distribution of family wealth and estate, a previous study suggest that a 'good' man is expected to be financially stable and be able to be a good leader and advisor. During the interviews, it was noted that men are seen as more deserving of inheritance than women, as they are likely to own properties such as land and houses, whilst women are left with domestic utilities. Men are often the main

beneficiaries, as they are more likely to carry the family name (Himonga, 2005). In line with a study in Africa, customary laws in Botswana traditionally excluded women from property inheritance (Kalabamu, 2009). In addition, when a man died, the eldest son, if mature, took over his father's position as head of the family and the management of the family cattle. In addition, when a man died before marriage or without a male son, his property was inherited by any male relative (Kalabamu, 2009). This shows how privileged men are when it comes to inheritance of resources. Consistent with previous literature, where daughters and women had cultivation right to a parcel of the family land, however; they could not inherit land rights and they lose all access to the land when the father or husband dies (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 1997).

A majority of men interviewed in this study have similar perceptions in terms of gender roles, with beliefs that gender roles create disparities that do not allow households to fully benefit from the potentials and they mentioned black tax as one of these disparities. According to Mhlongo (2019), black tax is known as an alternative form of social security practised predominantly by black South Africans, and most individuals refer this as a burden to the African middle class. It is believed that black tax was engineered by the apartheid system in South Africa because many black people lost their land and this meant they could not build generational wealth for their children. Therefore, their children will need to work twice as hard to support their families (Mhlongo, 2019). Mhlongo (2019: 5) also noted that that "a black person can earn the same amount as their white counterparts but they will have more financial responsibilities to their family, which is still trapped in poverty due to the inequalities stemming from apartheid and within the households." Therefore, it is argued that poverty and economic deprivation cannot be fully ameliorated if women's economic potentials are not explored or effectively utilised.

The findings of this study also highlighted one of the arguments in the literature that certain gender roles provide an enabling environment for domestic violence or abuse to thrive within households (Jones, Presler-Marshall and Tran, 2014). Two women in this study reported GBV and IPV incidences, and noted that the reason they are still in these relationships was that they are financially dependent on their partners. Interestingly, they also attributed factors leading to feuds to be closely related to the performance of gender roles within the home. This is consistent with findings by Jones et al. (2014), which found that being virile and condoning physical violence against women particularly once a woman is married is prevalent in most cases. Moreover, women have been socialised to accept and tolerate any

type of violence, especially when inflicted by their intimate partners (Giustina, 2008). In addition, women end up tolerating GBV due to reliance on their family or husband's family, and other structural factors including costs associated with seeking services and fear of violent reprisals or loss of financial support often discourage women from seeking legal action (McCleary-Sills et al., 2013).

The economic status of women, as affected by poverty and dependence on men for economic security have also become strong barriers to them leaving an abusive relationship (Vetten, 2005). The findings of this study also argued that apart from the fact that some socio-cultural factors put men in privileged positions, and it also makes it difficult for women to leave abusive relationships. This has been due to women having financially dependence on their male partners, and leaving an abusive relationship most times requires that they take up full responsibility to depend on themselves and their children usually without any support from their partner. When men abuse women, children are likely to learn that behaviour and practice it in their future relationships. The mesosystem in the BES theory notes that the relationship the child has with the parents and the values the child is taught forms an important impact on their development and how they are likely to behave around the broader community, in the household and around peers.

As described by Lall (2006), the economic privilege that some men enjoy is influenced by migrating from rural areas to urban centres in search of good paying jobs to support their families. However, it has now become very prevalent that men and women relocate to urban centres for better economic opportunities, and for different reasons. Some women in study noted their partners had migrated to cities in the past few years in search of better opportunities and they were left at home to take care of children. This was consistent with a study in Malawi, where migration was common and most prevalent among men (Kakota et al., 2011). It was clear also that most men who migrated were attracted by employment opportunities in the urban areas. The exosystem in the BES theory emphasizes that when men relocated from their home countries, they relocated because of job opportunities. Furthermore, this has a positive effect on the family left behind since they receive remittances that they use to support the entire family, however; it could have negative effect on gender roles in the household and on the development of the child.

Men continue to be referred to as breadwinners in the household, and this was relevant in this study, as traditional norms of masculinity require men to be breadwinners, heads of the

household and be the ultimate decision-maker. In a study by ODI (2015), it was suggested that 'good' men in society are expected to be breadwinner, and young boys are expected to learn skills and study hard so that they can have the ability to fulfil their future roles of being breadwinners. Despite the fact that it is normatively believed that men are the breadwinners within households, a majority of men do not support their families and women have to bear a financial burden of caring for the children's basic needs such as providing food and clothing. While men did not agree to this line of thought during the interviews, several women interviewed reiterated the same concern that men are less responsible for their well-being and most times they have to cater for their own needs and their children and other family members within the household.

This study argued that limiting socio-cultural practices, discriminatory and disempowering gender roles within households needs to be addressed. In addition, the disparities in the performance of gender roles cannot be fully addressed if the households' members and communities are not receptive to the idea that individuals can perform any function within the household irrespective of their biological sex or gender category. Most women interviewed in this study narrated how various community initiatives such as the Thembalethu Care Centre in Lamontville have led to their empowerment. In addition, they described how these programmes and initiatives give them opportunities to be adequately represented within the broader community and provide paid employment for them.

All women interviewed in this study mentioned the impact of Thembalethu Care Centre/Florence Madlala Organisation in the emancipation of women, as these organisations targeted the socio-economic empowerment of women addressing the deepening level of poverty and economic inequality within the community. According to Ejumudo (2013), gender equality and women's empowerment has become a catalyst to clear-cut development strategies which is targeted at poverty reduction, improved living standards, good governance and profitably productive investments that are critical to the creation of an enlarged capacity that provide men and women equal opportunity and unrestrained access to decision-making and policy implementation institutions and processes. Interestingly, in the interviews, it was also clear that through platforms like this, women have started gaining more access to education, healthcare and socio-economic opportunities. In addition, this forms as a very good initiative for women struggling with various issues like GBV in their households and

generally, it is believed that these organisations increase household income, reduce hunger and malnutrition in children and improve the standard of living of people.

The impetus adopted by women empowerment initiatives is the training of women in various skilled jobs. For instance, some of these women are skilled to look after and feed the children who are in need. Women in the study mentioned that certain organisations also begin providing start-up loans for these women to start their enterprise after their training. The overall objective behind this is to ensure that women develop highly demanded skills and equip them with managerial and technical capacities to effectively run a business. Consequently, the processes adopted by certain organisations also gives women an opportunity to grow as they are organised into community-based working units, and this however does not change the gender roles within households, as women in paid employments or engaging in community projects continue to spend more hours per day on household duties than do their male counterparts (Galinsky, 2005).

5.3 Recommendations

The structure and gender composition of households affect gender role dynamism, performance and disparity. The implication of this in larger households, the performance and practical visibility of unremunerated normative female gender role is draining for women. This further reiterated arguments in the literature and by the EST theory that gender inequality is taught at home first, and it is from the divisionary and unequal performance of various tasks between men and women. Therefore, it would be important to abandon assumptions, norms and beliefs that privilege one gender above the other and continues to (re) produce gender role disparities. Children should be socialised from early stages of their lives to perform tasks within the home irrespective of their gender, this should be taught at home by their elders. The idea that domestic responsibilities are only supposed to be performed by women and children would need to come to an end in order to achieve gender equality. Moreover, this will give women an opportunity to be exposed to other areas of responsibilities within and outside the home front. Men and women must be seen as equal housework sharers.

One of the fundamental reasons why women's domestic duties are trivialised as emergent from the narratives of participants and in literature is a result of responsibilities, despite it not having an economic value. If the economic contributions of these domestic responsibilities

are recognised, the duties that women perform in households would be considered significant. Interestingly, this would give the government an opportunity to subsidise domestic work. Subsiding domestic work would achieve certain objectives such as encouraging families to outsource domestic work and with the recognition of domestic work as an important part of the labour mark. In addition, this would also discourage families from patronising the black market to hire domestic workers, and to regulate the wages and status of those working within the sector. In this way, it would protect the rights of women who are usually the majority carrying out these tasks.

Models of gender roles involve social and economic justice frameworks that challenge the "status quo" and disrupt cultural customs that lead to the oppression of women and women inequality. This can be achieved by decreasing poverty, increasing social and economic justice, and also ensuring better well-being and empowerment among both men and women (World Bank, 2012). The Commission of Gender Equality in South Africa has been instrumental in changing oppressive gender roles in the country to create a society with greater equality. Community-based initiatives also emerged as one of the platforms empowering women within communities like Lamontville. These programs recognise the challenges of women by empowering and training them with various skill acquisitions programmes and implements context-driven solutions to the challenges facing women. The great work done by these initiatives would need to be encouraged, and the government's role would be to provide more financial support for some of the non-governmental organisations tackling gender inequality from the grassroots level.

As noted by a majority of participants, addressing gender role inequality and empowering women would help reduce the spate of prevalent domestic violence in societies. Further, it is important to note that addressing gender inequality from the home front would produce a ripple effect across various social institutions in South Africa, and this would impact and lead to the desired gender relational transformation. Hence, policy intervention must take cognise of grassroots challenges and the desired change should begin from every micro sector of society and in households. The exosystem from the BES theory outlines how the government and civil society has an influence on individuals' behaviours when policies are implemented. These policies tend to impact the everyday life of participants, and the government should ensure that policies that are implement are inclusive of every gender, socio-economic background and educational level.

While most participants agreed that the spate of domestic violence in Lamontville is on the decline, they still mentioned that policy interventions are required to completely eradicate the menace. To further combat this, it is important to be committed to the spirit of policy initiatives like the Domestic Violence Act (1998) and the Affirmative Action and Employment Equity Act (1998). The policy statements of these initiatives contain recommendations that are not gendered, targeted at creating an inclusive South African society. For instance, the preamble of the Domestic Violence Act (1998) recognises that domestic violence is a social ill that is prevalent in South Africa, and victimising most vulnerable groups of the country such as women and children can be perpetuated in diverse forms. In line with this broad conceptualisation of domestic abuse, this study advances a need to broaden the conceptualisation of what is regarded as domestic abuse to include salient, micro and often ignored actions, acts or behaviours that could and are potentially hurting members of the household. This broader and more nuanced conception will pay crucial attention to normative factors that often perpetuate abuse at the home front.

5.4 Conclusion

The overall aim of the study was to investigate the construction of gender roles and the factors that lead to gender equality with townships in South Africa. The findings indicated that women continue to be burdened by household chores such as cooking, cleaning and doing laundry. It was clear that some men still impose traditional norms that a man is only meant to be a breadwinner in the household, and the majority of men continue to believe that the economic empowerment of women becomes a threat to their hegemonic masculinity. Gender based violence and intimate partner violence was also noted in this study, as some participants noted that they have been previously abused by their husbands and they find it difficult leaving them because they have children together and men are the only providers in the household. During the interviews, female participants voiced out their opinions and views in terms of eradicating gender inequality and disparities in the household, and noted that every individual should be given equal opportunities in terms of education, wages and even in the household with regard to access and distribution of resources. This study showed consistency with previous research, as noted in the discussion section. It was also clear that the Bronfenbrenner Ecological System theory was aligned with some of the findings of this study, and it was outlined how the concept of culture and traditional norms affect children growing up in the society and in households. New findings demonstrated that South Africa is

moving in a positive direction in addressing gender inequality in different spheres of society, as women are now able to head and chair higher positions in the corporate world and are also taking on the role of breadwinners in the household. Future research should investigate how gender roles have changed over time and the focus should be among younger couples.

REFERENCES

Abrahams, N., Mathews, S., Martin, L.J., Lombard, C. and Jewkes, R. (2013). Intimate partner femicide in South Africa in 1999 and 2009. *PLoS Medicine, 10*(4), e1001412.

Adhikari, R. (2010). Demographic, socio-economic, and cultural factors affecting fertility differentials in Nepal. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth, 10*(1), pp.19.

Admassie, A. (2003). Child labour and schooling in the context of a subsistence rural economy: can they be compatible? *International Journal of Educational Development, 23*(2), pp.167-185.

Alabi, O.J. and Durowaiye, B.E. (2017). Financing female higher education: lessons from the experiences of female post-graduate students, university of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Research and Management Technology*, *2*(1), pp.1-18.

Alabi, J.O. and Durowaiye, E.B. (2018). Economic Incentives as a Motivation for Crime in Nigeria: Study of Inmates in Oke-Kura Prison Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria. *Online Journal of Arts, Management & Social Sciences*, *3*(2).

Alabi, O.J., Seedat-Khan, M. and Abdullahi, A.A. (2019). The lived experiences of postgraduate female students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. *Heliyon*, *5*(11).

Alhojailan, M.I. (2012). Thematic analysis: A critical review of its process and evaluation. *West East Journal of Social Sciences*, *1*(1), pp.39-47.

Ali, T.S., Krantz, G., Gul, R., Asad, N., Johansson, E. and Mogren, I. (2011). Gender roles and their influence on life prospects for women in urban Karachi, Pakistan: a qualitative study. *Global Health Action*, *4*(1).

Almiskry, S. F., Baker, R. A., and Mohamed, O. (2009). Gender difference and career choice interest among undergraduate students: Implication for career choice. *European Journal of Scientific Research, 26* (3) pp.465-469.

Archer, J. and Lloyd, B. (2002). Sex and gender. *Second edition, Cambridge University Press.* United Kingdom: Cambridge.

Attané, I. (2012). Being a woman in China today: A demography of gender. *China Perspectives*, 4, pp.5-15.

Barker, G., Ricardo, C., Nascimento, M. and World Health Organization. (2007). Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Bathembu, C. (2009). SA ranks 3rd in women representation in Parliament. Retrieved from https://www.sanews.gov.za/world/sa-ranks-3rd-women-representation-parliament Accessed on 06 May 2019

Becker, M. (1999). Patriarchy and inequality: Towards a substantive feminism. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum.* pp.21.

Bem, S.L. (1985). Androgyny and gender schema theory: A conceptual and empirical integration. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 32, pp. 179-226.

Bhana, D. (2016). Virginity and virtue: African masculinities and femininities in the making of teenage sexual cultures. *Sexualities*, *19*(4), pp.465-481.

Blackstone, A.M. (2003). Gender roles and society. *Ecology: An Encyclopedia of Children, Families, Communities, and Environments.* pp.335-338

Blanchfield, L. (2010). New United Nations Entity for Women: Issues for Congress. USA: Diane Publishing.

Bleeker, M.M. and Jacobs, J.E. (2004). Achievement in math and science: Do mothers' beliefs matter 12 years later? *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *96*(1), p.97.

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C. and Kagee, A. (2000). Fundamentals of social research. Lansdowne: Juta, pp.10-34.

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C. and Kagee, A. (2006). Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective. South Africa: Juta and Company Ltd.

Bond, P. (2014). Elite transition: From apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa. South Africa: Pluto Press.

Booth, A.L. and Nolen, P. (2012). Gender differences in risk behaviour: does nurture matter? *The Economic Journal, 122*(558), pp.F56-F78.

Boserup, E., (2007). Woman's role in economic development. USA: EarthScan.

Bowlin, L.K., Buckner, S. and Throne, R. (2016). Duality, positionality, and stance: Workplace dissertation research as preparation for practice-based research. *Twelfth International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry*, University of Illinois.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), pp.77-101.

Breen, D., Lynch, I., Nel, J. and Matthews, I. (2016). Hate crime in transitional societies: The case of South Africa. *The Globalization of Hate: Internationalizing Hate Crime*, pp.126-141.

Caswell, T., Henson, S., Jensen, M. and Wiley, D. (2008). Open content and open educational resources: Enabling universal education. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*, *9*(1).

Channawar, S. (2016). Roles of education in women in empowerment. *International Journal of Recent Trends in Engineering & Research (IJRTER)*, *2*(11).

Cerrato, J. and Cifre, E. (2018). Gender inequality in household chores and work-family conflict. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *9*, pp.1330.

Cherryl, W. (2009). Elusive equality: Women, property rights and land reform in South Africa. *South African Journal on Human Rights*, *25*(3), pp.467-490.

Commission for Gender Equality. (2016). Investigative Report into the 'Maiden Bursary Scheme' by the UThukela District Municipality. Retrieved from http://www.cge.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Uthukela-Report.pdf Accessed on 14 January 2019.

Cuddy, A. (2015). Presence: Bringing your boldest self to your biggest challenges. United Kingdom: Hachette.

Ejumudo, K.B.O. (2013). Gender equality and women empowerment in Nigeria: The desirability and inevitability of a pragmatic approach. *Developing Country Studies, 3*(4), pp.59-66.

Kramarae, C. and Spender, D. (1992). The Knowledge Explosion Generations of Feminist Scholarship. *Athena Series.* London: College Press.

Diamond-Smith, N., Luke, N. and McGarvey, S. (2008). 'Too many girls, too much dowry': son preference and daughter aversion in rural Tamil Nadu, India. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *10*(7), pp.697-708.

Dormekpor, E. (2015). Poverty and gender inequality in developing countries. *Developing Country Studies*, *5*(10), pp.76-102.

Dowling, M. (2006). Approaches to reflexivity in qualitative research. *Nurse Researcher*, *13*(3).

Dunkle, K.L., Jewkes, R.K., Brown, H.C., Yoshihama, M., Gray, G.E., McIntyre, J.A. and Harlow, S.D. (2004). Prevalence and patterns of gender-based violence and revictimization among women attending antenatal clinics in Soweto, South Africa. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, *160*(3), pp.230-239.

Eagly, A.H. (1987). Reporting sex differences. *American Psychologist, 42*(7), pp.756-757.

Eagly, A.H. (2009). The his and hers of prosocial behaviour: An examination of the social psychology of gender. *American Psychologist*, *64*(8), pp.644.

Educations Statistics. (2019). Problems experienced in public schools by learners. Retrieved from https://www.southafricanmi.com/education-statistics.html Accessed on 07 June 2019.

Elmi, M. (2015). Information and Communication Technologies and the Stabilization of a Failed State: the case of Somalia. *University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.*

Esping-Andersen, G. (2009). The Incomplete Revolution: Adapting to Women's New Roles. Cambridge: Policy Press.

Farrokhi, F. and Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, A. (2012). Rethinking Convenience Sampling: Defining Quality Criteria. *Theory & Practice in Language Studies*, *2*(4).

Fernández, J., Quiroga, M., Escorial, S. and Privado, J. (2014). Explicit and implicit assessment of gender roles. *Psicothema*, *26*(2), pp.244-251.

Ferree, M.M. (2010). Filling the glass: Gender perspectives on families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*(3), pp.420-439.

Hesketh, T., Lu, L. and Xing, Z.W. (2011). The consequences of son preference and sex-selective abortion in China and other Asian countries. *Canadian Medical Association Journal, 183*(12), pp.1374-1377.

Fink, A. (2003). How to sample in surveys (Vol. 7). United Kingdom: SAGE Publications.

Freedman, S.A., Gluck, N., Tuval-Mashiach, R., Brandes, D., Peri, T. and Shalev, A.Y. (2002). Gender differences in responses to traumatic events: A prospective study. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, *15*(5), pp.407-413.

Garcia-Moreno, C. and Watts, C. (2000). Violence against women: its importance for HIV/AIDS. *AIDS*, *14*.

Garg, R., Goyal, S. and Gupta, S. (2012). India moves towards menstrual hygiene: subsidized sanitary napkins for rural adolescent girls—issues and challenges. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, *16*(4), pp.767-774.

Giustina, J.A.D. (2008). Violence against women in intimate partner relationships: Community responsibility, community justice. *Contemporary Justice Review*, *11*(4), pp.351-361.

International Labour Office. (2010). Global Employment Trends January 2010. Geneva: International Labour Office.

International Labour Office. (2018). Global Wage Report 2018/19- What lies behind gender pay gaps. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Gneezy, U., Leonard, K. L. and List, J. A (2009). Gender differences in competition: Evidence from a matrilineal and a patriarchal society. *Econometrica*, *77*(5), pp.1637-1664

Godsil, R.D., Tropp, L.R., Goff, P.A. and MacFarlane, J. (2016). The effects of gender roles, implicit bias, and stereotype threat on the lives of women and girls. *The Science of Equality*, *2*.

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, *8*(4), pp.597-606.

Google Maps. (2020). Map data. Retrieved from: https://www.google.com/maps/ Accessed on 19 March 2020.

Gordon, N.S. and Trammel, J.M.D. (2016). Social media, women, and empowerment: the uses of social media platforms by WNGOs in Jamaica and Brazil. *Communication and Information Technologies Annual*, *12*, pp.93-130.

Griffiths, I.L. (1995). The African Inheritance. United Kingdom: Psychology Press.

Guest, G., MacQueen, K. M., and Namey, E. E. (2011). Applied Thematic Analysis. USA: SAGE Publications.

Hallward-Driemeier, M. and Hasan, T. (2012). Empowering women: Legal rights and economic opportunities in Africa. USA: The World Bank.

Hardy, C. (2001). Researching organizational discourse. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, *31*(3), pp.25-47.

Harrington, A. and Chopra, T. (2010). Arguing traditions: Denying Kenya's women access to land rights. USA: The World Bank.

Harrison, A.C. and O'Neill, S.A. (2002). II. The development of children's gendered knowledge and preferences in music. *Feminism & Psychology*, *12*(2), pp.145-152.

Harvey, D. (2007). A brief history of neoliberalism. USA: Oxford University Press.

Heath, R., Hidrobo, M. and Roy, S. (2020). Cash transfers, polygamy, and intimate partner violence: Experimental evidence from Mali. *Journal of Development Economics*, *143*.

Henning, E., Van Rensburg, W. and Smit, B. (2004). Finding your way in qualitative research. South Africa: Van Schaik Publishers.

Hertneky, R.P. (2010). The role of balance in women's leadership self-identity. *Advancing Women in Leadership*, *30*.

Hilber, A.M., Kenter, E., Redmond, S., Merten, S., Bagnol, B., Low, N. and Garside, R. (2012). Vaginal practices as women's agency in sub-Saharan Africa: a synthesis of meaning and motivation through meta-ethnography. *Social Science & Medicine*, *74*(9), pp.1311-1323.

Hills, J. (2015). Addressing gender quotas in South Africa: Women empowerment and gender equality legislation. *Deakin Law Review.*, *20*, pp.153.

Himonga, C. (2005). The advancement of African women's rights in the first decade of democracy in South Africa: the reform of the customary law of marriage and succession. *Acta Juridica, 2005*(1), pp.82-107.

Hochschild, A. and Machung, A. (2012). The second shift: Working families and the revolution at home. USA: Penguin Books.

Hupp, J.M., Smith, J.L., Coleman, J.M. and Brunell, A.B. (2010). That's a boy's toy: Gender-typed knowledge in toddlers as a function of mother's marital status. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, *171*(4), pp.389-401.

Ingelhart, R. and Norris, P. (2003). Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, C. (2012). Conjugality as Social Change: A Zimbabwean Case. *Journal of Development Studies, 48*(1), pp.41-54.

Jensen, R. and Thornton, R. (2003). Early female marriage in the developing world. *Gender & Development, 11*(2), pp.9-19.

Jewkes, R. and Morrell, R. (2010). Gender and sexuality: emerging perspectives from the heterosexual epidemic in South Africa and implications for HIV risk and prevention. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, *13*(6), pp.1-11

Jewkes, R.K., Levin, J.B. and Penn-Kekana, L.A. (2003). Gender inequalities, intimate partner violence and HIV preventive practices: findings of a South African cross-sectional study. *Social Science & Medicine*, *56*(1), pp.125-134.

John, N.A., Stoebenau, K., Ritter, S., Edmeades, J. and Balvin, N. (2017). Gender socialization during adolescence in low-and middle-income countries: Conceptualization, influences and outcomes. *Innocenti Discussion Papers.*

Joireman, S.F. (2008). The mystery of capital formation in Sub-Saharan Africa: women, property rights and customary law. *World Development*, *36*(7), pp.1233-1246.

Jones, N., Presler-Marshall, E. and Tran, T.V.A. (2014). Early marriage among Vietnam's Hmong: How unevenly changing gender norms limit Hmong adolescent girls' options in marriage and life. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Jordan, A.B. and Romer, D. (2014). Media and the well-being of children and adolescents. Oxford University Press.

Jost, J.T. and Kay, A.C. (2005). Exposure to benevolent sexism and complementary gender stereotypes: consequences for specific and diffuse forms of system justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *88*(3), pp.498.

Joyner, K., Rees, K. and Honikman, S. (2015). Intimate partner violence (IPV) in South Africa: How to break the vicious cycle. *Doctoral dissertation*. University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.

Judge, T.A., Thoresen, C.J., Bono, J.E. and Patton, G.K. (2001). The job satisfaction–job performance relationship: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *127*(3), pp.376.

Kalabamu, F. (2005). Changing gender contracts in self-help housing construction in Botswana: the case of Lobatse. *Habitat International*, *29*(2), pp.245-268.

Kaye, D.K., Mirembe, F., Johansson, A., Ekstrom, A.M. and Kyomuhendo, G.B. (2005). Implications of bride price on domestic violence and reproductive health in Wakiso district, Uganda. *African Health Sciences,* 5(4), pp.300–303.

Kelmendi, K. (2015). Domestic violence against women in Kosovo: A qualitative study of women's experiences. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *30*(4), pp.680-702.

Kennedy, L.A. and MacNeela, P. (2014). Adolescent acculturation experiences: A meta-ethnography of qualitative research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *40*, pp.126-140

Khewu, N. and Adu, E. O. 2015. Black fathers' involvement in the early education of their children and associated factors: South African context. *Journal of Social Science, 42*(1), pp.1-9.

Koller, V. (2008). Not just a colour: pink as a gender and sexuality marker in visual communication. *Visual Communication*, *7*(4), pp.395-423.

Kramarae, C. (1992) "The condition of Patriarchy" in Kramarae Cheris and Spender Dale (eds.) *The Knowledge Explosion: Generation of Feminist Scholarship*. Athena Series, Teachers College Press, London.

Lambert, C., Jomeen, J. and McSherry, W. (2010). Reflexivity: A review of the literature in the context of midwifery research. *British Journal of Midwifery*, *18*(5), pp.321-326.

Latham, B. (2007). Sampling: What is it? Quantitative research methods. Retrieved from: http://www.csun.edu/~hbsoc126/soc4/chapter_8_outline.pdf Accessed on 19 October 2019.

Lastarria-Cornhiel, S. (1997). Impact of privatization on gender and property rights in Africa. *World Development, 25*(8), pp.1317-1333.

Lesejane, D. (2006). "Fatherhood from an African cultural perspective" in Morrell, R. & Richter, L. (Eds.). *Baba: Man and fatherhood in South Africa,* pp. 226-236. HSRC Press: Cape Town.

Lippa, R.A., Preston, K. and Penner, J. (2014). Women's representation in 60 occupations from 1972 to 2010: More women in high-status jobs, few women in things-oriented jobs. *PloS One*, *9*(5).

Mahon, T. and Fernandes, M. (2010). Menstrual hygiene in South Asia: a neglected issue for WASH (water, sanitation and hygiene) programmes. *Gender & Development*, *18*(1), pp.99-113.

Makusha, T. and Richter, L. (2014). The role of black fathers in the lives of children in South Africa. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 38(6), pp.982

Marcus, R. and Harper, C. (2014). Gender justice and social norms- processes of change for adolescent girls. *Towards a Conceptual Framework*, *2*.

Mathur-Helm, B. (2005). Equal opportunity and affirmative action for South African women: a benefit or barrier. *Women in Management Review*, *20*(1), pp.56-71.

Maxwell, J.A. (2004). Causal explanation, qualitative research, and scientific inquiry in education. *Educational Researcher*, *33*(2), pp.3-11.

Maylam, P. and Edwards, I. (1996). The People's City: African Life in Twentieth Century Durban. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

McCleary-Sills, J., Douglas, Z., Rwehumbiza, A., Hamisi, A. and Mabala, R. (2013). Gendered norms, sexual exploitation and adolescent pregnancy in rural Tanzania. *Reproductive Health Matters*, *21*(41), pp.97-105.

Midgley, J. (2006). Gendered economies: Transferring private gender roles into the public realm through rural community development. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *22*(2), pp.217-231.

Milkie, M.A., Raley, S.B. and Bianchi, S.M. (2009). Taking on the second shift: Time allocations and time pressures of US parents with preschoolers. *Social Forces*, *88*(2), pp.487-517.

Miller, L. and Budd, J. (1999). The development of occupational sex-role stereotypes, occupational preferences and academic subject preferences in children at ages 8, 12 and 16. *Educational Psychology*, *19*(1), pp.17-35.

Moletsane, R. (2010). Culture, nostalgia, and sexuality education in the age of AIDS in South Africa. *Memory and Pedagogy*, pp.193.

Morris, R. (2006). 'Growing up an Australian': Renegotiating Mateship, Masculinity and 'Australianness' in Hsu-Ming Teo's Behind the Moon. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *27*(1-2), pp.151-166.

Musembi, C.N. (2007). De Soto and land relations in rural Africa: breathing life into dead theories about property rights. *Third World Quarterly*, *28*(8), pp.1457-1478.

Narayan, U. (2013). Dislocating cultures: Identities, traditions, and third world feminism. London: Routledge.

Nhundu, T.J. (2007). Mitigating gender-typed occupational preferences of Zimbabwean primary school children: The use of biographical sketches and portrayals of female role models. *Sex Roles*, *56*(9-10), pp.639-649.

Nolan, J. and Scott, J. (2006). Gender and Kinship Networks in Contemporary Britain, in Richards, M. (ed) *Kinship Relationships and Law in a Changing Society*. London: Hart.

Oakley, A. (2016). Sex, gender and society. London: Routledge.

Overseas Development Institute. (2015). Social norms, gender norms and adolescent girls: a brief guide. London, United Kingdom.

Okin, S.M. (2004). Gender, justice and gender: An unfinished debate. *Fordham Law Review*, *72*(5), pp.1537–1567.

Ondicho, T.G. (2013). Domestic violence in Kenya: Why battered women stay. *International Journal of Social Behavior Science*, *1*, pp.105-11.

Ortner, S.B. (2014). Too soon for post-feminism: The ongoing life of patriarchy in neoliberal America. *History and Anthropology, 25*(4), pp.530-549.

Osadan, R. (2014). Gender Equality in Primary Schools in Sub-Saharan Africa: Review and Analysis. *A Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies. 12*, pp.215-231.

Otoo-Oyortey, N. and Pobi, S. (2003). Early Marriage and Poverty: Exploring links and key policy issues. *Gender and Development*, *11*(2), pp.42-51.

Overseas Development Institute. (2015). Changing gender norms: monitoring and evaluating programmes and project. London: Overseas Development Institute Reports.

Patel, L. and Hoch Feld, T. (2011). It buys food but does it change gender relations? Child Support Grants in Soweto, South Africa. *Gender & Development*, *19*(2), pp.229-240.

Phillips, B.D. and Morrow, B.H. (2007). Social science research needs: Focus on vulnerable populations, forecasting, and warnings. *Natural Hazards Review*, *8*(3), pp.61-68.

Platt, R., Kass, N.E. and McGraw, D. (2014). Ethics, regulation, and comparative effectiveness research: time for a change. *JAMA*, *311*(15), pp.1497-1498.

Population Reference Bureau. (2010). Gender-Based Violence: Impediment to Reproductive Health. USA: Agency for International Development.

Qaisrani, A., Liaquat, S. and Khokhar, E.N. (2016). Socio-economic and cultural factors of violence against women in Pakistan. *Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI).* Working paper no. 158.

Rahman, M., Nakamura, K., Seino, K. and Kizuki, M. (2012). Intimate partner violence and use of reproductive health services among married women: evidence from a national Bangladeshi sample. *BMC Public Health*, *12*(1), pp.913.

Rahman, M., Poudel, K.C., Yasuoka, J., Otsuka, K., Yoshikawa, K. and Jimba, M. (2012). Maternal exposure to intimate partner violence and the risk of undernutrition among children younger than 5 years in Bangladesh. *American Journal of Public Health*, *102*(7), pp.1336-1345.

Rankin, B.H. and Aytaç, I.A. (2006). Gender inequality in schooling: The case of Turkey. *Sociology of Education*, *79*(1), pp.25-43.

Rastogi, M. and Therly, P. (2006). Dowry and its link to violence against women in India: Feminist psychological perspectives. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *7*(1), pp.66-77.

Ravitch, S.M. and Carl, N.M. (2015). Qualitative research: Bridging the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological. USA: SAGE Publications.

Rarieya, J., Sanger, N. and Moolman, B. (2014). Gender inequalities in education in South Africa. *Policy Brief Paper.* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Ricardo, C., Eads, M. and Barker, G.T. (2011). Engaging boys and young men in the prevention of sexual violence: a systematic and global review of evaluated interventions. *Sexual Violence Research Initiative*, South Africa.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C.M. and Ormston, R. (2013). Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers. United Kingdom: SAGE Publications.

Rodda, A. (1991). Women and the environment. Zed Books Ltd: London and USA.

Rowley, J. (2012). Conducting research interviews. *Management Research Review*, *35*(3/4), pp.260-271.

Rudman, L.A. and Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), pp.743-762.

Paquette, D. and Ryan, D.P.J. (2001). Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. Retrieved https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/44165922/bronfenbrenners_ecological.pdf Accessed on 03 March 2018.

Safespaces. (2020). Gender-based violence in South Africa. Retrieved from: https://www.saferspaces.org.za/understand/entry/gender-based-violence-in-south-africa Accessed on 25 March 2020.

Sang, J.K., Masila, P.M. and Sang, J.C. (2012). Gender inequality in administration of secondary schools in Kenya. *Journal of African Studies in Educational Management and Leadership, 2*(1), pp.16-28.

Santrock, J. W. (2005). Adolescence (10th ed.). Boston: Mc Graw Hill.

Schilt, K. and Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing Gender, Doing Heteronormativity: "Gender Normals" Transgender People, and the Social Maintenance of Heterosexuality. *Gender & Society*, *23*(4), pp.440-464.

Semahegn, A. and Mengistie, B. (2015). Domestic violence against women and associated factors in Ethiopia; systematic review. *Reproductive Health*, *12*(1), pp.78.

Shackleton, L., Riordan, S. and Simonis, D. (2006). Gender and the transformation agenda in South African higher education. *Women's Studies International Forum, 29*(6), pp. 572-580.

Shannon, K., Leiter, K., Phaladze, N., Hlanze, Z., Tsai, A.C., Heisler, M., Iacopino, V. and Weiser, S.D. (2012). Gender inequity norms are associated with increased male-perpetrated rape and sexual risks for HIV infection in Botswana and Swaziland. *PloS One*, *7*(1).

Sharf, R.S. (2008). Feminist therapy: A multicultural approach. In Theories of psychotherapy and counseling: California: Concepts and cases. Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.

Sigelman, C.K. and Ryder, E.A. (2006). Life-span human development. Belmont: Wadsmorth.

Silverman, J.G., Decker, M.R., Saggurti, N., Balaiah, D. and Raj, A. (2008). Intimate partner violence and HIV infection among married Indian women. *JAMA*, *300*(6), pp.703-710.

Silverman, J.G., Decker, M.R., Cheng, D.M., Wirth, K., Saggurti, N., McCauley, H.L., Falb, K.L., Donta, B. and Raj, A. (2011). Gender-based disparities in infant and child mortality based on maternal exposure to spousal violence: the heavy burden borne by Indian girls. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, *165*(1), pp.22-27.

Slembrouck, S. (2007). Transcription- the extended directions of data histories: a response to M. Bucholtz's' Variation in Transcription'. *Discourse Studies*, *9*(6), pp.822-827.

Smee, S. and Woodroffe, J. (2013). Achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in the post-2015 framework. *The Gender and Development Network.*

Smit, W. (1998). The rural linkages of urban households in Durban, South Africa. *Environment and Urbanization, 10*(1), pp.77-88.

Smith, L.T. and Methodologies, D. (1999). Research and indigenous peoples. London and New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Somekh, B. and Lewin, C. (2005). Research methods in the social sciences. United Kingdom: SAGE Publications.

South African Human Rights Commission. (2017). Research Brief on Gender Equality in South Africa 2013-2017. Retrieved from https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/RESEARCH%20BRIEF%20ON%20GENDER%20AND%20EQUALITY%20IN%20SOUTH%20AFRICA%202013%20to%202017.pdf Accessed on 02 May 2019.

Statistics South Africa. (2016). Living Conditions Survey 2014/15 Report. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Statistics South Africa. (2016). South Africa Demographic and Health Survey. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Statistics South Africa. (2017). Women in power: what do the statistics say? Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Statistics South Africa. (2018). Quarterly Labour force Survey: 1st Quarter. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Stier, H. and Mandel, H. (2009). Inequality in the family: The institutional aspects of women's earning contribution. *Social Science Research*, *38*(3), pp.594-608.

Strebel, A., Crawford, M., Shefer, T., Cloete, A., Henda, N., Kaufman, M., Simbayi, L., Magome, K. and Kalichman, S. (2006). Social constructions of gender roles, gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS in two communities of the Western Cape, South Africa. *SAHARA-J: Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS*, *3*(3), pp.516-528.

Sulla, V. and Zikhali, P. (2018). Overcoming poverty and inequality in South Africa: An assessment of drivers, constraints and opportunities. USA: The World Bank.

Sundaram, M.S., Sekar, M. and Subburaj, A. (2014). Women empowerment: role of education. *International Journal in Management & Social Science*, *2*(12), pp.76-85.

Swick, K. J. and Williams, R. D. (2006). An analysis of Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological perspective for early childhood educators: Implications for working with families experiencing stress. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 33*(5), pp.371–378.

Symington, D. and Tytler, R. (2004). Community leaders' views of the purposes of science in the compulsory years of schooling. *International Journal of Science Education*, *26*(11), pp.1403-1418.

Tashakkori, A. and Creswell, J.W. (2007). Exploring the nature of research questions in mixed methods research. SAGE Publications.

Tenenbaum, H.R. and Leaper, C. (2002). Are parents' gender schemas related to their children's gender-related cognitions? A meta-analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, *38*(4), pp.615.

Townsend, L., Jewkes, R., Mathews, C., Johnston, L.G., Flisher, A.J., Zembe, Y. and Chopra, M. (2011). HIV Risk Behaviours and Their Relationship to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) among Men Who Have Multiple Female Sexual Partners in Cape Town, South Africa. *AIDS and Behavior, 15*(1), pp.132–141.

Tudge, J.R., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B.E. and Karnik, R.B. (2009). Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *1*(4), pp.198-210.

Tuwor, T. and Sossou, M.A. (2008). Gender discrimination and education in West Africa: strategies for maintaining girls in school. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 12*(4), pp.363-379.

Unger, R.K. (1979). Toward a redefinition of sex and gender. *American Psychologist, 34*(11), pp.1085.

United Nations International Children's Fund. (2013). Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: A Statistical Overview and Exploration of the Dynamics of Change. New York: UNICEF.

Unterhalter, E. and Aikman, S. (2007). Practising gender equality in education. South Africa: Oxfam International.

UNU-Wider. (2019) The gender wage gap in post-apartheid South Africa. *Research Brief 2019/2*. Helsinki: UNU-Wider.

Usdin, S., Christofides, N., Malepe, L. and Maker, A. (2000). The value of advocacy in promoting social change: implementing the new Domestic Violence Act in South Africa. *Reproductive Health Matters*, *8*(16), pp.55-65.

Vaughter, R.M. (1976). Review essay: Psychology. *Signs*, *2*, pp.120-146

Vetten, L. (2005), May. Addressing domestic violence in South Africa: Reflections on strategy and practice. *United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women.* Vienna, Austria.

Walby, S. (1990). Theorizing patriarchy. London: Basil Blackwell.

Walker, C. (2005). Women, gender policy and land reform in South Africa. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, *32*(2), pp.297-315.

Walker, L. (2005). Men behaving differently: South African men since 1994. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7(3), pp.225-238.

Wombeogo, M. (2007). Gendered poverty in Northern Ghana: Multiple problems, few solutions. *Africanus*, *37*(1), pp.36-53.

Wood, H.J. (2019). Gender inequality: The problem of harmful, patriarchal, traditional and cultural gender practices in the church. *HTS Theological Studies*, *75*(1), pp.1-8.

Wood, W. and Eagly, A.H. (2012). Biosocial construction of sex differences and similarities in behaviour. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 46, pp.55-123.

World Bank. (2012). Gender Equality and Development. World Development Report 2012. Washington: The World Bank.

World Health Organization, (2012). Understanding and addressing violence against women: Intimate partner violence. Geneva: The World Health Organization.

World Health Organization. (2013). Violence against Women: Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence against Women. Geneva: The World Health Organization.

World Health Organization. (2014). Female Genital Mutilation. The World Health Organization: Geneva.

Zaw, P.P.T., Liabsuetrakul, T., McNeil, E. and Htay, T.T. (2013). Gender differences in exposure to SRH information and risky sexual debut among poor Myanmar youths. *BMC Public Health*, *13*(1), pp.1122.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

31 August 2018

Ms Puseletso Precious Mofokeng 214536858
School of Built Environment and Development Studies
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Mofokeng

Protocol reference number : HSS/0601/018M
Project title: Changing gender roles in the household: A case study of Lamontville, KwaZulu-Natal Province

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol
In response to your application received 5 June 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Professor Pranitha Maharaj
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Oliver Mtapuri
cc School Administrators: Ms Angeline Msomi

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609   Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE
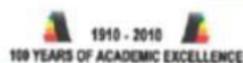
Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood   ■ Howard College   ■ Medical School   ■ Pietermaritzburg   ■ Westville

APPENDIX TWO: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: ---------------------------

Greetings,

My name is Puseletso Mofokeng, I am currently doing my Masters in Population Studies at UKZN. My contact number is 0658021174.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research about the changing gender roles in Lamontville. The aim and purpose of this research is to investigate the construction of gender roles within the households of Lamontville Township in Durban. The study is expected to enrol 20 participants, 10 men and 10 women and the interviews will be held at each participant's household. It will involve the following procedures: A set of 20 questions will be asked to each household and all questions should be answered by the participants, these questions will be between 15mins and 20mins.

The study may involve the following risks and/or discomforts: questions that may be uneasy to answer next to your spouse but these questions will not only benefit the researcher but the community of Lamontville on addressing the issues of disparities in gender roles. Gender roles are sometimes ignored in society, we can verbally say that men are equal to women but in some societies, it is not the case, this than brings in inequality between the two sexes. Your participation in this study will be highly appreciated.

This research will not involve any risk towards the participant, if questions are uneasy participant will be allowed to skip the question. Participants will be chosen voluntary by their own willingness; no reimbursement will be provided since the researcher is not funded. Participants will also be anonymous to protect their image in the community. When the research is done and questions have been answered by the participants, the research will be stored electronically by the researcher and supervisor for extra security.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number HSS/0601/18M).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at 0658021174 or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

I have been informed about the study entitled Changing gender roles in the household: A case study of Lamontville, KwaZulu-Natal by Puseletso Mofokeng.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study which includes being asked questions about gender roles in the household.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at 0658021174 or email them on mofokeng.puseletso18@gmail.com .

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to (tick appropriate answer)

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion   YES / NO

Video-record my interview / focus group discussion   YES / NO

Use of my photographs for research purposes   YES / NO

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____

Signature of Witness   Date

(Where applicable)

_____   _____

Signature of Translator   Date

(Where applicable)

APPENDIX THREE: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section A: Socio-demographic profile

1. How old are you?
2. What is your current marital status?
3. What is your current employment status?
4. What is your main source of income?
5. What is the highest grade you have completed at school?
6. Do you belong to any religion?

Section B: Household socio-economic profile

7. As a man or woman, what are some of the problems do you sometimes face in the household?
8. Have you encountered difficulties and/or barriers in your household? - In your opinion, why have you encountered these barriers/difficulties?
9. Do you consider your gender (sex) to be in your favour or disfavour in your household?
10. In the household are there jobs that are more suited for men or for women?
11. Who is the breadwinner in this household? Male or female? Why would you say this person is the main breadwinner?
12. What are the characteristics of the head of the household? Is there a difference between female and male head of household? Do you think that a woman can be a head of household?
13. During the last 10 years, have you seen the attitude towards women or men change? How? In the household?
14. Do you think there is equality in household responsibilities between men and women? Household chores? Caring for children? Caring for elderly?

Section C: The nature of household gender roles in Lamontville

15. Do other members of your community act differently towards you because you're a man or woman?

16. What are the cultural barriers that hinder the achievement of gender equality in Lamontville?

17. In your opinion, does the husband/male support his wife/female if she has a better paying job her husband? In what ways? If he does not, why do you think this is the case?

18. Do women earning more than their husbands likely to be ill-treated because men want to maintain their masculinity? Explain

19. What do you think should be done in order to bring about greater equality between men and women within the households? Whose responsibility is it? Government? Community? And women?
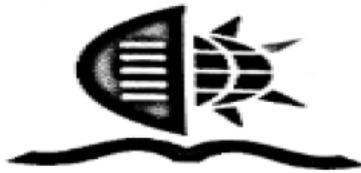
**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI**

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES: MASTERS/PHD RESEARCH

Dear Madam,

My name is Puseletso Mofokeng from the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal; I am currently doing my Masters in Population Studies. I am also currently working on my research and need permission to interview 20 participants from Lamontville. My research topic is "Changing gender roles in the household: A case study of Lamontville, Kwa-Zulu Natal". I will be focusing more on women that reside in Lamontville who are household managers, who are above the age of 20. My research outcome is to empower women that that are only known to be homemakers rather than influencers that have a voice in the community. Gender inequality still affects so many women in South Africa even after 24 years of democracy.

I will highly appreciate if I could get permission to interview my community from the councillor of Lamontville; since I also reside in Lamontville and know the challenges of gender inequality that continue to affect women

God bless,

Puseletso