

**GENDER ROLES AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE:
Narrative Analysis of Social Construction of Gender in Uganda**

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Abstract

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The objective of this thesis was to investigate the gender roles are understood within the Ugandan context and how they contribute towards the severe issue of domestic violence within the country. This thesis has taken a social constructivist approach towards understanding this issue by exploring how socially constructed gender roles are related to cases of domestic violence. Narratives of domestic violence were collected through narrative interviews in Uganda. These narratives were then analysed using a combination of plot analysis and thematic analysis. Gender roles were identified as influencing the behaviour of men and women. Whilst the gender roles given to men and women varied depending on the narrative, in general men were given roles such as *Income Provider*, *Family Authority* and *Rightful Property Owner*. These roles were aspects which men naturally possessed due to their gender. Challenging or undermining of these roles created tension and conflict between men and women which justified the use of domestic violence.

In comparison, gender roles which women possessed within the narratives were those of *'Nurturer,' 'Resilient,' 'Dependant' and 'Obedient Wife.'* It could be suggested that these gender roles held by women limits their behaviour and their actions and also influences men to perceive them in an objective way detached from rights and entitlements. When women question the actions of their husbands or refuse to act in a certain manner can be considered as undermining men's authority whilst also directly challenging women's expected role. Thus, these gender roles can also encourage domestic violence as men may feel the need to reassert their authority and punish their wives for their misconduct.

The results of this thesis highlight the central role social constructions of gender have on the sources of conflict in domestic violence. Altering the understandings behind these roles may have a beneficial impact on the relations between men and women. The results within this thesis further suggest that development work attempting to eliminate the practice of gender inequality should explore the socially constructed aspects of gender which exist.

Key Words:

Gender, Gender Inequality, Gender Role, Social Construction, Domestic Violence, Narrative,

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1. The Narrative of this Research

1.1 *Background of the Gender in Development Narrative*

Gender inequality continues to be a fundamental issue within numerous communities both in the ‘developed’ and the ‘developing world.’ It is an issue which impacts life expectancy, living standards, poverty, freedom, economic development and most importantly men, women and children. The impacts of gender inequality are universal with both men and women suffering from the effects of unequal gender practices. Whilst this issue struggles to gain formal acknowledgment within various nation states, the importance of gender equality was officially recognised as a central aspect of development work in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. In this conference ‘189 countries adopted a landmark roadmap “The Beijing Platform for Action”, which was considered as a major achievement to advancing women’s rights and to put women’s rights and gender equality on governments agenda’ (*MEWC annual report, 2014, 7*). Thus, whilst feminist movements had already long been active this conference is considered as a fundamental turning point in the fight for gender equality. This conference finally recognised gender equality as a chore political and international motivation.

Since this conference, gender equality movements, policies and development work have taken various forms to attempt to tackle the continued issue of gender inequality. One of the most significant concerns within gender inequality is its complex and diverse nature. This feature of gender inequality makes it difficult to universally define what gender equality should formally look like. In consideration to international governmental organisations (IGO’s), such as the United Nations (UN), granting women access in to economic and political arenas has been the primary target. However, whilst this focus is extremely important and can be effectively monitored, exclusively changing legal and political frameworks may not challenge underlying social understandings of gender.

With this in consideration, it is the primary purpose of this thesis to create further acknowledgment on the important function that unique social constructions of gender play in the practice of gender inequality. By choosing to explore gender inequality through a social constructivist perspective it is appropriate to choose a unique case study which can be explored in detail. Within this thesis, I have chosen to concentrate on the social construction of gender in Uganda. By focusing on one particular case study, this thesis will identify how the social constructions of gender is related to wider issues of gender inequality and highlight why it is important to identify these constructions in attempting to eliminate gender inequality.

1.2 *Setting the Narrative: Why Social Construction?*

Whilst sex is understood as the biological attributes which defines males and females gender is understood as a socially constructed phenomenon which assigns personal attributes to men and women by defining what physical, sexual and behavioural aspects are considered

masculine and feminine (*Schiffman et al, 2007*). Thus, whilst sex divides males and females according to their biological makeup gender socially distinguishes men and women by applying certain behaviours, roles, values and privileges on to them.

The importance of social construction can be highlighted by the fact that different communities all understand 'gender' differently. There are no universally accepted definitions of what makes a man a 'man' or a woman a 'woman.' Different communities categorise genders differently and associate different roles, behaviours, qualities and expectations with men and women. This indicates that the underlying understandings of men and women are dependent upon their social context. In this sense, gender is arguably a socially constructed phenomenon which is subject to continuous change. These constructions are created through multiple different social processes and institutions which help to create, maintain and re-define these understandings.

This has been a significant issue within development work where traditional development theories have contextualised issues of gender inequality as primarily economic concerns (*Corriea and Bannon, 2005*). Development projects have frequently concentrated on changing the practical needs of women which focus upon granting women access in to public sectors such as education, labour and politics. The fundamental concept behind such projects is the belief that women's political and economic participation will eventually alter how women are viewed in society. By allowing women to enter spaces which are traditionally occupied by men, it is expected that women will begin to be associated and valued in the same manner as men (*Corriea and Bannon, 2005*).

However, there has been evidence that merely granting women access in to the public sector has not drastically changed how gender is understood or valued within bottom layers of society. *Harding (2008)* has argued that encouraging women's access in to the public sector has increased the work load of women since they continue to be associated with child rearing and domestic duties, meaning that many women are expected to perform both domestic and economic duties within the family. In addition, *Lwambo (2013)* claimed that the increased access of women in to the economic sector has devalued the roles of men within the family. *Lwambo's* case study highlighted that both men and women continued to associate masculinity with being the income provider of the family, which meant that once women began to take over this role it threatened men's gender identity causing conflict and increased domestic violence.

In addition, approaches towards gender equality are primarily understood according to western concepts (*Walby, 2005*). This means that gender equality is often promoted through pressuring nation states to adopt western political and legal frameworks which mirror the understandings of women having human rights and legal justice (*Mbire-Barungi, 1999*). Women's rights are included within legal frameworks which protect women's rights whilst also making violators of these rights punishable by law. However, these western understandings of gender equality are not always applicable in certain social contexts. In communities where gender inequality is seen as social norm, such laws are not seen as legitimate which makes them harder to implement. Therefore, as the underlying social understandings of gender are not challenged, western approaches which primarily focus upon promoting legal human rights, can arguably have severe limitations.

Agendas put forward by IGO's often have a generalised and universal approach towards the issue of gender inequality which decreases their impact due to the fact that gender inequality is understood differently within different communities. As these constructions are uniquely created within their own social contexts the understandings of gender will only be applicable to those certain environments. Exploring gender through a social constructivist lens helps to acknowledge the unique aspects about gender within each community. It also allows for the issues of gender inequality to be approached in a different manner in order to take in to account their unique constructions of gender inequality.

1.3 Setting the Narrative: Why Uganda?

In recent years, Uganda has been subject to significant changes in political and legal frameworks which have aimed to promote the rights of women. However, despite these rigid ramifications gender inequality continues to be extremely persistent within the country, which makes Uganda an important area to focus on. The failure of political and legal ramifications suggests that there are other underlying issues within the country which are contributing towards the high level of gender inequality which exists.

As one example of gender inequality, the practice of domestic violence has been identified as a severe issue within Uganda. Previous research shows that over 60% of women aged 15 or older have experienced some form of domestic violence, with 24% of these women reporting that their first sexual encounter was a forced one (*Uganda Human Rights Commission, 2010*). Thus, this indicates that the practice of domestic violence has a gendered aspect to it which makes it an important point of study within gender development research.

1.4 Setting the Narrative: Why Gender Roles?

The gender roles which are given to men and women within Uganda will be the primary aspect of gender construction under investigation. Gender roles include accepted behaviours and duties which men and women are expected to perform whilst also defining the limits and rules of appropriate behaviour for men and women within a given social community. Arguably, gender roles can be considered as a fundamental aspect of gender construction as they impact on how men and women are viewed and valued within society which ultimately influences how they are treated (*Radtke et al, 1995*).

Gender roles are understood as 'a set of perceived behavioural norms associated particularly with males or females in a given social group or system' (*Urlich and Cosell, 2009, Preface*). This definition assumes that societal contexts apply certain expectations on to men and women to behave in a certain manner and to carry out certain duties which are not biologically determined.

1.5 Setting the Narrative: Why Domestic Violence?

Gender theory on domestic violence claims that one of the strongest correlations within incidents of domestic violence or intimate partner violence is gender (*Pence and Paymar,*

1993). Men are widely considered as the primary perpetrators of such acts of violence whilst women are associated with being primarily the victims. Studies have revealed that cases of domestic violence have a clear gendered aspect to them due to the much higher numbers of women suffering from such issues in comparison to men (Kirkwood, 1993). However, this assumption is debateable since many men are reluctant to report cases of domestic violence against them which means that data is not always an accurate representation.

Nevertheless, studies rooted within both sociology and psychology have argued that these gender differences are caused by structural differences between men and women as opposed to biological factors (Kirkwood, 1993). In this sense, these perspectives argue that women tend to experience intimate partner violence or domestic violence more due to the structural differences associated with women as opposed to men (Kirkwood, 1993). With this in consideration, exploring issues of domestic violence with a gendered perspective will prove to be very appropriate within this thesis. As the phenomenon of domestic violence is understood as being caused by constructed gender differences between men and women, studying such cases will help to highlight how constructed gender roles are embedded within these incidents and what impact they have. In addition, as the issue of domestic violence is so persistent within Uganda, and the gendered nature of the issue has already been highlighted, it is a social issue which should and needs to be explored in consideration to gender.

Whilst the understanding of what forms of behaviour can be defined as domestic violence vary, within this thesis domestic violence will be described according to the definition used by the organisation 'International Solidarity Foundation (ISF).' The organisation's definition has been chosen due to the fact that the data for this research project was collected as part of a wider evaluation project initiated by ISF. This organisation defines the phenomenon of domestic violence as physical, sexual, psychological and economic harm, which is performed in the household by a spouse in order to enforce and maintain control (International Solidarity Foundation, 2010).

1.6 How this Narrative will be Created

The chosen methodological approach is a narrative research enquiry, where narratives of domestic violence will be analysed according to a combination of plot analysis and theme analysis. The interviews containing the narratives were collected from a range of participants in Uganda as part of a wider analysis project for a Finnish non-governmental organization International Solidarity Foundation (ISF) during a three-month internship in 2015. ISF worked in co-operation with a local organisation the Uganda Media Women's Association (UMWA) in order to implement the 'Gender Education Programme' in the districts of Wakiso and Kyankwanzi in Uganda. ISF is committed in contributing towards international development and co-operation. ISF's strategy for 2012-2016 has been to support development which strengthens democracy, equality and human rights internationally, whilst also simultaneously promoting the Finnish community's contribution towards building an equitable world. The Gender Education Programme on Prevention of Domestic Violence began in 2009 and has been executed in two phases. The overall goal of the project was to reduce domestic violence cases within the towns of Mulagi Sub County in Kyankwanzi District and Wakiso Town Council in the Wakiso District. The purpose of the project was to

prevent domestic violence cases by promoting the disapproval of domestic violence amongst both ordinary community members and those individuals within a position of authority.

1.7 The Purpose of this Narrative: The Research Agenda

The aim of this research is to highlight how gender roles are understood within the Ugandan context and how they contribute towards the severe issue of domestic violence within the country. The objective of this thesis is to contribute towards knowledge on how development work should approach gender inequality, whilst also giving prominence to the perspective that social constructions of gender have to be taken in to consideration when investigating issues of gender inequality. In order to explore the function of gender roles within the cases of domestic violence three primary research questions will be answered;

- 1.) What gender roles are associated with men and women?
- 2.) How are these roles related to the source of the conflict and to the outcome of the conflict?
- 3.) What types of gender role themes can be identified to be related to the different cases of domestic violence?

The hypothesis of this research suggests that the gender roles which are assigned to men and women are related to the sources of domestic violence, especially if expected gender roles are not performed accordingly. In essence, as men and women are given certain gender roles within the Ugandan context and failure to conform to these roles can contribute towards domestic violence.

In order to present this research, the second chapter will include a discussion of the wider literature revolving around this research topic. The wider literature will help to identify the relevance of my research and its wider contribution to development discourse. The next chapter contains the theoretical frameworks which are relevant towards understanding issues of gender inequality. This chapter will present the differing theories and justify the use of the social constructivist within this thesis. Next, as this thesis places significant importance on the uniqueness of each societal community, it is important to explore the unique background of Uganda and the context of domestic violence within the country. Following this chapter, the methodological approach chosen to conduct this research will be thoroughly explained before moving on to the next chapter which focuses on introducing and discussing the chosen analytical tools. The next chapter will consist of presenting and explaining the results which have been identified following the analysis process. A further results chapter will then be presented which conducts a thematic analysis on the gender roles and relates them back to the cases of domestic violence. Finally, a concluding chapter which discusses the results of this project in relation to wider literature will be presented. This chapter will aim to define and clarify the findings, the contributions and limitations of this research project whilst also outlining suggestions for future research.

2. Exploring the Literature

The purpose of this literature review is to put my research questions in to perspective. It is important to explain the relevance of my research and how it will aim to contribute towards wider gender development knowledge and practice. Primarily, I attempt to explore how gender roles are related to issues of domestic violence which highlights the part that gender construction plays in gender inequality. It imperative that the roots of gender inequality are explored if this phenomenon is to be resolved. By investigating the influence of gender roles on issues of domestic violence, I hope to contribute further understanding on the nature of gender inequality and how this phenomenon should be approached by development projects.

With this in consideration, it is important to define some of the fundamental literature which has contributed towards this research project. In addition, I will outline how the analysis of this literature developed and why certain literature has been chosen. In general, this chapter will frame my research project and explain why I have conducted the research in the manner that I have. It will also highlight the gaps within gender development research and how my research will serve gender development knowledge and practice. This chapter contains four separate sections which are all interrelated but all help to define and justify the relevance of this research in different contexts. All four sections need to be explained and understood to frame the approach of my research and why this research is so important within gender development.

The first section presents an overlook of some of practical gender development projects which have been implemented by major International Governmental Organisations (IGO's). IGO's such as the UN and World Bank are extremely influential in driving gender development agenda. These organisations are responsible for setting general guidelines of gender development practice and in determining goals and monitoring progress. Therefore, I have focused on evaluating projects which have been executed by the UN (and its umbrella organisations) and the World Bank. In addition, I have chosen to analyse projects which have been implemented following the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) where gender equality was explicitly recognised as the 3rd fundamental development goal which needed to be achieved by the year 2015 (*UNWOMEN Website, 2015*). The projects explored do not overtly focus on the issue of domestic violence as I wanted to gain a general overview of how the UN and World Bank understand the issue of gender and how these organisations challenge this concept.

The second section contributes theoretical and practical understandings of the general approaches that the UN and World bank follow. The discourse explored in section two explains why the 'top down' approach to gender equality is significant and how this method of gender development contributes towards improving gender equality. The 'top down' approach within gender development argues that the larger institutions in society need to be primarily focused upon as changes in these establishments and these structures help to secure change in wider society. Arguably, political and legal structures are primary institutions as they create, define and enforce societal organisation (*United Nations, 2005*). Therefore, the literature chosen within this section focuses on the debates and arguments which revolve

around the significance of these institutions and frameworks in securing gender equality. However, the weaknesses and limitations within the top down approach will also be identified which helps to highlight the gap in current gender development projects.

The third section will challenge the top down approach which has been explored within both the first section and the second section. This section will explore the discourse which debates the importance of the 'bottom up' approach within gender development. The bottom up approach argues that the processes within the bottom sectors of society, at the community level, contribute towards the creation of larger institutions therefore, exploring the processes which create gender inequality at the community level is vital to help resolve the issue at the institutional level. The literature within this section was chosen as these researchers provided direct challenge towards the top down approach by identifying weaknesses and limitations within previous projects. This highlights the importance of exploring bottom up approaches to gender equality and why research, such as my own, is needed to understand the community processes which contribute towards the issue.

The final section uses literature to further support the focus on the bottom down approach but particularly focuses on how the socially constructed understandings of gender impact gender inequality. Whilst the previous section highlights community level processes in gender inequality this section explores this idea further by primarily illustrating literature which shows how these processes contribute towards the creation of gender inequality. Although theoretically there are many different aspects of social construction, the literature explored in this section focuses on the construction of gender. The discourse included explores different aspects of the gender construction process and how this impacts upon gender based violence. This is an important focus within this thesis as it provides understanding of why the social construction of gender is significant in the prevalence of gender inequality and why it is so important to explore.

2.1 Gender Equality in Practice

The literature within this section was collected by accessing UN and World Bank websites and by also exploring research which had been conducted to contribute towards UN reports. The literature has been collected from different sources such as the official websites and published reports. This was completed in order to get a rich variety of projects or reports which would grant an insight in to the wider UN and World Bank approaches. Whilst projects and reports from the official UN and World Bank websites were easily accessed, most of these documents were relatively current. Therefore, I also conducted a literature search through the University of Jyväskylä's online library portal so that I could explore other reports and projects which had been previously conducted. Again, this approach allowed me to gain a wider view on the gender equality perspectives which are held by the UN and World Bank. In general, the literature which was reviewed was searched for and chosen based upon the UN's and the World Bank's involvement in it. I tried to analyse reports and projects which had been exclusively conducted by the UN or the World Bank, or by other organisations on the behalf of the UN and the World Bank.

A report which was in the UNWOMEN website (2015) gave an outline of the general guidelines which the UN follows in its approach to combat gender inequality. The report

contained a detailed description of the 3rd MDG which explicitly targets issues of gender inequality and promotes gender mainstreaming in all projects. UNWOMEN is the United Nations Organisation which has been dedicated in ensuring the sufficient progress for achieving the 3rd MDG so the information on this website is extremely useful in understanding how the UN perceives the underlying issues related to gender inequality and which resolutions it perceives to be effective.

According to the 3rd MDG, gender inequality is defined as an issue which has multiple drivers within all aspects of society, from political institutions to cultural traditions (*UNWOMEN Website, 2015*). In addition, the report outlines that gender inequality should be viewed as a ‘gender; issue as opposed to a woman’s issue. This means that the UN acknowledges gender inequality an issue which impacts both men and women. However, the UN also claims that gender inequality a phenomenon which effects men and women in different manners within different social environments which makes it essential for all development projects to be gender sensitive in all phases of project implementation (*UNWOMEN Website, 2015*). Thus, this understanding of gender inequality would suggest that the UN would promote an approach which takes in to consideration the issues and needs of both men and women, whilst also adapting these approaches to different communities.

However, the monitoring and analysis methodologies in consideration to the 3rd MDG suggest that the UN distinguishes gender inequality as in issue which should primarily be targeted through the political and economic sectors. All of the development goals which were confirmed in the millennium have certain targets attached to them which should be met by the year 2015. To confirm whether these targets have been met, each goal also has explicitly defined monitoring methodologies. In consideration to the 3rd MDG, the targets revolve around improving the number of women within political institutions, within education and within economic employment. Therefore, it can be argued that these monitoring tools dictate that gender equality means granting women access to realms which have been traditionally dominated by men.

Whilst improving women’s opportunities within these sectors contributes towards women’s empowerment it is debateable whether such approaches eliminates the ‘inferior’ status which is often given to women’s gender. Promoting womens opportunities to participate in tasks which are associated with men arguably continues to highlight the hierarchical position of masculine roles. Such approaches do not explicitly challenge the reasons why the roles of women are viewed as inferior but instead further discredits feminine stereotypes. The MDG can therefore be viewed as an approach which attempts to grant women the same ‘privileged’ roles which have been previously dominated by men without exploring why the different roles are originally associated with different genders and why these roles have a certain value attached to them. In addition, the tools can be women centric as they only measure women perceived empowerment within society as opposed to understanding how the relations between both men and women have improved, or how men have been impacted on by these changes. Thus, it can be argued that such an approach is not a ‘gender sensitive’ understanding of gender equality as men are not explicitly included in the measurement and their needs and opportunities are not actively acknowledged.

This woman centric approach to gender equality can be identified within a UN project that was impalement in 2005. The project focused on securing young girl’s better

opportunities and access to secondary school education in different parts of the third world. Previous research had indicated that whilst primary school attendance had risen amongst girls within various countries, levels of secondary school enrolment were still significantly low (*United Nations, 2005*). The project evaluation stated that secondary school levels of education had the greatest contribution towards women's empowerment in consideration to economic opportunities. Thus, the project concentrated on securing young girls a secondary education within third world countries by combatting negative incentives such as making schools more affordable by reducing costs and offering scholarships, by building secondary schools close to homes and by making schools safe and girl-friendly (*United Nations, 2005*). The project analysis promoted the idea that education will be used as a tool for securing gender equality amongst women by granting them better economic opportunities whilst also acting as a 'vehicle for transforming attitudes, beliefs, and entrenched social norms that perpetuate discrimination and inequality' (*United Nations, 2005, 36*).

Whilst this project does grant girls better access to secondary school education and provides positive incentives for parents to send their girls to school, it is a very woman centric approach to the issue. The root reasons for why girls are traditionally discouraged from entering education are not explicitly explored and how this societal change impacts the lives of boys and men is also not focused upon. Arguably, it is essential that women are the primary focus of gender development projects as they are the more discriminated gender within society, it is also important that the views and attitudes of men are acknowledged. As men make up around 50% of populations it suggests that both men and women should be actively included within these projects in order to legitimise the agendas and ensure that further discrimination is not created.

Furthermore, this approach also promotes the educational advancement of girls as an accurate reflection of improved gender equality. The approach of their projects suggests that women's empowerment can be secured through the improvement of women's access in to the economic sector. By allowing women to enter the economic realm the associations of women at the private realm will be altered. As the traditional reasons for women's discouragement in education is not explored, women and girls may receive further issues of discrimination within schools due to the lack of societal acceptance. Although attendance may increase amongst female pupils, girls access and ability to utilise the benefits of education, may continue to be effected due to the community's perceptions of gender which discourages females from receiving an education. In addition, more girls may be entering secondary school education it does not necessarily challenge the hesitance the economic sector has in employing women.

The understandings of women's empowerment being the result of increased education can also be identified within projects and reports commissioned by the World Bank. A report conducted by *World Bank (2010)* argues that education needs to be secured for young girls to ensure that they can contribute to the economic market and gain the same opportunities as men. The report 'Gender and Governance in Rural Services' was originally created with the aim of investigating why women often suffer from shortages of rural services. The investigation leads to the conclusion womens inability to access rural services is due to the gender division which exists in labour and makes women more responsible for duties such as fetching water, getting health care for children and reaching markets. Whilst the acknowledgment of different cultural norms being responsible for associating gender with

different roles these root causes of gender division are not explored. Instead, the research analyses the relationship that lower levels of education have on the access ability of women to rural services.

This report promotes the increased enrolment of women in education to ensure that type will be able to have the same economic opportunities as men and increase their ability to access resources such as rural services. This approach centres around the perspective that women need to access the economic realm to be viewed in equal terms to men. This places heavy emphasis on the role which the economic sector has on promoting equality within society. This perspective can be further identified in the report conducted by by *Duvury et al (2013)*, which was part of a wider report commissioned by the World Bank. The report suggests that gender equality must be achieved to ensure the full maximum potential for economic development within a country. Primarily, the report focuses on measuring the negative costs involved within domestic violence on the economic development of a country.

The report argues that from an economic perspective, high levels of domestic violence against women significantly increases economic expenditures on service provisions whilst also lowering women's economic income and reproductive rates. Overall, such implications will have a negative influence on economic growth. The study was conducted by evaluating the monetary costs involved in resolving domestic violence cases and the monetary costs involved in eliminating practices of gender based violence. The study concluded that more research in to the economic impacts of domestic violence should be conducted, whilst more funding needs to be directed towards prevention projects and improving legislation which protects women against domestic violence.

This article approaches the issue of gender inequality from an economic perspective which understands women in consideration to the labour market. Women's complete access to the labour market needs to be secured whilst their overall health needs to be maintained to allow them to fully contribute. Although this report acknowledged the issue of gender based violence as a wider issue of gender inequality, it fails to explore the primary reasons for why gender based violence occurs. The economic tone within the report encourages development projects to view gender inequality as an economic issue which should be eliminated in order to ensure full economic productivity. Thus, this fails to explore the processes within society which contribute towards the issue of gender based violence as the primary focus of the report is to ensure the full economic potential of a country is achieved. Failing to understand the processes which contribute towards gender inequality hinder the effectiveness of gender development projects as the root causes are not resolved.

This perspective takes in to account other issues as opposed to simply granting women access in to the economic market, the other social issues which gender inequality encourages are only understood in accordance to economic development. In this sense, it can be argued that if there are issues of gender inequality which do not significantly contribute towards economic progress these will be ignored. In addition, women are again the prime target within this report without exploring why it is primarily women who suffer from domestic violence and why it is men who are often the perpetrators. Thus, by focusing on economic implications of gender inequality many aspects which are understood as contributing towards unequal gender relations are not acknowledged. Furthermore, focusing on gender equality as

an economic issue effectively objectifies women by viewing them as economic components. This ultimately encourages a very practical approach to a very sensitive issue.

The limitations in perceiving the increased educational participation of women as an improvement is identified within a report commissioned by the *Department for International Development* (DFID) in 2002. This report explored the impact that increased education amongst women had had on wider issues of gender inequality and gender relations. The document stated that whilst significant improvements had been made in areas of education, huge disparities continued to be a reality in political, economic, social and cultural life (*Department for International Development, 2002*). The document stated that progress towards achieving gender equality had been most effective in countries where legal frameworks had been put in place promoting and securing gender equality.

Effective legal frameworks were understood as political and legal structures which supported the human rights of women. Countries which had accepted Western definitions of gender equality in consideration to human rights were acknowledged as having 'effective' legal and political institutions. In this report, gender equality was viewed as a political issue where legal legislation needed to ensure the equality of women in accordance to the UN's protocol of human rights. The document argued that to secure the empowerment of women, strategies which focus upon fortifying legal and political rights for women needed to be adopted. These structures would help to ensure that progress made within other sectors such as education, would filter through to other sectors of society to ensure that women would receive equal opportunities (*Department for International Development, 2002*).

However, whilst political and legal rights are important to obtain they do not necessarily challenge the gender perceptions held by society and cannot ensure the legitimisation of these changes. If social and cultural perceptions of gender do not associate women as having human rights rigid legal systems may not be effective in altering attitudes of gender inequality. Whilst Western society tend to perceive political and legal structures as legitimate rule of law, this is not necessarily the case for other communities. Other social structures such as religion, culture and tradition may play an important part in maintaining unequal gender relations and unless these structures are explored the issue may not be effectively resolved.

This issue of men and women not recognising the legitimacy of political or legal rights is illustrated in a project which was implemented by the United Nations Development program (UNDP) in 2002. This project was implemented in Afghanistan and aimed to improve the social conditions of women within the country after they had suffered from unequal access to public services during the years of Taliban rule. *UNDP (2013)* state that visible progress could be seen in the country from rising levels of girls attending education and an increasing number of women working within schools, hospitals and governmental offices. However, UNDP acknowledge that such levels do not reflect gender equality as many issues continued to persist such as gender based violence, forced marriage and sexual assaults. Thus, this suggests that whilst formal changes have been made in legal, economic, educational and political institutions, cultural understandings of gender remained deeply engraved within the society which undermined the development project.

However, despite these findings the project continued to explicitly focus upon designing an approach which worked on improving the legal rights of women. The project was

developed to ensure that women who faced discrimination or violence could access legal support. The project implemented legal and political structures which helped to secure practical support in the justice system for women and promoted women to use these systems if they needed to. Whilst such actions help to promote formal and legal equality of men and women, such strategies again arguably approach the issue through a woman only perspective. Thus, the understanding of women as being inferior is not challenged through exploring the cultural factors which influence these understandings and men's perceptions of women are not acknowledged. Instead, these understandings are undermined through the implementation of increasing legal rights for women which dictate that the cultural understandings of gender are 'wrong.' Despite changing legal structures there is no guarantee that such measures will work in practice as women may be hesitant in suing them due to the social stigma which they receive. In addition, such measures which determine men as perpetrators and women as victims, could increase tension and conflict between men and women as the traditional understandings of gender are not actively explored or challenged.

The uncertainty behind legal and political reformations can be highlighted in a report conducted by Making Every Woman Count report (*MEWC, 2014*). The African Women's decade was launched in 2010 by the UN and its objectives focused on securing advancements for women in Africa. The MEWC was founded after this launch and is an African woman led-organisation, which serves as a mobilizing, networking, information, advocacy and training platform for African women (*MEWC, 2014*). After the UNWOMEN launched the major campaign in 2014 which attempted to raise awareness on the challenges that remain for achieving gender equality, the MEWC organisation created an analysis report on the progress of African governments. The report was conducted through examining Governmental reports, UN reports, country policy reports along with other relevant news articles. Whilst the MEWC argue that progress has been made within the African Union (AU) in applying legislation which attempts to create favourable environments for women's empowerment, 'engrained social norms that promote discrimination against women are still very much present (*MEWC, 2014, 7*). This suggests that despite legal and political changes, the understandings and legitimisation for gender inequality continues to exist.

The report argues that progress still needs to be made in regards to policy implementation, women in decision-making positions, education, health and human rights (*MEWC, 2014*). Despite the article acknowledging that political and legal changes had not had effective impact on women's empowerment, the researchers continue to argue that further measures within the political realm need to be implemented to secure this. There is an understanding that the moral and rule of law which political institutions influence can help to alter attitudes of gender inequality within society. Nevertheless, exploring the social norms of the different countries is not explicitly encouraged within the report. Instead, a top down approach has been taken where the top levels have been measured and analysed, in consideration to policy and legislation, without investigating how the social levels are impacted upon. Thus, it can be suggested that understandings of gender inequality continue to be measured in relation to western understandings of gender equality and from the perspective that the top levels of society will influence those at the bottom. This means that improved legislations and political changes are expected to impact upon the overall social norms of gender relations.

The reports and projects which have been analysed in this section have highlighted the current approaches which have been adopted by UN and World Bank. Arguably, the primary methods take a top down approach to the issue of gender inequality by promoting institutional change. The UN and World Bank continue to focus on altering the structures within the political, legal, economic and educational realms of society. It is understood that these institutions create gender inequality within society so by granting women further opportunities within these realms it is believed that understandings of women at the bottom levels of society will also change. Thus, the top levels of society are primarily important in bringing about wider gender equality.

However, these approaches contain severe limitations. Gender inequality is primarily understood in accordance to economic and political perspectives which means that it is often tackled through providing more opportunities for women to access education and the labour market, whilst political and legal reformation are targeted for securing women's equality. Development projects aim to increase women's economic and political empowerment with the consideration that such changes will also impact other areas of society. Nevertheless, despite gender development projects being guided by gender sensitivity which should include both men and women, it is primarily women who continue to be targeted. In addition, many of these approaches are seen from western perspectives and understandings of equality without exploring the cultural aspects that have contributed towards the creation of unequal understandings of gender. Furthermore, the data used within these projects focuses on calculating numbers of women within educational, political and economic institutions, or observing legal frameworks in place. Therefore, this form of evaluation does not take in to consideration changes which have happened in other areas of society.

Without understanding how gender is created at the bottom levels of society, it is impossible to predict how changing top institutional structures will affect these relations. Nevertheless, there continues to be arguments which promote the top down approach in gender development. This discourse helps to frame why the UN and the World Bank continue to promote these agendas and how they are expected to alter gender inequality. The next section within this literature review, will explore further discourse which promotes the top down approach in gender development. Political reformation which promotes women's rights are an essential starting point for securing gender equality for other sectors in society. This research will be used to further analyse the approaches which are currently being utilised to tackle gender equality. It will give an overview of the debates and arguments which promote the significance of political and legal reformation in securing gender equality.

2.2 Securing Gender Equality Through the Political: The Top Down Approach

How the issue of gender inequality is understood impacts upon the area which research focuses on and the issues which are targeted. As discovered within the previous section, current UN and World Bank led projects understand the issue of gender inequality as a political, economic and educational phenomenon. By promoting gender equality at the top levels of society such changes should filter down to the bottom levels. To highlight why this research project takes a bottom down approach to the issue of gender inequality, it is important to explore the different debates which surround these two approaches. This section will aim to present and analyse the top down approach by looking at discourse which argues

for the need to political secure gender equality. The literature was discovered by using the University of Jyväskylä's online data base and key words such as 'legal', 'legislation' and 'political frameworks' were used to identify research which focused on the political aspects of gender inequality.

Whilst a considerable amount of discourse focuses on the practical role which political and legal institutions play in ensuring the achievement of gender equality, other discourse also highlight the symbolic impact of such institutions. The article written by *Raub et al* (2014) attempts to illustrate the significant impact the constitution can play in combatting domestic violence and promoting wider gender equality. *Raub et al* argues that constitutional change, which explicitly states the importance of women's rights against domestic violence, promotes women's wider empowerment in social norms. The authors suggest that the constitution constructs the foundations for all other political and legal frameworks within a nation-state. Thus, it is vital for all nations to explicitly mention women's rights within their constitutions as it sets the moral tone for all other political and legal frameworks.

The constitution is the hardest piece of political legislation to change, which means that the policies outlined within a constitution are well protected against changes in political rule (*Raub et al, 2014*). This makes it an extremely important piece of political legislation, especially within developing countries where political authority can often be unstable. By including women's rights in the constitution, it offers women certain guarantees of equal opportunity despite changes in government. However, *Raub et al (2014)* Also claim that the constitution plays a wider symbolic role within setting the moral tone for the society. The authors argue that it sets the rights and wrongs within a given community, which means that if women's rights are included, the association with women will also alter in the long term. Thus, as the political and legal legislation is associated with societal legitimacy, the acknowledgement of women's rights within the constitution will contribute towards the changing attitudes towards women in all aspects of society.

In this sense, the issue of gender inequality is understood as both a political and social phenomenon. However, the top institutions within society are given primary importance in altering the bottom level attitudes towards gender. The researchers conducted their analysis by reviewing the constitutions of different nations to compare how the third world constitutions included women's equality in comparison to the developed world. The authors suggested that women's rights had to be explicitly mentioned and defined in order to ensure that they were included within the category of 'human rights.'

This approach was similar to research which was conducted by *Asimwe-Mwesige in 2002*. *Asimwe-Mwesige (2002)* explored the importance of Family Law reform in combatting issues such as domestic violence. The author argues that including women's rights in to Family Law has a similar symbolic effect on altering the morals of communities. According to this research, domestic violence is often seen as a private matter within the family which discourages police to get involved within such cases. However, the author suggests that reformation within Family Law which make the practice of domestic violence explicitly illegal, would contribute towards altering acceptance towards the practice.

The researcher claims that whilst legal reformations also need to be supported by further frameworks which allow them to work in practice, the initial changes in political and

legal institutions also works on a symbolic level. This symbolic level contributes towards altering social norms and practices such as domestic violence. Family reform would therefore work towards providing further legal protection for women against domestic violence, whilst also contributing towards changing social norms and social attitudes towards gender relations. The arguments within this research highlight the debates within the top down discourse. The literature which focuses on the top levels of society in combatting gender inequality believe that these structures at the top provide both legal solutions and help towards changing social norms.

However, similar to *Raub et al (2014)*, the legitimacy of legal structures is understood according to Western concepts. It is not guaranteed that legal changes will be accepted in the same manner they are in many Western countries. In addition, as the practice of domestic violence is sometimes a cultural norm within communities making the practice illegal does not help to inform individuals why these practices are wrong. Without community members fully acknowledging how some traditional practices are harmful towards wider society, it is unlikely that legal changes are accepted or viewed as legitimate. Thus, measuring improved gender equality through the analyse of legal frameworks may not accurately reflect how effectively these legal changes contribute towards improving gender relations.

This issue is evident in the research conducted by *Goetz (1998)*. *Goetz (1998)* explored the extent of power which women gained once they had received a position within a political institution. Whilst the previous two literatures focused on the practical and symbolic nature which legal frameworks had on promoting women's rights, *Goetz* argues that political realms also represent the people which means it is vital for women to enter these institutions to ensure their representations and secure their equality. However, *Goetz (1998)* conducted research which explored how the increasing number of women within the political institutions of Uganda and South Africa practically helped to improve wider empowerment for women. Through multiple interviews and focus groups with both male and female political representatives, *Goetz* found that women's presence within such institutions rarely granted women opportunities to exert their influence. The author argued that the information communicated by male and female politicians showed that women found it difficult to influence political or legal agendas due to the heavily male dominated environment.

Goetz highlights that gender equality cannot be accurately measured by relying upon increasing numbers of women within formal institutions. Whilst women's presence within these realms needs to be encouraged, further legal frameworks must be implemented to ensure that they can exert power and influence. Whilst *Goetz* research continues to underline the importance of altering gender equality at the top levels of society, the research also identifies the complex process of achieving this. Securing women's access to these levels does not automatically alter how women are perceived or the amount of power they gain. Thus, relying upon simply granting women access does not resolve the issue of gender inequality effectively but more needs to be done to ensure that type can utilise these positions to an equal manner.

In addition, this research also identifies a limitation within the measurement methodologies that are often adopted by top down approaches. Increased numbers of women within the top structures of society or improved formal legislation is not always an accurate representation of improved levels of equality. As the measurement methodologies often focus

on statistical data or on analysing legal documents they do not explore how gender relations are impacted upon at the bottom levels of society. Whilst the underlying assumption behind top down approaches argues that the changes at the top will filter through to alter those at the bottom, the impacts of the bottom are not always explored. Thus, in order to get a full understanding of how changes at the top are impacting wider gender relations more research should focus upon exploring these bottom levels.

Since Goetz work in 1998, other research within this discourse has also continued to build up on this type of perspective by exploring how gender equality can be secured in both legislation and in practice. This type of research continues to emphasise the significance of strong political institutions for the promotion of women's empowerment but also highlight the complex process in formally securing gender equality. The study of *Madu*, (2015) was conducted almost two decades after the work of Goetz but continues to highlight similar arguments. Whilst Goetz explored women's influence within political institution, *Madu* aimed to understand why issues of domestic violence continue to be so persistent within Nigeria despite changes in legal legislation.

Madu argues that despite Nigeria securing considerable progress within its legal legislation in protecting women, it continues to lack further legal and political frameworks which allow the legislation to work in practice. *Madu* argues that despite Nigeria securing considerable progress within its legal legislation in protecting women, it continues to lack further legal and political frameworks which allow the legislation to work in practice. The arguments within the work of *Madu*, echo similar understandings of political institutions being key components in securing gender equality. However, the author claims that legal reformations are not enough to secure gender equality and further legislation is needed which makes actions such as domestic violence punishable by law.

The content analysis of legal legislation which was conducted within the study, revealed that rigid legal frameworks which ensured the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of domestic violence were not present in Nigeria. This research method highlights that western concepts of human rights and legal justice have been utilised to analyse the legislation within Nigeria. This reflects the perspective that domestic violence is viewed as a 'criminal act' which violates human rights and needs to be punishable by law. Arguably, such arguments do not take in to consideration the social contexts which have created an environment which consider the act of domestic violence as acceptable. In these communities, such traditions have been accepted by both men and women for a considerable amount of time. Therefore, making such practices illegal and punishable by law ignore these cultural understandings of these communities.

Bemidele (2016) challenges this promotion of Western understandings of criminal punishment within culturally different setting. The author argues that historical and cultural aspects need to be taken in to consideration when designing appropriate legal measures to issues such as gender based violence (GBV). The research of *Bemidele* explores the issues revolved around resolving the incidents of GBV which occurred within Uganda during the recent civil war. The research of *Bemidele* explores the issues revolved around resolving the incidents of GBV which occurred within Uganda during the recent civil war. The author carries out the research by conducting an in-depth case study on Uganda which involved exploring the historical, social and cultural context of the country. In addition, the author

conducts a content analysis on the current legal legislation which is being applied to determine justice for victims of GBV during the civil war.

The author argues, that whilst pursuing legal justice for the victims of GBV is necessary this also needs to be approached with caution. In consideration to the unique historical context of the country, it is of vital importance that harmony and stability are maintained. In this sense, the author understands the issue of GBV as a phenomenon which perpetrators need to be held accountable for, however, this should not be pursued according to western understandings and interpretations. The study argues that the sensitive cultural and historical context of the incidents must also be taken in to consideration and therefore Western understandings of law are not applicable. Thus, a complex method of promoting justice for the victims, whilst also taking in to consideration the unique circumstances of the social environment need to be applied in order to ensure co-operation, development and stability.

Whilst the research also supports the importance of implementing political legislation to support women's empowerment, the research methodologies reveal that limitations exist when merely legal legislation is analysed and compared. The case study and interview approach recognises the complex issues behind securing gender equality and creating co-operative gender relations within communities. Whilst ensuring that legislation is in place which supports women's protection against violence is important, Western models should not be implemented within communities or used as a comparison. Conducting case studies which acknowledge the unique environments, histories and cultural understandings are a necessity when designing appropriate legal frameworks (*Bemidele, 2016*).

In consideration to this set of literature, the debates within this discourse revolve around the appropriate measures which need to be implemented in order to ensure that political reformations can secure gender equality. All the literature discussed takes a top down approach to the issue of gender inequality where the formal structures of society need to be altered in order to promote change at the bottom levels. The research highlights the significant role formal institutions, such as political and legal structures, have on the influence of gender equality. Arguably, changes within these levels of society are needed to ensure that legal rights of women are protected and promoted. However, these approaches tend to gather their data from exploring changes at the top without necessarily exploring how these changes filter through to other levels of society. Whilst some of the research identifies this issue, the authors continue to promote increased legal or political reformation without exploring how these changes impact social processes at the bottom. The failure of political or legal reformation is associated with the lack of other formal structures being in place which allow these structures to work in practice. However, the next section of literature understands these failures as being the result of processes at the bottom levels of society. Thus, the next section explores the arguments within the bottom up approach to gender inequality and helps to identify why gender inequality continues to persist despite changes in the formal structures of society.

2.3 The Social Processes of Gender Inequality: The Bottom Up Approach

The literature discussed within this section takes a bottom up approach in consideration to gender inequality. The focus of the research primarily explores the social process which

contribute towards wider issues of inequality and how these processes impact upon the effectiveness of formal institutions. In this sense, the literature takes an opposite approach to the literature which previously discussed. Case studies, interviews and focus groups are the primary methodologies used within this research and the arguments of the authors are often only appropriate for that community under investigation. Nevertheless, the debates and the data within this research can be used to identify how the bottom levels of society impact upon gender relations and why these aspects are extremely important in gender development research.

The literature which has been used within this section explores a variety of different social aspects which need to be taken in to consideration when conducting gender development research. In general, this section is used to provide support for the importance of understanding the social environment and social conditions of gender inequality. The literature was found through the University of Jyväskylä's library data base by searching for research which had been conducted on gender inequality from multiple different aspects. The aspects which were included in this section all focused on altering or developing gender inequality from the bottom levels of society, so by working within local communities or individuals as opposed to promoting changes in the formal institutions. This research also includes research which has attempted to explain the failures of political reformations by investigating the bottom structures in society.

One important aspect of this research is the limitation researcher's effectiveness of political reformations in impacting upon changes in social contexts. *Campbell and Mannell (2015)* argue that political and legal policies do not impact on everyone to the same extent, which means that whilst some women may benefit from stronger political frameworks others may not. *Campbell and Mannell (2015)* investigate this issue by exploring how women who live in 'extreme settings' are still able to exert their agency despite the absence of political and legal security. 'Extreme settings' are defined by the authors as environments such as extreme poverty, civil war famine etc. The study was conducted by interviewing both men and women living within these societies and exploring the tactics which women adopted in order to ensure their well-being. The study highlighted that women who live within these conditions are still able to adopt different strategies to challenge their oppression without needing to rely upon political or legal structures.

The research identified that women exert a considerable amount of agency over their own lives even within environments where women are often perceived as being helpless victims. The authors argued that this 'agency' which the women illustrated would not be considered as agency in consideration to Western understandings. This is because agency in the West is seen as women being able to report mistreatment, such as domestic violence, to local authorities or accessing other formal institutions to pursue their rights (*Campbell and Mannell (2015)*). However, the authors argue that asking women to fight for their human rights within these settings is inappropriate due to the reality of their situation. Nevertheless, these women are able to exert control over their own lives and the decisions which they make within these environments are made in order to secure their own future. The agency identified within the interviews contained tactics such as deciding to stay in abusive relationship to secure economic income, starting their own business to secure the economic well-being of their family or deciding to get married to financially support their families. Thus, women

should not be perceived as helpless victims even if they are not formally supported by political or legal structures.

This research suggests that merely supporting legal and political reformation does not acknowledge the numerous groups of women who live in different social realities. Expecting these structures to impact upon all women in the same manner is false, as many will not be able to benefit from these securities due to their extreme settings. Nevertheless, women within these difficult conditions are not helpless and do not necessarily need these structures to secure their wellbeing as they are able to exert a considerable amount of authority over their own lives. In this sense, empowerment for different groups of women may be extremely different. Therefore, approaching gender equality from an understanding that all women can be viewed as the same causes issues in how effectively these policies will be accepted and also they may cause damage to others in society.

This is further explored by Wakoko and Labao (1996) who conducted a study which aimed to highlight the complex nature of gender inequality by disputing the perspective that women were merely passive victims. The study conducted a case study on Uganda which illustrated how women within these societies were able to challenge their social positions despite discriminatory political systems. The authors argued that in Uganda, women were active agents of their own lives who were able to challenge their social, economic and political environments by creating new spaces within them which would enhance their empowerment. The authors argue that discourse illustrating women as passive objects to their subordination has encouraged the perspective that significant economic or political reform is needed to secure their equality.

The research was conducted by interviewing both men and women within small communities in Uganda. The research found that women were pursuing empowerment through opening up small businesses and networking together which allowed women to create new spaces where they could actively challenge their subordination. suggests that there has been a strategic shift in women's mindsets. The interviews suggested that there had been a significant 'shift' in the mindsets of the women who had begun to move away from practical interests such as material goods or family welfare. Instead women adopting these strategies had begun to think in a strategical manner where they would pursue different tactics to ensure that they would be able to become financially independent and would be able to access institutions such as education.

However, women are actively involved in shaping their own social environments despite the absence of political or legal securities. Women exert a significant amount of agency and independence within their communities and are able to adopt different strategies to achieve their goals. In this sense, men and women are both actively involved in creating their desired social environments and changes in these environments will influence changes in formal societal institutions also. Exploring what types of changes men and women actively seek is important when constructing changes in political and legal structures as these should reflect the desires of society. Arguably, top down approaches to gender development continue to view women as helpless victims whose rights and wants need to be secured through formal institutions. Thus, such approaches may not take in to consideration the actual 'wants or needs' of women as they are merely perceived as passive objects to political reformation.

The consequence of this form of approach is highlighted in *Burgess and Campbell (2014)*. The research conducted by *Burgess and Campbell* investigates the complex nature of women's agency and political agenda in gender development. The study highlights how political reformations which aim to improve gender equality are not always seen as legitimate as they do not reflect the values of men and women. The research paper conducted a case study on Uganda and explored the recent rejection of a government approved marriage bill. The Ugandan Marriage and Divorce Bill aimed to increase women's rights before, during and after marriage (*Burgess and Campbell, 2014*). The bill addressed patriarchal norms by challenging understandings of women's land rights, economic rights and personal rights when entering marriage (*Larok, 2013, cited in Burgess and Campbell, 2014*). The authors argued that the bill was perceived as a significant step towards securing women's agency within marriage.

After increasing pressure from UN to implement the Despite the Ugandan Marriage and Divorce Bill, the Ugandan government officially approved the bill in 2009. However, it was widely rejected by the Ugandan population in 2013 which forced the government to reassess the bill (*Burgess and Campbell, 2014*). Interestingly, most discontent towards the bill came from Ugandan women who were living within impoverished backgrounds and who were arguably most protected by the bill. (*Burgess and Campbell, 2014*) investigated this revelation by in-depth interviews were conducted on both men and women from different social backgrounds in order to understand how the marriage bill was understood and conceptualised by these communities. The research found that the marriage bill directly challenged the social positions which women had created for themselves within their families, especially within the rural settings. The researchers highlighted that women within certain social settings had already asserted their authority within their homes through different strategies. Thus, such dramatic changes in the legal or political system caused insecurity for both men and women and directly undermined the agency of women within these communities.

With this in consideration, this article highlights how top down approaches do not necessarily accurately reflect community needs and the wants of women. The legitimacy of changing formal societal institutions should be acknowledged by both men and women within these societies as otherwise their impact will be limited. The study identified that Uganda women demonstrated their agency through rejecting the marital bill as they did not perceive it to be an accurate reflection of their needs. as being legitimate. Whilst Western understandings of gender equality are often understood per UN defined human rights different understandings within different communities are also legitimate. Therefore, gender equality needs to be approached per the unique perspectives of both men and women. These perceptions need to be taken in to consideration in order to ensure that changes within the formal levels are accepted.

Furthermore, within this discourse political and legal reformations are perceived to be very women centric often ignoring their impact on gender relations between both men and women. Gender inequality is understood as an issue which is created through these social interactions between both men and women. Therefore, to fully understand the extent that political reformations impact these relations, both men and women need to be considered. *Schulkinda, J., et al. (2015)* argue that both men and women need to be actively included and considered when it comes to gender inequality. The researchers conducted an in-depth

investigation in understanding how the use of alcohol was related to incidents of intimate partner violence in Uganda. The research was conducted in order to highlight the necessity of actively involving men within the resolution process.

The researchers argued that one aspect which contributed towards the risk of women experiencing domestic violence, was the in-depth patriarchal norms which demanded male dominance. These norms and expectation had a complex relationship with the use of alcohol and the practice of violence. With this in consideration, the researchers argued that it is of vital importance to include both men and women in the intervention process as whilst alcohol levels can be reduced the acceptance of male inflicted domestic violence also needs to be challenged. This research was conducted through collecting interviews from both men and women who had either experienced, or been involved within, intimate partner violence in order to gain an understanding of the issue. The information communicated by the participants was then subject to a thorough thematic analysis to identify underlying relationships between the interviews. This thematic analysis revealed that understandings of gender roles helped to reinforce and maintain patriarchal norms and the acceptance of domestic violence.

The identification of both men and women being actively involved in the maintenance and acceptance of gender inequality suggests that top down approaches may often not take this in to consideration. Political and legal reformations will often secure opportunities for women through force as opposed to challenging or altering the perceptions of gender held by men. Targeting men as the perpetrators and women as the victims does not reflect an accurate understanding of the gender relations of both men and women. In addition, these approaches fail to take in to account how men will be impacted on by these reformations and how this will impact gender relations in the community level. The research highlights that only focusing on one half of the population only tackles one half of the issues. The complexity of this relation needs to be understood that it is not maintained by men and accepted by women but that both men and women play a role in creating and maintaining gender relations.

The discourse within this section has presented the opposing approach to gender development which is often not adopted by IGO's such as the UN or the World Bank. The research and studies included within this section have highlighted how the bottom levels of society are also extremely significant in combatting issues gender inequality. Whilst altering discriminatory legal and political structures is also important, such changes will be limited if the social conditions of that community are not acknowledged. Without understanding how gender inequality is created within the society and which social processes contribute towards this issue, political and legal frameworks will not be effective in combatting these processes. In addition, without complete acknowledgement of the wants and needs of both men and women within this process it is unlikely that such political and legal changes will be accepted by wider community.

This section has highlighted why it is important to explore and investigated the social processes within community which contribute towards issues of gender inequality. However, these processes are wide and varied which makes it difficult to identify which aspects of the bottom structures of society should be focused upon. This research project argues that gender inequality is a consequence of social construction where the unequal understandings of men and women are constructed within society. The unique environment of different communities

will contain different social aspects which contribute towards these unequal associations of men and women. Thus, in order to understand the context of gender inequality these social aspects need to be explored.

Understanding why this research project has taken this approach is important. The last section within this literature review will explore the discourse which explores the social construction of gender inequality. The literature will contain several studies which have explored the different aspects of gender inequality in consideration to social constructivism. This section will aim to highlight how the social construction of gender is related to issues of wider gender inequality and why these processes are vital to understand within gender development discourse.

2.4 Exploring the Importance of Social Construction

The literature review has explored the arguments within the top down and bottom up approaches. The bottom down approach literature has highlighted some of the complexities involved within gender development and how these smaller processes impact upon wider social institutions. In addition, the research has highlighted how social processes have different impacts upon gender inequality and how these social processes differ between communities. My research aims to contribute towards the understanding of one such social process which is the social construction of gender roles. However, to further locate the relevance of this research within wider gender development discourse it is important to explore literature which explicitly examines social construction of gender and how this impacts gender inequality.

The literature within this section has been very influential in creating the research agenda of this research project. The debates and studies within this section have contributed great critique on existing UN and World Bank led gender development projects and why the social constructions of gender are significantly important to understand. The literature was again found by using Jyvaskyla's online library database by searching for gender projects which focus on issues of gender based violence. The literature was then chosen due to its explicit focus on the social construction of gender in helping to explain gender based violence.

In 2006, *Moffet* conducted a narrative case study on South Africa with the aim of exploring why rates of sexual violence against women were so high in the country. She argued that the extremely high rates of incidences and the failures within both the criminal justice and medical system suggested an 'unacknowledged gender civil war' (*Moffet, 2006, pg129*). However, she also claims that whilst Western theories propose the 'anger, fear and inadequacy of individual men as central to the 'story' of why men rape' (*Moffet, 2006, pg131*) these frameworks are not adequate in explaining the South African narrative. The researcher conducts her work by analysing narratives of rape within public media and discourse. She collects these narratives in order to gain an insight in to how 'rape' is conceptualised and understood within the society.

Whilst the author claims that she believes that 'the cause of sexual violence lies in the construction of dominant masculinities found in all patriarchal social systems,' her findings also highlight a relationship between narratives of sexual violence and the experience of the

apartheid. The research suggests that in South Africa, acts of rape 'draw on apartheid practices of control that have permeated all sectors of society' (*Moffet, 2006, pg 129*). The author argues that women are the 'other' within society and have socially understood inferiority in comparison to men. Whilst this is true in most societies, *Moffet* suggests that the history of the country has seen the 'other' as potentially powerful and unstable which needs to be controlled and policed. Thus, now that the 'other' is the female 'some men believe that by resorting to sexual violence, they are participating in a socially approved project to keep women within certain boundaries and categories' (*Moffet, 2006, pg 141*).

This study highlights how the construction of certain genders as the 'other' or as 'inferior' can legitimise certain types of behaviour and practices. Whilst this study primarily focuses upon how the historical roots of South Africa have contributed towards these constructions there are also other social processes which impact upon this. *Lwambo (2011)* explored the increases in cases of domestic violence within the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) following several humanitarian interventions which focused upon empowering women, economically, medically and educationally. The author conducted several in-depth interviews with community members, both men and women, in order to understand how these interventions were understood by men and women and how they had impacted gender relations.

The findings of *Lwambo* found that the empowerment of women had undermined traditional hierarchies within DRC which had led to become emasculated. Women had been granted greater economic opportunities and during a civil war, few men could perform their traditional roles as income providers. In the DRC context, the author found that the practice of domestic violence was not seen as a desired masculine characteristic, but the ability to control one's family and provide financial support was. As men were unable to provide for their families due to the social and economic destruction caused by the long civil war, men began to lose the respect of their families. In addition, the increased empowerment of women threatened their hierarchical position even more which encouraged men to use domestic violence as form of control over their families.

Interestingly, *Lwambo* discovered that even women expected their men to be able to perform traditional masculine roles. Despite women gaining greater access to economic income and employment, women continued to expect men to be the primary income providers and when this failed, women did not view their men as 'men'. Thus, the author argues that this dramatic societal change increased tensions and competition between men and women which impacted upon the practice of domestic violence. This study highlights how understandings of gender roles control behaviour and when this behaviour is not performed or is threatened it can cause tension and even result in increased violence. This is an important aspect within this research project as it suggests that gender roles have a significant impact upon the behaviour of men and women as well as the 'expected' behaviour of men and women. When this is not performed accordingly or is threatened it could increase hostility and tension in gender relations. Nevertheless, the study conducted by *Lwambo* suggests that the construction of gender has a significant impact upon how individuals behave and how they expect others to behave within society. In addition, it creates hierarchies and roles which need to be achieved. In addition, it highlights the importance of both men and women within the construction of gender as both men and women are central to the creation and maintenance of these expected behaviours.

A final central study which highlights how understandings of gender impact upon gender relations is the study by *Starmann, et al. (2016)*. In general, the study investigated how prevention strategies against domestic violence within Uganda had impacted towards gender relations within relationships. Amongst other aims, the study highlighted how prevention interventions against domestic violence could benefit from encouraging relationship skills between couples. The study focused on understanding the key constructs which impact upon the equality of relationship, including relationship equality, communication, self-regulation, shared commitments towards investment and power. The study used these understandings of 'quality relationship skills' to determine what steps could be taken to encourage these types of behaviours within relationship to discourage the event of domestic violence. However, in consideration to this research project an important aspect the study highlighted was the impact that gender roles have in determine behaviour which in turn effects the quality of the relationship.

The study consisted of conducting several semi-structured interviews between couples in order to gain an insight on how their relationship had changed during the course of the intervention. *Starman et al (2016)* argued that gender roles which grant men unchallenged hegemony within Uganda can also be playing a role in domestic violence. The researchers suggest that men's traditional roles may be under threat or be undermined by recent societal and economic changes within the society which increase the likelihood of domestic violence. However, it could also be suggested that if gender roles can be understood as influencing behaviour, this may also have a significant impact upon the behaviour which men and women perform within relationships. The research concluded that 'through enhanced awareness of relationship values and gender roles, some participants began reflecting on their own and their partner's role and how greater mutual support could result in better outcomes for their family (*Starman et al, 2016, pp 8*).

The study concluded that promoting more effective and equal relationship skills improved the dynamics between men and women which contributed towards the prevention of domestic violence. However, as the study also highlighted the part which gender roles played in impacting relationship dynamic it would be important to explore how and which gender roles effected these gender relations. In general, as gender roles are understood as effecting the behaviour of men and women and impacting how they relate to one another in a relationship context, it would be vital to understand exactly which gender roles impact upon both the experience and practice of domestic violence. In addition, understanding how these gender roles impact upon this issue would contribute towards knowledge on which types of roles need to be challenged to encourage more co-operative and harmonious behaviour between men and women.

This chapter has presented wider literature concerning this research project in order to place the research agenda and research questions in to perspective. Currently, top to bottom theoretical understandings can be used to explain the development approaches which have been taken by major IGO's. These revolve around altering the economic, political and educational opportunities of women by primarily implementing new legal structures or dissolving discriminatory laws within countries. However, this chapter has also presented the opposing arguments which are embedded within the bottom up approaches. These approaches claim that a top down approach does not necessarily eliminate the discriminatory social constructions which exist at the bottom levels of the community. These are seen as primarily

important in having created issue of gender inequality in the first place which is why they need to be explored and challenged.

This research project will further contribute towards these arguments and challenges the top down approaches which are implemented by IGO's by investigating the impact socially constructed aspects of gender have on gender inequality. By exploring how socially understood gender roles influence issues of domestic violence, this research will contribute knowledge on the importance of understanding social contexts of gender and the bottom levels of societies and the necessity to tackle these understandings in order to eliminate the wider problem of gender inequality.

The next chapter will explore the theoretical approaches which exist within gender inequality discourse. These different theoretical approaches will be presented and discussed in order to justify the use of the social constructivist approach within this thesis.

3. Theoretical Understandings Concerning Gender

In order to understand the research area of this thesis, the theoretical understandings which guide this research project need to be explored. As I am investigating the relationship between the construction of gender and gender inequality it is vital that these two concepts are discussed per theoretical understandings. Neither term has a universal definition and they are both key concepts which are used to influence gender development projects. Ultimately how the concept of gender is perceived will impact upon the debates surrounding gender inequality. Gender roles are a significant aspect of gender so it crucial for this concept of 'gender' to be both explored and defined to understand how gender roles can be researched. In addition, domestic violence is understood as a wider implication of societal gender inequality which means the concept of 'gender inequality' must also be discussed. Therefore, it is important to discuss the theoretical roots of both terms to understand their wider implication within gender development and within this research project.

Feminist theory has been primarily responsible for introducing the terms 'gender' and 'gender inequality' to development debates. To fully understand these two terms, feminist theories need to be discussed. The first section within this chapter will explore the most notable feminist theories by discussing how these different theories define the concept of 'gender' and how this term is related to the issue of gender inequality. In addition, as this research project aims to contribute towards gender development agenda, it is also primarily important to explore how feminist explanations of gender and gender inequality have been utilised to create gender development theories. This will help to understand the nature of gender development projects and why they are implemented in the way they are. Finally, the third section will define and justify the theoretical framework which has guided this research project. The social constructivist framework will be discussed in relation to the concepts of gender and gender inequality and how it can be used to explore the relationship between gender roles and domestic violence.

3.1 Feminist Understandings of Gender and Gender Inequality

Feminism is a broad ideology which contains several different branches of feminist theory, all distinct from each other yet all dedicated in identifying and resolving the inequality which exists between men and women. *Jackson and Jones (1998)* suggest that the primary focus of feminism is to analyse the conditions of women's lives and generate new unbiased knowledge on what it means to be a woman. Feminist theories, despite their differences in approaches, are all dedicated in trying to identify and understand the root causes behind the inequality which exists between men and women. In addition, they aim to identify why in particular it is often women who are subject to oppression and subordination. Feminist theory explores many different fields and realms of society in trying to identify the causes and aspects of gender inequality. A vital observation has been the fact that the form, practice, extent and justification for gender inequality is never the same in different social environment and social

contexts (*Radtke et al, 1995*). Thus, feminists argue that a significant distinction needs to be made between 'sex' which refers to the biological differences between men and women and 'gender' which refers to the social constructions of accepted values, behaviours, appearances and roles for men and women. This distinction has been used to argue that 'gender' is not a naturally occurring reality which is universal to all men and women but is socially constructed and taught within our societies. Feminists argue that our understandings of gender will determine how we identify ourselves, how we identify each other, what kind of social roles we perceive to be acceptable, what type of behaviour we assume to be acceptable, and what we see as our possibilities and limits (*Bariteau et al, 2000*).

Although feminists share common roots and assumptions, the different branches of feminism have different understandings of the core concerns behind gender inequality (*Jackson and Jones, 1998*). Whilst feminism makes a distinction between the terms 'sex' and 'gender,' different branches continue to view the term gender in different ways. Liberal feminism, which continues to be heavily utilised within gender equality debates, was a theory which was influenced by the enlightenment period and primarily focuses its arguments on the need to identify women as 'human beings' who are entitled to the same natural rights as men (*Donovan, 2000*). As women, have not been able to gain access to the same economic, educational and political opportunities as men, it has made women become oppressed and unaware of their subordination which has contributed towards creating the illusion that women are naturally inferior to men (*Barriteau et al, 2000*). *Mary Wollstonecraft (1792)*, who remains to be a very influential feminist thinker, argued that it is essential for women to become educated so that they can think critically about their social conditions and become aware of their oppression. Education will also allow women to gain access to the same economic opportunities which will grant them more independence and control over their own lives. Thus, due to this understanding of gender and the production of gender inequality, liberal feminists tend to argue that achieving gender equality relies upon equally integrating women in to the economic, political and educational spheres of society.

However, whilst such views continue to hold a dominant position within gender equality discussion, liberal feminism tends to idealise the social values and meanings which are given to the gender of men (*Barriteau et al, 2000*). Liberal feminism does not challenge the values which are placed upon the roles and understandings of gender and why it is the values associated with the masculine which are considered superior. Whilst liberal feminism argues that men and women are the same and hold the same intellectual and moral core, they do undermine the importance of women's associated roles in society and promote that women should become more like men. Thus, Liberal feminism understands that gender equality should promote women's ability and access in to the realms traditionally dominated by men.

Marxist feminism is another theoretical framework which further explores the oppressive dynamics of the patriarchal system. However, Marxist feminism has been developed from classical Marxism which failed to include issues of gender inequality within its explanations of the capitalist system (*Barriteau et al, 2005*). Thus, Marxist feminism has often been criticised since it has not been organically formed and therefore is not applicable for understanding Women's oppression (*Jackson and Jones, 1998*). Marxist feminism attempts to explain how women's subordination is created and reinforced through the enforcement of the capitalist system. It explains that during the economic transition towards

the capitalist system it was men who benefited from this development whilst women were increasingly assigned to the private realm and viewed as private property (*Donovan, 2000*).

In consideration to the term gender, Marxist feminists do not necessarily seek to define how this concept has been constructed but argue that through the enforcement of the capitalist system women have been increasingly marginalised and associated with reproductive labour. Thus, they argue that this system needs to be changed as it directly results in the inequality of women as deliberate processes and structures are built in to the society through capitalism creating inequality between men and women within both informal and formal arenas.

Whilst Marxism has contributed towards understanding how systems such as economic capitalism, contribute towards generating gender inequality and patriarchy, it has also arguably forcibly adapted original Marxist theory to explaining gender inequality (*Jackson and Jones, 1998*). Furthermore, it assumes that all women experience the same level of inequality leading to the generalisation of women, encouraging them to fight against the gender injustices of patriarchy as one unified movement. However, this approach disregards the different experiences of many women all over the world who are subject to other kinds and levels of oppression such as racism and colonisation. In this sense Marxist feminism believe that inequality can be resolved by transforming or abolishing the capitalist system without taking in to consideration that some societies are more incorporated in to the capitalist system than others, and that other forms of oppression and gender inequality exist within different communities.

The recognition that women and women's inequalities cannot be generalised under one category due to different social conditions encouraged the emergence of Black feminism. Black feminism brought in to question the differences between women all over the world, including differences in class, ethnicity and race. They argued that women's oppression cannot be analysed correctly if analysts do not take these issues in to consideration the different ways, levels and types of institutions which enforce oppression and subordination on to women. Whilst the first feminist movements often consisted of white middle class women, black feminists were forced to fight discrimination upon many different fronts such as class, race and sex. The first feminist movements did not recognise the different forms of gender inequality which were experienced by black women or women from poorer backgrounds (*Donovan, 2000*). For example, whilst white middle class women were actively pursuing women's access in to the labour market, black women were already employed within manual labour positions. Thus, black feminist contested the idea of generalising 'gender' in to one category of women as it failed to acknowledge particularities of the different problems faced by different women (*Rich, 2007*).

In addition, Black feminists highlighted the idea that black women were also human which exposed the multilayers of discrimination which were heavily embedded within areas such as culture. In addition, it exposed the Western centric approach of traditional feminist movements where Western values, ideas of equality and ideas of gender were imposed on to others and viewed as superior to other cultural understandings. Black feminists argued that gender must be viewed as a complex identity which is impacted upon by many types of social conditions which vary depending upon an individual's social environment.

This brief discussion of feminist theory illustrates that whilst all the theories attempt to uncover and resolve the issues behind women's inequality, different theories contain different understandings of what 'gender' and 'gender equality' encompass. Currently, central feminist movements argue that the different social roles, norms and behaviours have socially constructed values attached to them, meaning that some are superior whilst others inferior. In this sense, the social constructions of gender which exist determine how that individual is valued within that society and how they are treated (*Radtke, et al. 1995*). Such feminist theory suggests that these social constructions of 'gender' have interpreted the feminine as subordinate to the masculine. This suggests that the behaviours, roles and identities of women are not valued to the same extent as those of men, which leads to women's subordination within society. However, feminists insist that as 'gender' is constructed and maintained through social processes and institutions, such constructions can also be subject to change (*Barriteau et al, 2000*).

In consideration to these influential frameworks, it is important to acknowledge the diverse nature of feminism. Each feminist theory 'relies on a unique assumption on the basis of women's subordination, provides different concepts about women's inequality, and provides different solutions' (*Barriteau et al, 2000, 53*). Thus, different forms of development projects will utilise and modify these different perspectives in order to construct appropriate projects. A framework allows researchers to 'see' and explain the social world around them. It also influences what types of problems researchers 'see' in the world, the questions which need to be asked the types of solutions available (*Barriteau et al, 2000*). In consideration to my own research project, none of these theories are explicitly utilised to guide the research. However, the argument highlighted within black feminism are most influential within my own approach towards understanding gender inequality. This theoretical approach suggests that differing social environments and realities need to be acknowledged when studying gender inequality. Women cannot be categories under universal definitions and the different cultural realities of different social groups will also impact upon the experience of gender inequality. Therefore. Applying western understandings will not be effective in eradicating issues of gender inequality within certain environments. In this sense, this thesis argues that understanding the unique cultural aspects of the community under investigation is primarily important.

3.2 Gender Development Understandings

Feminist theory has been extremely influential within both feminist movements and gender development projects. However, during the past 40 years' feminist theory on gender development has been subject to constant change and evolution. This has led to the term 'gender' also being subject to altering interpretations and perspectives. Nevertheless, although different feminist theories can consist of differing and conflicting understandings of how gender equality should be achieved, feminist theory is unique in its nature as the different theories attempt to complement one another as opposed to competing. Thus, as all feminist theory is primarily concerned with achieving gender equality and the differing perspectives aim to contribute further knowledge on to the issue. In order to understand how feminist understandings of gender and gender equality have influenced gender development it

is important to explore the primary gender development theories / theories that have informed development practice by different development agencies over the past decades....

Women in Development theory (WID) was the first theory to be utilised by feminist movements and development agencies. It first emerged in the US during the 1970's and promoted the inclusion of women in the development of liberalism and capitalism (*Barriteau et al, 2000*). The WID theory argued that women's inequality within society was rooted in the fact that they did not have access to the same economic opportunities as men. Since the 1970, it can be suggested that WID theory continues to significantly influence IGO's and local governments in consideration to gender development. Arguably, many gender development projects continue to primarily focus of granting women equal access in to the economic market and to those realms traditionally dominated by men.

However, this approach failed recognise the weaknesses of the capitalist system and the inequalities which the capitalist system itself created. In addition, it did not highlight the fact that within different communities, different forms of gender inequality exist meaning that an approach which may help to achieve gender equality within one community may not work in another. This became evident as the further integration of both men and women in to the economic realm did not resolve women's subordination or value within these societies. In many developing societies, women were burdened with increasing work-loads as their roles within the family became associated as both an income providers and also as primary care-givers (*Harding, 2008*).

The weaknesses within WID theory encouraged the development of Women and Development theory (WAD) which was heavily influenced by Marxist feminists. As Marxist theory considered capitalism as being the catalyst for third world poverty, the theory suggests that third world countries should attempt to become self-reliant, as opposed to becoming further integrated in to the capitalist system. This idea of self-reliance influenced gender development projects which begun to solely concentrate on women by treating them separately from men. Marxist feminism encouraged development projects to recognise the dangers of integrating men and women within the same development projects as this could lead to women being continuously dominated by the patriarchal system (*Barriteau et al, 2000*).

However, this type of approach increased women's marginalisation within these societies as they became increasingly isolated. In addition, this form of approach further maintained the gender divides which existed between men and women as they were treated separately throughout the projects. Furthermore, this approach also tended to view gender inequality as being a universal concept which could be identified in a similar manner across all communities. Thus, it encouraged universal categorisation of all women without exploring the unique aspects of gender inequality within different communities.

Gender and Development (GAD) was created as a response to the weaknesses identified within both WID theory and WAD theory (*Barriteau et al, 2000*). The approach has been significantly influenced by both approaches as GAD attempts to explore both the political economy and the patriarchal system in consideration to gender inequality. Gender and Development (GAD) was created as a response to the weaknesses identified within both WID theory and WAD theory (*Barriteau et al, 2000*). The approach has been significantly influenced by both approaches as GAD attempts to explore both the political economy and

the patriarchal system in consideration to gender inequality. However, GAD theory develops these ideas further by investigating how patriarchal systems influence aspects of societal life in both the public and private realms. GAD theory understands women's material, economic and social inequalities as being the result of the accepted social constructions of gender which exist within each society. In this sense, GAD insists that the different interpretations of gender need to be identified by exploring the different social realities which exist in different communities. Furthermore, it is primarily important that both men and women are subjects of these investigations as both genders are products of social constructions (*Barriteau et al, 2000*).

GAD theory encourages that whilst women need to be granted equal access to economic and political realms, the patriarchal norms which exist in all aspects of their society also need to be identified and altered (*Barriteau et al, 2000*). In addition, both men and women need to be taken in to consideration during the development process to ensure that unequal understandings of gender are not maintained or reinforced. This aspect is also considered to be primarily important as acknowledging both men and women discourages resistance or conflict (*Barriteau et al, 2000*).

Feminist theory has played a significant role in influencing and guiding gender development theory and gender development projects. Whilst the GAD approach is formally recognised as the method which should be adopted by gender development projects, especially IGO's, it is questionable whether this is the case. Per GAD, gender should be understood as a socially constructed phenomenon which is maintained and enforced through various social processes and formal intuitions. In addition, gender inequality should be approached through the inclusion of both men and women, in manner which attempts to eliminate the unequal understandings and associations of gender in the society. Finally, gender and gender inequality are not defined under universal understandings but are unique aspects to each individual society, meaning gender development should also attempt to take unique social contexts in to consideration.

Within this thesis, gender is understood as a socially constructed phenomenon, and the unequal constructions of men and women are understood as being central to wider issues of gender inequality. In such, gender roles are also understood as socially constructed expectations of men's and women's behaviour which are assigned on to men and women by society. As the primary aim of this research is to uncover how gender roles are related to incidents of domestic violence, it is important to explore how the theory of social constructivism explains the importance of gender roles within gender inequality. The next section, will discuss social constructivism and its understanding of gender and gender inequality. In addition, it will also explore why gender roles are viewed as a central aspect of gender inequality and why they need to be investigated.

3.3 The Social Constructivist Framework

Social constructivism is a theory which aims to explore how individuals create their social realities and worlds around them (*Lock and Strong, 2010*). It is a form of knowledge which argues that the ways in which we interpret our worlds is the product of different construction processes which exist within our social environments. These processes work on both explicit

and implicit levels and are continuously being reinforced through different interactions and institutions. Eventually, this continuous reinforcement will encourage individuals to view these constructions as reality.

Lock and Strong (2010), claim that as these constructions are reinforced and negotiated daily this leads to subjective opinions being transformed in to objective truth and common sense. As this is socially understood as a given knowledge, it makes it difficult to challenge some understandings and beliefs about the social world. In addition, it also impacts upon how we become to view others and ourselves (*Lieblich et al, 1998*). However, in fact even such basic knowledge is continuously being re-shaped and negotiated through different social interactions and is therefore not naturally determined but subject to change. Therefore, social constructivism can be understood as a theory which attempts to highlight the processes of social construction and how these constructions impact upon our reality (*Gregen, 2001*).

Lieblich et al (1998) highlight that as individuals construct these realities in response to unique interactions and stimulus which exists in their social environments, these understandings of reality will differ drastically from society to society. In addition, these realities will change depending upon the time of construction and the social conditions which exist during that time. For example, once these constructions are created, they will begin to be evident in formal political, economic and social institutions and can be identified in phenomenon such as language, history and art. These constructions become internalised by individuals through the multiple processes which exist and continue to be reinforced through formal institutions and everyday interaction. Eventually, these social and formal interactions help to legitimize these constructions and it becomes to be viewed as reality (*Lock and Strong, 2010*).

However, these constructions will also continue to be negotiated and changed due to changing circumstances and changing social environments. As our social interactions begin to change so too will economic and political institutions and vice versa. In social constructivism, the constructions we build are understood as being complex processes where several different factors will influence how we view the world. *Gregen (2001)* therefore claims, that our constructions of reality can be altered if explicit effort is made to alter the processes and interactions which reinforce these constructions. Nevertheless, *Gregen (2001)* also admits that this is a very long a difficult process to achieve in practice.

Due to this understanding of our social realities being subject to change, social constructivism as a theory became extremely influential and appealing to marginalized groups within society (*Gregen, 2001*). This theory was used to identify and explain the subordination and marginalization which existed within societies and was also influential in attempting to change these injustices. *Gregen (2001)* argues that science has often been used to justify certain social inequalities which have existed in societies. Once social constructivism was explored many marginalized groups who had been discriminated against due to 'objective understandings' of their value, began to use social constructivism to pursue justice and equality (*Gregen, 2001*). Constructivism was used to dispute the objective nature and understandings associated with science. Instead, it was argued and highlighted that even scientific data was deeply embedded with subjectivity and did not accurately represent reality. Thus, this theoretical framework has been popular for activist movements such as feminism. Feminists have explicitly used social constructivism to both highlight and

challenge their inequality within societies and the sciences which have justified their inferiority.

In my research, I draw from the social constructivism in a way which explicitly focuses on the importance of social construction is the reality of gender inequality. It is the underlying understanding within this thesis that the differences between men and women are constructed through multiple process and institutions within society. These differences do not exist independently from their social environments and continue to be maintained through social process. In this sense, the values and associations which are placed upon gender are also viewed as a product of social construction. The understandings of men and women within society influence the expectations, limits, behaviour and value which is placed upon men and women which ultimately impacts upon gender relations and how men and women are treated within society. Thus, social constructivism can contribute towards identifying why issues of gender inequality such as domestic violence occurs.

3.4 Social Constructivism and Gender

The term 'gender' itself contains constructivists roots, as this term was adopted to explain and acknowledge the social constructions which make up men and women (*Radtke et al, 1995*). Whereas sex is used to refer to biological differences between men and women, the term gender is explicitly used to define the social understandings associated with men and women which are not viewed as biologically determined. In this sense, *Beasley (2012)* suggests that the term 'gender' was a radical evolution within the theories of feminism as it supported the notion that 'men' and 'women' did not exist without the gender construction which was associated with them. It criticized the previous understandings of men and women existing independently from each other and possessing genes which determined their characteristics and their behaviour.

In consideration to gender, social constructivism understands the concept of gender as being a product of different interactions and social processes. The theory argues that gender is a socially constructed understanding of what makes men and women. These do not reflect biological differences but socially understood differences which men and women are expected to encompass. How men and women behave and the roles which they are assigned to are not biologically determined by nature but are the product of social construction. *Beasley (2012)* suggests that nature is not able to indicate the different personalities and characteristics which men and women possess which means that it is the social environment which impacts these aspects. Thus, whilst men and women are automatically expected to behave in a certain manner these are expectations are embedded within subjectivity. In addition, *Beasley (2012)* argues that these constructions of gender identity contain a value system which impacts upon the practice of gender inequality within a society.

Charlesbois (2010) argues that socially constructed notions of masculinity and femininity which we associate with men and women can both empower and disempower individuals. The understandings and expected behaviour we expect to see from men and women will advantage and disadvantage them in all aspects of society. The construction process of gender is understood as being one which places hierarchical value upon certain characteristics. Thus, whilst one set of characteristics is viewed as being positive, the other

set is viewed as negative. This also means that the construction of men and women are created in contrast with each other. To be viewed as a man you should not possess qualities associated with women (*Charlesbois, 2010*). In this sense the construction process of gender is complex and deeply interconnected with both men and women. To investigate the construction of gender both men and women need to be explored.

Furthermore, whilst one gender is understood as being inferior to the other, *Radtke et al (1995)* also argue that there is a power relation which is involved in the construction of gender. *Radtke et al (1995)* suggest that the understandings of men and women are negotiated and constructed through different power relations which exist in society. Therefore, women are often understood as being more subordinate and men more dominant due to there being a patriarchal system already in place. This unequal power relation will ultimately encourage the production of gender relations which view men as having a hierarchical position in comparison to women. Exploring the gendered understandings of both men and women can therefore help to identify the different power relations which exist within that society. In this sense, it can be argued that when conducting research in to gender inequality both men and women should be the focus of those studies.

In consideration to exploring the social construction of gender, as our understandings of gender are constructed through several different processes there are many aspects which can be focused on. Within this thesis, the gender roles which are associated with men and women will be explored. *Radtke et al (1995)* argues that gender roles are particularly useful in identifying gendered power relations as they dictate and define what positions men and women hold within their societies and how men and women relate to one another. Thus, gender roles help to highlight the subordinate and dominant positions which men and women have in different aspects of society. In addition, *Foss and Littlejohn (2009)* suggest that gender roles can illustrate the characteristics and stereotypes that men and women are supposed to encompass. *Foss and Littlejohn (2009)* argue that these characteristics and stereotypes can influence our behaviour which means that gender roles can be used to explore why men and women act in certain ways and why they explicitly inhabit unequal gender practices. Thus, focusing on gender roles will be extremely useful in understanding the issue of domestic violence within Uganda.

3.5 Exploring the Gender Role Theory

Gender roles are understood as being primarily important in understanding the processes of gender construction. Whilst it is believed that there are a number of complex processes which exist which help towards creating our gender identities, gender roles are crucial as they reveal the hierarchical order and power relations which exist (*Radtke et al, 1995*). Therefore, exploring gender roles is particularly useful when trying to investigate issues of gender inequality as it helps to identify both the existing power relations within the society and how these power relations work.

In consideration to exploring and understanding gender roles, a notable theory which helps to explain this phenomenon is the 'Gender Role theory' which is primarily used within the communication field. This theory is often used to understand and explain why men and women communicate differently and how these communication methods are constructed.

This theory argues that men and women communicate in different manners due to the gender roles which have been assigned, and these gender roles will influence how men and women decide to behave and communicate their behaviour (*Foss and Littlejohn 2009*).

Within this theory, it is suggested that men and women occupy different types of roles due to the societies understanding of their gender. Gender roles are assigned to men and women which will then impact upon how men and women behave and what types of characteristics they encompass. As gender roles highlight the expectation and limitations which exist for men and women these roles are understood as significantly influencing men and women's behaviour. *Foss and Littlejohn (2009)* explain that the gender role theory argues that men and women are exposed to these gender roles from a very young age and they will begin to internalize them. These roles are then understood as being biologically determined due to their continued enforcement and reinforcement within society. Eventually, men and women will begin to explicitly inhabit these roles and stereotypes which are associated with them.

In consideration to gender role theory, there are several scholars which have been extremely influential within its development. *Mead (1971)* is a significant scholar in the discovery of gender role theory. During her research in 1935, she identified that within three separate primitive community's different understandings of gender were present. Her research highlighted that within the 'Arapesh' community, both men and women were expected to have nurturing characteristics and to naturally be cooperative and peaceful. In contrast, the 'Mundugumor' community encouraged both men and women to show aggressive and violent behaviour whilst the 'Tchambuli' community expected females to portray more dominant and impersonal traits whilst men were associated with being more emotionally dependent and (*Mead, 1971*).

Mead (1971) argued that these significant and conflicting differences within gender roles supported the idea that gender roles were not biologically determined but were influenced through social realities. *Mead (1971)* argued that the gender roles will differ between different communities and men and women are capable of encompassing both masculine and feminine traits. Her research significantly influence further research in to the social construction of gender roles and how these are impacted on through our unique social environments (*Foss and Littlejohn, 2009*). In this sense, *Mead* was one of the first scholars to actively recognise the social construction involved within gender roles and to highlight that masculine and feminine personalities do not exist independently from their social understanding.

After *Mead* highlighted the existence of different gender roles within different communities, understanding how gender roles operate and how they impact wider society became increasingly researched (*Foss and Littlejohn, 2009*). In 1987, *Eagly* revealed her 'Social Role Theory' which suggests that social roles, such as gender roles, regulates behaviour which leads to identified sex differences between men and women. In this sense, she argues that the sex differences which can often be identified between men and women are not biologically determined but are the product of assigned social roles within society. *Eagly (1987)* suggests that social roles such as gender roles encourage men and women to behave in a different manner and to also encompass certain attitudes and skills. These expectations continue to be reinforced throughout the individual's lifetime which ultimately becomes a

self-fulfilling prophecy where men and women begin to inhabit these characteristics. Therefore, sex differences will therefore become evident between men and women but these are not naturally occurring differences but ones which have been forced upon men and women through social expectations.

Whilst Mead (1971) highlighted the societal differences in existing gender roles, Eagly (1987) investigated how social roles, such as gender roles, impact upon the behaviour of men and women and the sex differences which exist. Eagly (1987) suggests that in consideration to gender roles, these are understood as expectations which are placed on men and women which highlight the 'ideal' and appropriate behaviour which they should act out. In this sense, the gender roles which are assigned to men and women are understood as significantly impacting upon the overall behaviour of men and women within society. Thus, exploring gender roles can help to explain the types of behaviour which men and women encompass within society.

Eagly further utilizes this theory and suggests that there are values which are assigned to the different characteristics and behaviours which impacts upon social inequality within the society. She argues that as men and women are understood as encompassing certain traits and skills this will impact how they are viewed within the social, political and economic realm. For example, Eagly (1987) claimed that if women are expected to consist of more nurturing and selfless characteristics they will become associated with carrying out domestic duties so they are more suitable for the private realm. In contrast, if men are viewed as being more task orientated and independent they are understood as being much more capable of fulfilling higher forms of employment in comparison to women. Therefore, this may help to explain why there are certain divisions between men and women within the different sectors of society.

In consideration to my own research, this theory highlights the importance of exploring the gender roles assigned to men and women as this can help to explain the persistence of domestic violence within Uganda. In accordance to Eagly's social role theory if gender roles which are assigned to men and women within Uganda influence their overall behaviour, this can help to identify which gender roles impact upon the incidents of domestic violence. As behaviour and social roles are understood as being interconnected, it is important to understand which gender roles can be identified within the incidents of domestic violence and how these gender roles have impacted the overall issue.

In consideration to my own research, I will be using the social role theory by Eagly (1987) to help identify how gender roles are related to cases of domestic violence. Whilst Eagly has primarily used her social role theory to help identify and explain sex differences between men and women, this theory can also be used to explore which gender roles influence which type of behaviour and how this behaviour is further related to wider issues within society. In accordance to Eagly's social role theory, gender roles which are assigned to men and women within Uganda can influence the type of behaviour which men and women portray and this may influence the issues of domestic violence within the country. As the theory suggests that gender roles play a significant part in guiding our behaviour this theory will help to identify how the gender roles, which exist in Uganda, influence behaviour which encourages domestic violence.

This chapter concerning theoretical understandings has aimed to provide a strong framework for understanding how gender roles can be used to identify wider issues of gender inequality such as domestic violence. It has attempted to justify the objectives of this research project and the manner in which this research has been conducted. Furthermore, it has helped to frame the debates which surround discussions of gender and gender inequality by exploring the nature and challenges within these debates. Finally, this chapter also served the purpose of defining the theoretical framework which will be used within this thesis to explore how gender roles impact upon cases of domestic violence. The following chapter will give a brief description on the background of Uganda and contextualise the country's issues with domestic violence. As this thesis will be using Uganda as a case study, it is important to take in to consideration the unique social contexts of this country.

4. Contextualising the Debate: Gender and Domestic Violence in Uganda

An underlying assumption within this thesis is the importance of understanding each unique social, economic and political environment. As each community, will differ in consideration to these features it is primarily important to contextualise such aspects when conducting research. As the data and research questions focus upon Uganda, it is necessary to discuss how the issue of domestic violence and gender inequality impacts upon Uganda in particular and highlight the countries unique social, economic and political environment. This chapter will briefly discuss the demographics of Uganda and contextualise the issue of gender inequality and domestic violence within the country.

4.1 Demographics

Uganda is a land locked country in East Africa which borders five other African countries. South Sudan is located in the North, Rwanda and Tanzania in the South, Kenya in the East and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the West. Uganda has a long history of colonisation with the country only gaining independence from the United Kingdom in 1962. However, its independence has also been shadowed by a volatile and unstable history with the country being thrown in to a series of civil wars shortly after. The latest conflict, between the Lord's Resistance Army in northern Uganda, has been ongoing since 1987 and highlights the continued political instability within the country (*United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2010*).

In consideration to demographics, Uganda is seemingly a relatively small nation with its land size being around 241,551 square kilometres in size. Nevertheless, the United Nations National population and Housing census statistics showed that in 2014 Uganda's population stood at 34,856, 813 which was a growth of 3.02% since 2002 (*United Nations Population Census, 2014*). Thus, Uganda's population is considered to be relatively large in comparison to its overall land size, whilst its population size is also seen as one of the fastest growing in world.

Despite Uganda having great economic potential due to its very preferable climate, fertile soils and large deposits of minerals, almost 1 in 4 of its population is living in conditions of absolute poverty (*United Nations Development Programme, 2015*). In this sense, Uganda is still viewed as being one of the world's poorest countries which continues to suffer from severe poverty and very low living standards especially in consideration to its women and children. In general, the rapidly increasing population size, the continued political instability and poor economic mismanagement are understood as heavily

contributing towards the countries low development (*United Nations Development Programme, 2015*).

4.2 Legal Frameworks: Gender Inequality and Domestic Violence

The Ugandan Human Rights Commission was created in 1997 in order to promote and protect the rights of the Ugandan people. Whilst the commission has achieved great steps towards promoting human rights in Uganda more work is urgently needed in consideration to protecting groups such as women and children (*Human Rights Council, 2011*). A Universal periodic review of Uganda, which was conducted by the Human Rights Council in 2011, revealed that Uganda has enforced very rigid legal and political frameworks in order to promote women's equality within all areas of public and private life. In addition, the frameworks have attempted to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, especially domestic violence (*Human Rights Council, 2011*).

According to this review, Uganda has shown a commitment towards encouraging women's participation within politics whilst also dramatically increasing the number of women within its political institutions (*Human Rights Council, 2011*). The review also highlighted that the country has attempted to resolve its high levels of domestic violence through the implementation of the 'Domestic Violence act' in 2010. This act has aimed to prevent all cases of domestic violence by protecting victims of domestic violence and ensuring the legal prosecution of perpetrators. The Act defines domestic violence in broad terms to include all forms of physical, sexual, emotional, verbal, psychological and economic violence (*Human Rights Council review, 2011*). It can be argued that in consideration to Uganda's legal and political legislation, the country has made concrete steps towards securing women's rights whilst also attempting to eliminate gender related issues such as domestic violence.

4.3 Continued Issues of Domestic Violence

Despite these advancements in legal and political legislation, domestic violence continues to be alarmingly high within the country. Whilst domestic violence is an issue which can impact men, women and children, studies have indicated that women are most vulnerable to this practice. Surveys conducted by the United Nations suggest that over 60% of women aged 15 or older have experienced some of form of domestic violence, with 24% reporting that their first sexual encounter was a forced one (*Uganda Human Rights Commission, 2010*). In addition, the research which was conducted by the 'Coalition Against Gender Violence' in two of Uganda's major districts, found that domestic violence was the most common form of violence in the community with beating being considered as a normal practice in accordance with cultural beliefs (*United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2010*).

Domestic violence has significant adverse effects on the communities within Uganda and the country's overall development. Domestic violence increases the health risks by increasing the victim's chances of contracting diseases such as HIV/AIDS. In addition, domestic violence increases the probabilities of unexpected or early pregnancies which in turn increases the mortality risks for both mother and child. In addition, domestic violence

can have a significant impact on a victim's mental health as many cases can lead to depression and even suicide. Alternatively, family bonds become unstable and some are forced to abandon their families which disrupts family structures and impacts upon the wellbeing of children. Such cases can severely damage community and family harmony. Furthermore, incidents of domestic violence will negatively affect an individual's ability to seek education and employment which significantly contributes towards the country's overall development potential. Thus, resolving the continued epidemic of domestic violence within Uganda is primarily important as it will assist in securing the wellbeing of the Ugandan population and the country's overall development.

4.4 Understanding the Epidemic

Domestic violence continues to be a great issue within Uganda despite changes in legal and political legislation. Arguably, such changes in legislation have not been successful in altering underlying cultural attitudes towards domestic violence or gender. Women continue to be viewed as property within many community contexts due to traditional practices such as early marriage, widow inheritance, bride price and forceful property appropriation from widows and orphans. In addition, the fact that both men and women continue to share these understandings of gender intensifies the issue as many women are reluctant to report their abuse due to their acceptance of the practice.

In addition, it can be argued these understandings of gender and the cultural acceptance of domestic violence limit the legitimacy of the Domestic Violence act. This lack of legitimacy and the societal norm of domestic violence can increase the reluctance of authority figures or law enforcers from getting involved within domestic violence cases. Thus, these continued perceptions of gender and domestic violence will impact upon women suffering in silence due to their fear of discrimination from their family members, community members and local authorities.

This section has highlighted the importance to acknowledge and contextualise how the unique social, economic and political environment of Uganda relates to the issues of gender inequality and domestic violence. These issues continue to influence the persistence of gender inequality within the country especially in consideration to the practice of domestic violence. Despite the country making strides in improving the legal rights of women against the practice, the issue continues to plague the communities. Cultural understandings of gender seem to continue to impact upon the legitimisation of women's empowerment and equality which in turn influence the reluctance of communities to eliminate harmful practices such as domestic violence. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge and contextualise how the unique social, economic and political environment of Uganda relates to the issues of gender inequality and domestic violence.

The following chapter will introduce the narrative methodological approach which has been used in order to collect the data which has been used in this research project. The chapter will describe the nature and features of narrative methodology whilst also putting this approach in to context and why the utilisation of this methodology is appropriate for this thesis.

5. Narrative Methodology

It is fundamental that the methodological choices which have been used within this thesis are fully explained and justified. Methodological choices determine the data collection process, the type of data which is collected and how the data will be analysed. Understanding different methodological approaches and employing the most appropriate tool is important. The choice of tool will ultimately be dependent upon the nature of research which is being conducted and the type of research questions which are being explored. Thus, being aware of what type of data needs to be collected will determine the type of methodological tools which should be used.

Researchers acknowledge within social sciences, where the aim is often to understand human behaviour, different methods are utilised in comparison to other hard sciences. The nature of social science research means that researchers admit that they are never able to capture the objective essence of any incident, instead, data often highlight subjective and interpretative (*Williman, 2006*). Nevertheless, these approaches still capture a vision of the social world and help to explain human behaviour. However, how this is done is crucial to the research question which is being explored. What aspect of the social world is under investigation and what type of understanding researchers are attempting to gain, all influence the type of research methods which have been chosen. This chapter will clarify what type of data needs to be collected to answer the primary research question and how this data collection has been achieved. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe the chosen methodology but also relate it to this research project by justifying why this is the most appropriate approach.

5.1 Epistemological and Ontological Understandings

Epistemology is concerned with defining how we understand knowledge and what we consider to be knowledge (*Williman, 2006*). Epistemological approaches will differ depending upon discipline and the aspect of the discipline which you are researching. This is an important issue to define as the epistemological understanding behind research will determine what type of data is seen as knowledge and how this knowledge can be obtained (*Williman, 2006*). In consideration to this research project, the epistemology takes an interpretivist approach to understanding knowledge of the social world.

This approach focuses on how subjective meanings impact upon social actions (*Williman, 2006*). In this sense, this approach is the opposite of positivist research which is often used within natural sciences. Interpretivism focuses on understanding the subjectivity behind reality and does therefore not suggest that data collected can reflect an objective form of truth. Instead, research which is gathered can only be applied to that time, culture and social context (*May, 2011*). This means that research does not attempt to give grand theories

or generate universal predictions. This is the nature of my research as my aim is to highlight how gender roles within the Ugandan context influence incidents of domestic violence. In highlighting this, it is the further aim to promote the significance of social constructions of gender in wider issues of gender inequality. However, this research has not attempted to give universal explanations of which gender roles impact domestic violence as these are all relative to the time, culture and social context in question.

The interpretivist epistemology dictates that human understanding or subjectivity should be explored. In this sense, it demands that research methods attempt to capture the understandings and interpretations of the participants as opposed to capture actual ‘reality.’ Such methods often consist of highly qualitative collection methods such as interviews, focus groups, case studies or human observation (*Atkinson and Delamont, 2010*). Such methods are appropriate for this form of research as they gain an in-depth insight of the subjective interpretations of the participant and how these impact upon their social world.

The next question which needs to be taken in to consideration is the ontological underpinnings of this research. William (2006) suggests that ontology is an important aspect of all research as it identifies what there is to research. This is concerned with acknowledging how researchers view their world and where knowledge should be obtained from. In general, ontology has two conflicting perspectives. Objectivism is the perspective which is deeply embedded within natural sciences (*Atkinson and Delamont, 2010*). This perspective argues that social phenomenon and their meanings exist independently from their attached social actors (*Williman, 2006*). This means that there is social phenomenon which can be observed and collected and exists over time and space. Alternatively, constructivism understands that all social phenomenon is the product of interpretation and subjectivity which contributes towards its construction. Thus, these social phenomena are subject to continuous change as they are the product of different social interactions (*Williman, 2006*). In this sense, the social phenomenon only exists in relation to its social interpretations and other constructions. It does not exist independently from its social context and unique interpretations.

In consideration to this research project, a constructivist ontological underpinning will be taken. Social phenomenon such as gender is not understood as existing independently without subjective interpretations of gender itself. In this sense, aspects of gender, such as gender roles, as the constructed product of social interactions and are subject to constant change. Gender is seen as being interpreted differently within different times, social contexts and cultures which does not make it an objective aspect of the social world. Instead, understandings of gender and gender roles will continuously change and alter depending on the social interactions. As this research project takes a constructivist ontological position it will be the interpretations of gender roles which will be investigated as opposed to men and women themselves. This research aims to understand how gender roles are interpreted within the communities of Uganda and how these interpretations are related to issues such as domestic violence. It does not claim that certain gender roles will influence certain types of behaviour universally, instead how subjective interpretations of these roles will influence behaviour within the Ugandan context.

5.2 Describing the Chosen Data Collection Process

Interviews which were collected as part of a wider research analysis project for the organisation ISF have been used in order to answer the research questions for this thesis. The interviews collected aimed at exploring narratives of domestic violence from Ugandan participants who had either personal experience of domestic violence or who had intervened in the domestic violence cases of others. The interviews were semi-structured and aimed to encourage participants to answer in narrative format. Myself and a Ugandan colleague collected the interviews in Uganda, in two separate districts Kyankwanzi and Wakiso, during a three-month internship with the organisation. The majority of the interviews were conducted in the local language Luganda by the Ugandan colleague and later translated and transcribed in to English.

Whilst the interviews also contained other information which was needed by ISF for the wider assessment of the project, I have explicitly focused on the narratives of domestic violence. Thus, only the narratives of domestic violence within the interviews have been used as they are relevant for answering the research questions within this thesis. In addition, as part of the wider assessment myself and the Ugandan colleague collected 52 interviews from 52 participants. Within these interviews, there were also several different narratives of domestic violence. Due to the time and length restrictions of this Master's thesis, it was necessary to limit the number of interviews and amount of narratives which have been used.

In order to do this, all interviews and narratives within the interviews were read through carefully. Some of the interviews and narratives contained cases of 'domestic violence' which cannot be classified as 'domestic violence' in accordance to the utilised definition within this thesis. Some of the cases described, could be classified as conflicts or disagreements within family but did not involve physical, sexual, psychological or economic abuse. Thus, only the narratives which contained cases which could be classified as 'domestic violence' were used. After this process, only the narratives which contained the most detailed information were included in the final analysis process. As narrative analysis is understood as a form of analysis which requires rich and very in-depth data, it was necessary to constrict the amount of narratives used as the quality of analysis is primarily important. However, I have significant knowledge of all the interviews and I have chosen to analyse 10 of the narratives within this research project as they provide an in-depth account of the domestic violence cases and provide a diverse range of different types of narratives.

5.3 The Background of Narrative Methodology

Narrative research is understood as a research methodology which attempts to gain an insight in to actual human experience as opposed to merely providing a descriptive account of it (*Clandinin, 2007*). It has been suggested that humans often communicate and think internally in the form of stories or narratives (*Atkinson, R., 1998, The Life Story Interview*). It is strongly believed that when we use narratives or story telling in communication, it helps individuals to give meaning or purpose to an event or experience. Thus, when people communicate in narrative form, it helps to communicate an experience or an event, but also helps the story teller to reflect on that experience (*Atkinson, R., 1998, The Life Story Interview*). In this sense, narrative research can serve two purposes. Whilst narrative research enables the interviewer to gain information or knowledge on the interviewees understanding

of an event, it can also serve as tool for the interviewee to uncover the meaning or purpose behind that event as they become more aware of it.

In addition, narratives are believed to play an important role in liberating the voices of marginalised groups within societies who often are disregarded, which is why many feminist movements have chosen to use narratives to voice their opinions throughout history (*Holstein and Gubrium, 2012*). *Holstein and Gubrium (2012)* also highlight that feminist scholars in particular, have argued that narratives have a more important function than merely supplying an informational account. Exploring narratives can reveal hidden themes, hierarchies and previously unrecognised social processes (*Holstein and Gubrium, 2012*). Thus, it could be suggested that narrative research methods are an appropriate way of investigating structures and social processes of inequality as they naturally reveal themselves in the story-telling process. When individual tell a narrative they allow the listener an insight in to their social reality and sub-consciousness. With this in consideration, using a narrative methodology in order to investigate cases of domestic violence could reveal how gender roles function within these cases.

5.4 Justifying a Narrative Research Methodology

Narrative research methodology is one method amongst a large variety of other qualitative research methods so its utilisation and application must be justified and tailored to fit the research purpose (*Bold, 2010*). Narrative methodologies are often associated with research which aims explore the experiences and the interpretation of the participants themselves. In this sense, narrative methodologies are extremely relevant when research objectives aim to explore how participants have interpreted and constructed the realities of a situation, as opposed to producing evidence of ‘what actually happened.’ Therefore, as I have not been present during the experiences which have been described in the interviews, I have no clarification if what is being told in the narrative is reality. However, this is not an issue within my research as I am merely interested in how the participant has interpreted that situation as this provides a clear illustration of the participant’s social reality.

According to *Bold (2010)*, a common factor among researchers who choose to utilise a narrative research methodology, is the perspective that subjective meaning and interpretations consist of important information which allows a glimpse in to an individual’s social reality and social environments. In consideration to my own research, this form of perspective is very appropriate as this thesis works according to a social constructive framework which argues that an individual’s subjective interpretations of reality are the product of the processes of social constructions around them. Thus, applying a narrative research methodology within my own research project is an effective way of uncovering how social constructions such as gender roles, are understood by the participant and how they are understood in relation to cases of domestic violence.

In addition, using a narrative research methodology can arguably provide a more in-depth account and understating of the incident of domestic violence as opposed to other interview methodologies. As *Atkinson (1998)* suggests, the process of an individual reciting a situation in a story format also allows the participant to re-evaluate and re-experience the event and communicate a deeper interpretation of that particular incident. Whilst the research

questions explored within this thesis, could have been collected in other forms of interviews, analysing narratives which do not only focus on constricted questions but explore the incident as a whole will grant a wider understanding of the interviewee interprets gender roles in relations to the incident as a whole.

Finally, exploring the research questions through the use of narrative interviews makes the process more 'natural' and can therefore be considered as a more valid methodology for this type of research. *Atkinson (1998)* argues that story-telling can be considered to be one of the most common and natural methods of communication which is utilised by individuals in all aspects of daily life. Therefore, it seems appropriate to use a narrative methodology within this research project, as I am attempting to identify socially constructed concepts of gender roles which are often not explicitly recognised. In comparison, if structured interview methodologies were used instead, there is a danger that the participant is encouraged to answer in a certain manner or describes a gender roles according to what they want the interviewer to hear. Thus, by exploring narratives, which are not explicitly focused on these aspects but contain such issues implicitly, it can be viewed as a more natural method for gaining an understanding of this issue.

5.5 Acknowledging Narrative Limitations

The narrative methodology which has been used has produced a large amount of in-depth information which may not have been recalled if the participant had been asked direct questions. Whilst the narrative interview has not produced tailored information for this thesis, it has produced a significant amount of data which can be utilised for a wide range of purposes, including answering my own research questions. The fact that the interviews were also performed and communicated in the local language of the participant increases the validity of the results, as the individual was able to naturally express themselves. If the interviews had been forcibly conducted in English it would mean that the individual may not have been able to communicate their experience in the manner which they intended, or misunderstandings of vocabulary may have distorted the overall narrative of the interviewee.

Nevertheless, the research methodology which has been adopted also contains significant limitations which needs to be acknowledged. First of all, it must be accepted that narrative methodology will be influenced by the presence of the interviewer. Whilst I attempted to have limited impact on the story telling process of the participants, the fact that they were talking to someone from a different cultural and racial background could have impacted how they communicated their experience. However, due to the fact that many of the interviews were conducted by the Ugandan colleague it could be argued that my influence was to a certain extent limited. Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that the interviewee will automatically have some form of impact on the communication of the narrative and this is an issue which is difficult to eliminate.

In addition, using such rich and descriptive data increases the aspect of subjectivity and interpretation. Furthermore, as each narrative is fundamentally different it arguably decreases the reliability of these results as each case is treated as a unique situation. Whilst reliability is an important concept as it provides support for consistency, this is not the primary focus of this research project. It is readily acknowledged that the data will be highly

subjective and interpretative, nevertheless this thesis also aims to highlight how important this form of knowledge is as the very nature of gender inequality itself is highly subjective and interpretative.

Furthermore, whilst the narrative interviews were conducted in Uganda, which can be considered as a strength, the fact that the interviews were later transcribed by two separate Ugandan colleagues decreases the validity of the narratives. Whilst both Ugandan colleagues had extremely capable English skills, the words which have been chosen to be utilised may not reflect the actual interpretation of the interviewee. Language barriers are difficult to manage since vocabulary in different languages and the interpretation of words is very subjective. Thus, the written narratives which I have analysed are to a certain extent the interpreted narratives of the transcribers as opposed to the interviewees. Unfortunately, this is also an aspect of this research project which is unavoidable but it is important to acknowledge this issue regardless.

Finally, the fact that these interviews were not tailored or produced for the explicit purpose of this research project means that within some interviews I have had to construct the narratives out of the information which the participant has told. As some of the participants have not told narratives in a structured or relevant manner, in consideration to this research project, I have had to construct the stories in logical manner. Thus, this influences a certain bias within some of the narratives as they have been constructed according to my own interpretation of what the interviewee was attempting to communicate. However, I have used the same procedure of construction for all of the necessary interviews to decrease this bias. In addition, it is acknowledged that within narrative research, many participants do not communicate experiences in a coherent or structured manner as the narrative is in constant shift and change (*Bold, 2012*). Thus, again this is an issue which is arguably unavoidable in consideration to this type of research.

Narrative research methods and the methodology chosen within my own research project, needs to be understood according to its strengths and limitations. Although narrative research is able to produce rich and in-depth data, it must also attempt to produce valid and reliable material. *Bold (2012)* argues that even 'scientific' methods of data collection can be plagued with issues of bias and manipulation making them equally as normative as narrative data methods. Although quantitative data collection methods are often considered to be more valid and objective, they are also subject to considerable interpretation and results can vary depending upon what types of variables are considered to be more significant. Thus, all methods of data collection need to be approached with caution and their limitations must either be managed or acknowledged.

Narrative methodology has significant strengths, it is considered to be the most natural method for people to communicate and explain an experience. As individuals are understood as communicating through the use of stories in ever-day life as well as internally processing information in story format such a methodology creates a situation where the participant is able to communicate in a natural way. Thus, the narrative methodology which has been used has arguably increased aspects of validity within this research projects as the events have been recalled in a natural and organic manner.

The following chapter will introduce the analytical tools which have been chosen in order to analyse the narrative data. These tools have been modified and adapted in order to be appropriate for the unique narratives which have been collected. The following chapter will both describe and justify the use of these approaches.

6. Introducing the Analytical Tools Used

This section will describe and justify the explore the analytical tools which have been used within this research project. The previous chapter explained that a narrative research methodology has been conducted in order to gather the data within this thesis. Analytical tools need to be chosen and designed to complement this research methodology whilst also ensuring that the research questions will be answered. Therefore, the range of analytical tools which can be applied to narrative data need to be explored for their applicability.

However, this process is difficult in practice as there is no generalisable category of narrative data. *Andrews et al (2008)* argue that narrative research is a difficult research method to define due to its diversity, complexity and ambiguity. As narrative research, can be conducted in numerous manners in order to generate very different forms of data, outlining specific analytical methodologies is not appropriate. Thus, this often forces researchers to design or modify existing analytical approaches to accompany their own unique data and research agenda.

Nevertheless, it also argued that the vague nature of narrative research should not be considered as a weakness but as a strength. *Bold (2012)*, argues that a ‘step by step’ guide to analysis can often hinder the full potential of research data as it becomes restricted by systematic processes. Narrative data allows researchers to be extremely flexible and creative by promoting them to design their own unique analytical tools. This allows for data to be utilised for the prime purpose of the research and can reveal interesting new perspectives.

However, *Lieblich et al (1998)* suggest that researchers must also be cautious when designing their analytical tools for narratives research. The authors claim that despite the uniqueness of narrative data, it is still primarily important that all analytical steps are justified appropriately. All modifications to traditional methodologies need to be explored by anchoring them in wider literature and justifying their suitability over other approaches. Thus, in consideration to this research project this chapter will both outline and evaluate the chosen analytical tools. The first section will explore the primary aspects or narrative analysis which need to be taken in to consideration within this thesis. The second section will use wider literature to describe the purpose of the analytical design which has been chosen to answer my research questions. Finally, the third section will explicitly outline the different phases of analysis which have been conducted in order to generate the data from the narratives.

6.1 From Stories to Narratives

Boje's (2001) book ‘Narrative Methods for Organizational and Communication Research’ primarily discusses an ante-narrative approach to narrative research. This literature explores how traditional analytical methods can be modified to be appropriate for narratives which are not coherent or organised. The author explains that for the stories which have not been written for fiction or non-fiction purposes, analysis can be extremely difficult due to the fact that such stories are often created by story tellers in an unorganised manner. Therefore, this

means that the researcher is firstly responsible for arranging the story by constructing it to an organised narrative which can be properly analysed. These types of stories which *Boje (2001)* is referring to are very relevant to my own data as my research material consists of narratives which have been told in an interview setting and are therefore very unorganised.

Boje (2001) argues that the terms ‘story’ and ‘narrative’ have very different definitions as the former is the state before the narrative. According to *Boje (2001)*, narrative refers to the story after it has been given its full meaning and purpose whilst a story is understood as the set of sequences or events before this procedure. In essence, this means that a story is not considered to be a narrative until the sequences and events have been given a connection resulting in the story having an overall meaning. This is an important aspect within my own research as I have to be able to formulate an overall meaning to the events which have been described by the interviewee in order to explore how gender roles are related to the incident of domestic violence. Thus, the first procedure within my analytical approach needs to coherently organise the stories into narratives so that the primary analysis can be conducted.

6.2 Constructing the Constructed

In consideration to constructing narratives out of stories, *Boje (2001)* argues that this process is a form of ‘gamble or speculation’ on behalf of the author. This refers to the fact that researchers need to explicitly decide what type of information will be included or even acknowledged during this process. As not all the information will be granted equal value, there is the consequence that some important or relevant information is ignored. This is a considerable issue within my own research as I am explicitly investigating certain aspects of the stories which have been provided. Therefore, there is a danger that other information which does not explicitly relate to my research questions will not be acknowledged.

Whilst *Boje (2001)* claims that this is an issue which plagues all narrative research, researchers should actively attempt to explore their data from a wide range of perspectives. By trying to interpret the information from different angles, researchers minimise the levels of speculation and gain a more inclusive view of the stories. In consideration to my own data and the time restrictions involved within this research project, it is difficult for me to explore the narratives from such wide perspectives. However, when constructing the narratives, I will attempt to design a systematic and inclusive methodology which allows for a wide range of information to be acknowledged regardless of whether it explicitly relates to my research agenda. In addition, information which may not be as ‘coherent’ should also be included as opposed to being disregarded. As the stories have been told in an unorganised manner by the participant, all the information which is provided, despite its coherency, is relevant to that participant’s experience. Thus, I will try to include all the information within the construction process of the narrative.

6.3 Dealing with the Subjectivity of Interpretation

In *Munslow’s (2007)* ‘Narrative and History’ the primary aim of this literature was to explore the issues of subjectivity involved within historical narratives. The author highlights that even

within historical research, which is often considered highly objective, there is a significant amount of bias and interpretation involved when constructing the narratives. Although historical narratives are not the type of narratives which I will be using as part of my own research, the author discusses some very important aspects of subjectivity and interpretation which also have to be addressed within my own work.

Munslow (2007) argues that history itself is the product of subjective choices and interpretations which are made by the researchers, as opposed to objective evidence. In this sense, even when historical narratives are discovered the very interpretation, meaning and importance of this evidence is decided by the researcher. He argues that these choices are impacted by the researchers own social, economic and political backgrounds. Whilst I will not be analysing historical narratives as such, it is important that I acknowledge that the meaning behind the stories and the overall construction of the narratives is affected by own subjectivity. I have to be aware and also explicitly acknowledge that there is no 'truth' within the narratives as I have no way of ensuring that what I have interpreted myself, was the original intended view of the story teller This will be an issue which I have to explicitly recognise during the entire analytical process. The type of narratives which I construct from the stories will be a personal understanding of the stories which the participant has provided. In addition, how I choose to interpret the information within these narratives will also be rooted in subjectivity. Thus, whilst this is an issue which cannot be avoided, it is an aspect which I must take in to consideration and be actively aware of during the analysis.

In addition, as most the interview stories have been collected within the native tongue, Luganda, a large proportion of the interviews have been translated in to English by two different translators. This means that the initial stories which were told by the participants have already been altered by the translators. It can be argued that the information provided within the translations has been subject to the interpretation of the translators as they have chosen which English words reflect the meaning of the initial words spoken by the participant. This aspect of the project also means that my analysis of the content within the narratives is impacted upon as the words which have been chosen in English may not reflect the intended meaning of the participant. Furthermore, due to cultural differences the words chosen may have a different understanding in comparison to the original language. Therefore, it is important that I also take this aspect in to consideration and explicitly acknowledge this throughout the analysis process. Whilst this is an unavoidable issue due to the language barriers involved, it remains important that this limitation is actively acknowledged and the interpretations of the narratives are not presented as 'objective truth.'

6.4 Uncovering the Hidden Features

Boje (2001) claims that another important aspect within narrative research is the need to uncover the hidden voices and hierarchies which are embedded within the stories. The author claims that an ante narrative approach which attempts to explore the narratives in their unorganised manner is able to highlight these features. This is a very important aspect within my own research as I am exploring gender inequality which indicates that that there is a hierarchical order of gender within the stories. Therefore, an ante narrative approach which aims to explicitly highlight these would appear to be most effective. However, as mentioned before, the time restrictions within this research project and the nature of the research

questions, determined that a more systematic approach would be most appropriate. Nevertheless, as the interviews revolve around the issue of domestic violence and gender inequality, these hierarchies are already quite explicitly apparent. However, *Boje's (2001)* arguments concerning an ante narrative approach are very important and this is an angle I have taken in to consideration during the analysis process. It is essential that I try to uncover and highlight all of the voices within the narratives and how they relate to each other and the incident of domestic violence.

Another feature which is discussed by *Munslow (2007)* is the 'objectivity' associated with information that is portrayed as a 'fact'. *Munslow* argues that even facts or objective truth is dependent upon who interprets it. An incident or situation within history has many different interpretations depending upon who has witnessed it. This feature of narrative research explicitly focuses upon historical records which give interpretations of specific events. *Munslow* argues that these records are often understood as facts and treated as objective truth. Nevertheless, the author argues that historical accounts are still the interpretation of the individual and other hidden voices or hierarchies may have had an opposing experience. In this sense, the author refers to the idea that within incidents it is those who are in a hierarchical position who are able to give accounts of history whilst those who hold subordinate positions have their voices suppressed. Thus, incidents described should not defined as 'facts' but should be explored and considered from multiple angles, including from subordinate perspectives.

Whilst my research questions are not primarily concerned with exploring 'what actually happened' within the narratives these arguments concerning objectivity are still very important. As my research included narratives of domestic violence it is conceivable that the different actors involved may have different interpretations of the events. Therefore, the narratives I have analysed need to be viewed as one such interpretation. However, as the participants include both men and women I have been able to also gain the perspectives of those who are usually most marginalised within these situations. In this sense, my research has already explicitly acknowledged the unequal gender relations which exist within Uganda and has therefore gathered data from both men and women in order to understand this inequality. These narratives are not viewed as factual evidence of the events but treated as gateways to the interpretations of gender which are held by men and women and which help to explain the occurrence of domestic violence within the country.

6.5 Design of the analytical approach: Combining story-construction and thematic analysis

Within Narrative analysis, there are multiple different approaches which can be chosen and modified in order to answer my outlined research questions. As the first phase of analysis needed to organise the information which was provided by the participant in to a coherent and organised narrative so a story construction process was applied. However, this approach was not able to answer the primary research questions within this thesis and therefore another approach was adopted to complement this procedure. The second phase aimed at directly answering the outlined research questions and I felt that a thematic analysis was the most appropriate methodology. Therefore, the analytical design within this thesis was a combination of a story construction and thematic analysis.

The combination of these two methodologies provides both a systematic approach towards the data whilst also ensuring that the essence of the narratives remains alive. The narratives which have been collected as part of this research contain some very compelling and captivating narratives and I did not want to eliminate this aspect as it is a feature which makes narrative analysis so appealing. I believe that a thematic analysis approach would be able to engage with the stories whilst also enabling the research questions to be explored. Nevertheless, as this research project also needs to ensure that the data can be utilised for academic purposes, a systematic approach also needs to be applied to improve reliability. The story construction process ensures that all of the information within the different interviews is organised in the same manner and the same features within the narratives are focused upon. Thus, this combination of both approaches is a unique methodology which has been chosen particularly for this data and for the research agenda within this thesis.

6.6 *The Story Construction Process*

The story construction process which was applied to data, can be understood as a modified form of plot analysis. *Boje (2001)* defines plot analysis as the ‘is the chaining of cause and effect or stimulus and response into a pattern, structure or network’ (*pg 108*). A plot helps to connect events within a narrative to give these events some form of meaningful sequence. Whilst plot analysis can also help to identify and determine the nature of a narrative, this form of plot analysis is not used within this thesis. The plot approach will be utilised in order to construct the stories in to coherent narratives which can then be subject to thematic analysis. The plot approach is not used to analyse the narratives as such, but used within the story construction process.

A plot analysis is understood as a holistic form of reading, where the entire narrative is taken in to consideration as opposed to only looking at certain content (*Lieblich et al, 1998*). In order to understand the sequence of events and understand the overall nature of a narrative, plot structures are applied to narratives which helps to determine what form of narratives are presented. According to *Lieblich et a (1998)* these form of approach is often applied to life stories and used within psychotherapy I order to determine the underlying nature of lives of people. However, within this research project the same plot structure will be applied to all of the narratives in order to help construct the stories in to narratives where thematic analysis can be applied.

Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2002), explain that the primary purpose of a plot is to link smaller units, within the stories, together so that the overall meaning of the story is created. They argue, that without a plot a story will contain a list of events as opposed to a sequence which links all of the events within time and meaning. Thus, as I need to construct the narratives out of the incoherent and unorganised interviews applying a plot structure to the data will allow me to link the described events and create an overall structure to the narratives. This structure is primarily important within my research as I am investigating how gender roles within the narratives are related to the overall events within the case of domestic violence. *Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2002)* claim that ‘it is the plot that gives coherence and meaning to the narrative, as well as providing the context in which we understand each of the events, actors, descriptions, goals, morals and relationships that usually form a story’ (*pg 3*).

Therefore, in order to understand how the interpreted gender roles impact on the overall experience of domestic violence a plot needs to be verified within the narrative.

In order to place the actors and the events in to a meaningful context within the narratives the *Background, Conflict and Outcome* of the stories will be identified. This form of plot structure will contribute towards two purposes to help construct coherent narratives out of the unorganized data and to help identify relationships between gender roles and the sequences of events. The Background will refer to information about the actors which are involved within the case of domestic violence, the relationship between the actors within the narrative, the setting of the incident and other general information which relates to the issues described. The Conflict will contain the information which directly relates to the incident of domestic violence, including the nature of this violence, how the actors were involved within this violence and how the incident is described and interpreted by the storyteller. The Outcome refers to the information which is provided about the actors and situation after the initial case of described violence. This will include information about whether the incident has been resolved and what the nature of this resolution was.

These three themes are used in order to structure the narratives as they give an outline of the actors, events and issues which are involved within the case of domestic violence. In addition, these three themes allow for events to be organized in to a coherent order which highlight the flow of the narrative and allow me to identify how the interpreted gender roles are related to different stages of the incident of domestic violence. All of the narratives were structured by identifying the features which could be categorized under Background, Conflict and Outcome. These features provide a systematic method for structuring the narratives out of the unorganized information provided by the participant and also allow me to highlight how the interpreted gender roles impact upon each of these stages.

6.7 The Thematic Analysis

In order to explore the outlined research questions within this thesis applying a form of narrative theme analysis is the most appropriate and direct approach. Theme analysis is considered to be one of the most direct analytical approaches which can be utilised in consideration to narrative data (*Andrews et al, 2008*). This approach has limited complexities which makes theme analysis a relatively transparent methodology and is often recommended for researchers who do not have extensive experience with narrative data (*Andrews et al, 2008*). Therefore, adopting a theme analysis would be an appropriate methodology due to the fact that I have limited experience with using narrative data but the approach still allows me to utilise an in-depth investigation on the narratives.

Theme analysis has an extensive history in being utilised for different research purposes and is considered to be ‘a respected and well-established method of qualitative analysis (*Boje, 2001, 2*). *McAdams (in Holstein and Gubrium, 2012)* suggests that a theme which is identified through theme analysis is not likely to be indicated by any particular word, phrase or sentence structure. Instead, a theme is typically identified and interpreted in a wider, extensive passage which requires the researcher to read such passages with a very open mind. In this sense, theme analysis is primarily focuses on both the explicit and implicit content of what is being said as opposed to how it is being physically communicated. With

this is consideration, theme analysis is arguably an appropriate approach for my own research due to the fact that I am primarily concerned with the content of the narratives as opposed to how the interview has communicated it.

In addition, theme analysis is described as an analytical approach which is able to capture the constructions of one self and their social environment within narratives (*Holstein and Gubrium, 2012*). In this sense, as my research aims to explore how gender roles are related to cases of domestic violence I am essentially attempting to capture how the social constructions of gender influence the source and outcome of domestic violence. Therefore, it can be suggested that using a thematic approach will allow me to capture and explore such social constructions and social processes.

Furthermore, theme analysis is considered to contain two fundamentally different approaches. Whilst a deductive approach focuses on applying or exploring a general theory on to specific data, an inductive form of theme analysis attempts to extract a theme from the data and apply it to the general. In this sense, whilst I am not attempting to create a grand theory, an inductive methodology is more appropriate as I am attempting to gain a wider understanding of the social constructions involved in gender inequality. Thus, there is no grand theory or law which I am applying. Instead I am attempting to understand the wider relations between gender roles and domestic violence which can be observed in the narratives.

6.8 Finalising the Steps of the Analysis Process

The first process which I applied to the data was the plot structure of 'Background, Conflict and Outcome' categorisation. I identified these categories by taking a holistic view of the narrative and then categorising the information accordingly within each theme. These themes helped to construct the incoherent data in to a more organised form. This helps to give an overall perspective of the narrative of domestic violence which is being described but also allows for thematic analysis to be applied more effectively.

After this phase was completed for each of the interviews the narratives which need to be analysed have been constructed. The narratives were then read through again in their unconstructed format and the gender roles which were attached to men and women were identified. This was done by exploring what types of duties were associated with men and women, what types of behaviours or actions were performed by men and women and how these actions and behaviours were associated with their gender.

Within the third phase of analysis I identified how the gender roles, which have been identified in the previous steps, were interpreted. This was identified by exploring how the participant perceived the behaviours and actions of the actors involved in the narrative, or how the characters in the narrative had perceived these behaviours and actions. This phase also required for the narratives to be read through again and observe how the gender roles were related in relation to the case of domestic violence. This process was performed by identifying how the gender roles were understood in relation to the source of the conflict and also to the outcome of the conflict. Whether, these gender roles were present within these two sections, how they are mentioned and how they were perceived within these two sections.

The final phase of analysis involved identifying the gender roles which could be identified in the conflict and outcome themes of the analysis and then thematically analysed in consideration to each other. Thus, a compare and contrast process was adopted where the overall nature and understanding of these gender roles was discussed in relation to all of the narratives which contained the gender role in question. This granted an in-depth understanding of how the gender role was related to the overall experience of domestic violence as opposed to solely focusing on the case within the individual narrative.

This chapter has presented the analytical tools which have been applied to the collected data. These tool have been adapted and modified in order to be applicable to the chosen narratives and the objectives of this research project. A combination of both plot and thematic analysis will be used in order to answer the three research questions outlined in this these. The next chapter will present the gender roles which have been identified within the five chosen narratives and also give an overview f the constructed narrative following the plot analysis methodology.

7. The Narratives of Domestic Violence

Of the ten narratives, which were selected for analysis, 10 relatively different forms of narratives were identified. Whilst each narrative contained unique features which were reflective of that experience, some similar gender roles could be identified within different narratives. There were some underlying gender roles which became apparent in several of the narratives, for both men and women. Whilst the next chapter will discuss the gender roles in more detail, this chapter will give an overview of some of the narratives to include all the primary gender roles which were identified. Out of the 10 narratives analysed, 5 of the narratives will be presented in detail within this chapter. This will provide an overview of the general gender roles which have been identified and of the gender roles which re-occur in a similar manner within the remaining narratives.

In this Chapter, I will discuss the storylines typical to these narratives and the roles attached to each gender, and in the following Chapter I will delve more into the gender roles as related to the domestic violence. The narratives presented in this chapter are results of the analysis where background, conflict and outcome were first established and then the gender roles identified. A brief description of the narratives will be provided before further discussing the different gender roles which have been identified within the narrative.

7.1

Narrative 3: Female

Men's Family Authority Legitimises Domestic Violence

The interviewee told a narrative about a case of severe domestic violence which she was actively involved in resolving. The case of domestic violence involved a woman who was in her second marriage but was also taking care of her two daughters from her previous marriage. The woman in the narrative also had a new baby with her new husband and the whole family were living under one roof. The woman was earning her own income by operating a salon in the local area. She bought a plot of land with the money she was earning and then agreed with her new husband that they would both contribute towards building a house on the plot of land. However, shortly after the woman had given birth to their daughter, the husband demanded that the land titles would be transferred under his name. When the woman refused to give up the land titles the husband began to violently beat her almost to the point of killing her. Despite the woman seeking help from the local authorities, she was encouraged to return to her husband as the police were reluctant to separate them. Eventually, the woman gave in to her husband's demands and agreed to transfer the land titles under her husband's name.

However, after some time had passed the husband began to violently beat her again. Due to the constant beating's the wife was forced to leave her home and leave her three children with her husband. She bought a new lot of land and started to construct a new house on the land so that she would be able to take her children away from her abusive husband. However, after some time the husband came to find his wife and in order to punish her for leaving, he took all of her possessions and discarded them. The husband then threatened to burn down the house with the woman still in it if she refused to return to him. The interviewee claimed that the husband had previously boasted about killing his previous wife so the woman in the narrative felt forced to return to her husband in fear for her life.

Despite the woman obeying her husband's demands, the man continued to economically deprive his wife and their children. The woman continued to work in order to pay for her children's school fees and eventually managed to send them to boarding school so that they would not be living with her abusive husband. The interviewee claimed that the only way the woman would be able to escape her abuser would be to move far away from their currently village. However, as the woman relies upon her local clients for her income, she is not able to leave the area as she would fail in providing for her children. Thus, the interviewee explained that the woman continues to live with her husband and continues to work in order to provide for her children's wellbeing.

In this narrative I identified one main gender role attached to men and three gender roles associated with women.

Men

Family Authority

Within this narrative the man is understood as seeing himself as the *family authority*. The narrative suggests that the man sees this role as entitling him to respect and obedience. This family authority role is perceived as entitling him with complete control over his wife and allowing him to demand what he wants. This role of *family authority* within this particular narrative contains aspect of dictatorial authority, where the man feel that he is entitled to treat his wife in any manner he wishes, whilst she must be willing to comply. However, this extreme *family authority* role is not viewed as acceptable on the behalf of the interviewee. She claims that the man was 'unreasonable' and 'wanted to torture his wife.' It indicates that whilst men are understood as having a role as the heads of the family, this authority has restrictions and limitations according to the interviewee. Thus, the man in the narrative should not have such unquestioned authority over his family.

Women

Resilient

The woman being associated with a role of *resilient* can be observed within this narrative. In the narrative women are described as having to accept their difficult situations in their home or be able to adapt to the situation in the best possible way. In this sense, women are seen as having a role in being *resilient* to their treatment and either accepting their lives or changing

their circumstances by becoming self-sufficient. Whilst the woman in the narrative tried to become economically reliant and even left her husband, she was forced to return to him. However, it can be argued that she showed *resilience* as she was willing to endure her husband's treatment in order to secure her own safety and economic potential, she showed *resilience*.

Nurturer

Within this narrative, the woman is again associated with a nurturer role who has a primary duty by her children. In this sense, the woman's role as being a *nurturer* is a given due to the fact that she is the mother. As the *nurturer* it is seen as the woman's responsibility to ensure the safety and well-being of her children which also is described as influencing her decisions. The woman's role is to act in a manner which secures her children's future.

Property

The interviewee describes in the narrative that a woman is also seen as a form of *property* which should act accordingly to what she is being told. In this sense, the woman should comply to the wishes of her husband as he has some form of ownership over her and her actions. In addition, the ownership gives the husband a right to treat her and demand certain actions from her. Thus, as property the woman loses a certain aspect of her rights as a human being and encourages the acceptance of her treatment. However, this gender role is understood by the man in the narrative as opposed to the interviewee.

7.2

Narrative 4: Female

Women Expected to be Obedient Wives

A man and woman within the interviewee's community were married with 3 children. The woman originally sought help from the interviewee and asked her to help her as her husband was refusing to provide the basic needs for her and their children. When the interviewee intervened within the case, the man claimed that he had stopped providing for his wife and his children because the woman was not performing her duties as a wife. He said that the woman was always absent from the home when he returned home from work and she never had any food to serve him. In order to punish the wife and to force her to obedience, he had stopped providing for her but insisted that he would continue his duties as the husband if his wife changes her behaviour. The husband claimed that the woman needed to complete her duties as the wife by staying in the home, taking care of their children and harvesting the land he owned.

The wife admitted that she had not been present in the home as much as she should but that she was behaving in this manner out of anger towards her husband. The wife was told

by interviewee to change her habits and that she needed to sit at home and to do her duties as a wife as that was what was required of her. Whilst the situation improved for a few months, the husband later complained that the wife was spending too much time at her mothers. So, the interviewee returned and told the woman that she had to perform her responsibilities now as a wife and focus on her companion and not on her previous family. So was advised not to visit her mother as much and to stay at home with her children and her husband instead.

In this narrative I identified two main gender role attached to men and two gender roles associated with women

Men

Income provider

Within this narrative the man views himself, and is viewed by his wife and the interviewee, as the *Income Provider* of the family. This role attaches the man with a responsibility to economically provide for the family. In this narrative, the husband refuses to perform this role as a form of punishment towards his wife. As the woman is not behaving per what her husband expects the man refuses to continue his role as the income provider. In this narrative, this role is explicitly associated with the man and is seen as the mans 'duty' and 'responsibility.' However, by performing this role the man is also entitled to compliance from his wife. Thus, this role is also associated with authority and obedience.

Family Authority

In this narrative, the *Family Authority* role is understood as granting the man the right to demand certain behaviour and obedience from his wife. As the man, he is entitled to demand compliance and decide upon appropriate behaviour from his wife. If his wife does not obey him or behave in a certain manner, this is seen as a direct challenge towards his authority. This role as the *Family Authority* is also associated with the Income Provider role as the man is entitled to respect and obedience due to his economic provision. In addition, this role is attached to 'unquestioned' and 'immediate' obedience as the man does not feel the need to discuss or explain his discontent with his wife. Instead, he expects the wife to comply to his demands and respect his authority.

Women

Obedient Wife

The gender role which is associated with the woman is that of an obedient wife who has a responsibility towards serving her husband and complying to his demands. This gender role encourages expectation that the woman should complete all duties which are associated with being the 'wife' whilst also complying to her husband's authority. In the narrative, the woman's gender role as the *Obedient Wife* is associated with sole devotion and duty to her

husband. Once the woman gets married it is expected that her primary focus should be her husband.

Nurturer

In this narrative, the woman is described as having the role of a *Nurturer* and as a primary caregiver. The woman is associated with having the primary duty to look after the children and also to be solely responsible for their well-being. As the *Nurturer*, the woman is viewed as having a strong affectionate bond with the children and it is her responsibility to ensure their well-being.

7.3

Narrative 7: Male

Women Not Entitled to Household Income

The interviewee told a narrative about a case of domestic violence in which he was actively involved in resolving. The case involved a man and woman who were married and living together. The man owned a plot of land which the woman actively worked on and harvested. The man would then sell the crops which were harvested on the land to provide economic income. The man claimed that he had originally married his wife for the sole purpose that she would work for him on his plot of land.

On the day when the case was reported to the interviewee, the wife claimed that she had come home to find that her husband had sold the beans which she had grown and harvested herself which she felt that belonged to her. When the wife decided to question her husband on the matter, the husband resulted to violently beating her. He wife reported the case to the interviewee as he was actively involved in resolving such issues. However, the man claimed that as he had originally married his wife so that she would have to work for him and as he had ownership of the land, everything which the wife grows or harvests belongs to him. Therefore, she has no right to question him on what he does with his produce.

The activist discussed ownership law with the husband and explained that legally the husband cannot sell the beans without his wife's permission as they are also part of her assets. He urged the man to discuss household income decisions with his family to avoid further conflict and encourage development in the house. Once the husband had been threatened by the law, he promised that he would not sell his wife's crops without her permission.

In this narrative I identified one main gender role attached to men and two gender roles associated with women.

Men

Employer

Within this narrative, the man perceives himself as the *Employer* or owner of his wife. The man claims that he has married his wife for the sole purpose of having her work for him which suggests that he does not view his wife as his companion but as his worker or employee. This role can be categorised under the *Family Authority* gender role, as this role is also associated with unquestioned authority and control. Nevertheless, the *Employer* role can be perceived as being more detached from the family duties as the man is seen as the owner of the wife as opposed to her husband. This role demands that the wife obeys him, not because he is her husband but because she works for him. In addition, as he is her Employer she does not have any legitimate ownership or right over any assets despite her contribution towards them.

The man's role as the *Employer* can be perceived as an extreme version of the *Family Authority* role which detaches itself from family attachments and encourages the man to treat his wife as a worker as opposed to a family member. However, whilst the *Family Authority* association with the man is not questioned the extreme understanding of the man being the Employer or owner of the wife is not accepted by the interviewee. The participant insists that the wife needs to be treated as a family member and therefore has legitimate claim to household income.

Women

Employee

The man within this narrative sees his wife as his *Employee* who has a duty to obey him and carry out her work as requested. However, as a worker she is still not entitled to a 'reward' for her work which could suggest that her role as the woman can also be associated with that of a slave who is forced to work but should not expect any income for her work. The man sees the woman as being 'his worker' so someone who he owns and who has a duty to work for him as he had married her for this purpose. In this sense, the woman is not seen as a *Family Member* but as a formal employee who is only useful whilst she can provide him a good service. Similarly, to the Employer gender role described above, the Employee gender role of the woman is not accepted by the woman or by the interviewee. As the wife, the woman sees herself as a *family member* who is also entitled to ownership of the income which she provides for the family. In the narrative, whilst the woman is perceived as having a duty to obey the man as he requires, completely denying her of ownership of her own contribution is legally incorrect.

Family Member

The woman in the narrative sees herself as the wife of her husband and therefore as a *Family Member*. The woman and the interviewee, perceive the woman as having the role of the wife within the family which entitles her to have a share in the household income. As a wife she

has a right to claim income provision from her husband and also has ownership over her contributions to the household. In this sense, as the wife, she is expected to obey her husband's demands but her husband also has the responsibility to act dutifully towards her. Although the woman works on a plot of land which her husband owns, she expects that her work should be rewarded and that she has decision making authority over the produce she has harvested. In this sense, she does not view herself as an *Employee* but as a member of the household who has contributed towards the financial income and is therefore entitled to it.

7.4

Narrative 9: Male

Women Needs to be Virtuous

The interviewee tells a narrative of a woman and a man from his village who were married with some children. He explained that the woman stayed at home with the children whilst the man would go to work on a daily basis. However, the husband claimed that on many occasions the women would not be in the home when he returned from work. On one occasion, the interviewee explained that the wife was sent to the shop by her husband in order to buy some bread. However, she took longer than the man expected and when he went after her he found her with another man. The interviewee claimed that this man was rumoured to be in love with the wife but that the wife and the man in question were just talking in the village when the man found them. In response, the husband beat the woman violently when she returned home and chased her out of the house.

The wife sought help from both the interviewee and the police. Both parties counselled the couple to resolve the issue. The man claimed that wife was never home, she would take longer than needed to come back from running errands and would not look after or cook for the children. The woman was encouraged to do her duties by the husband whilst the man was told to provide for his wife and do his duties towards her as his husband. In addition, the man was told that he should not punish his wife out of 'suspected' infidelity if he does not have proof whilst the woman was advised not to give the man any reason to suspect her in the first place.

In this narrative I identified one main gender role attached to men and three gender roles associated with women.

Men

Family Authority

The man is seen as the head of the household who needs to be respected and also obeyed. His duty as the *Family Authority*. It is acceptable for the man to set demands for his wife whilst the woman is expected to obey these. In the narrative, the *Family Authority* role is seen as a given and rightful role for the man.

Women

Virtuous

In the narrative, the woman is expected to be and act *Virtuous*. Whilst men exert a gender role of being promiscuous it is not acceptable for a woman to act in the same manner or even behave in manner which could lead men to think that they were cheating. The *Virtuous* behaviour of the woman is something which is expected from the woman especially if she is married and she should do her duties as a wife and not speak to unknown men to ensure she is not suspected of infidelity.

Obedient Wife

Another gender role which is associated with women within this narrative is that of an *Obedient Wife*. This gender role expects the woman to comply to her husbands demands and behave in a manner which he finds acceptable. Women have a duty to obey their husbands and follow their instructions as this can otherwise be a sign of disrespect. In this narrative, the *Obedient Wife* gender role is associated with the woman needing to complete her duties in serving her husband, looking after their children, staying in the home and not talking to other men.

7.5

Narrative 10: Male

Women Need to be Dependant

Interviewee described a narrative of a man and a woman who were married and living together with 3 young children. The woman claimed that the man had begun to verbally abusing her and insulting her. The woman told the interviewee that the husband would sexually disrespect her when they were being intimate with each other so the woman decided to move out of the bedroom they shared and instead, began to sleep in the same room with their children.

In response, the husband began to economically deprive his wife and their children. The husband told the interviewee that he was angry that the woman was no longer sexually available to him so he wanted to force her in to submission. He wanted to sell all of the animals which the couple owned to ensure that his wife would not be able to earn any

economic income and would therefore be unable to provide for herself or their children without his help.

The interviewee counselled the woman and encouraged her to move her bed back in to her shared room with her husband. The husband was advised to stop verbally abusing or disrespecting his wife. The interviewee claimed that these forms of incidents were common as men were used to getting what they wanted so if they did not, they would try to take it by force instead of trying to find out the root cause of the problem.

In this narrative I identified two main gender roles attached to men and three gender roles associated with women.

Men

Family Authority

Within the narrative, the man again associates himself with the *Family Authority* role which entitles him to complete control and obedience. His family have a duty to respect and follow his instructions and failure to do so will undermine this *Authority*. In addition, within this narrative this gender role was also associated with the need to not question his actions or the feelings of his family. This gender role is perceived as a natural entitlement of the husband by the interviewee but he also suggests that this way of thinking can contribute towards men feeling that they can take what they want by force.

Income Provider

Another gender role explicitly associated with the man within this narrative is that of an *Income Provider*. In this narrative, this role is connected to the role of *Family Authority* as this gives the man the privilege and prestige in the household. In this sense, the family are also expected to be *Dependent* on him for his economic support. In the narrative this role again is explicitly given to the man as one which he should and is expected to perform however, the narrative also reveals that this role can be used as form of punishment to force submission from his wife. Inability to use this role as a punishment can lead to the man feeling increasingly undermined and invaluable.

Women

Sexual Object

After getting married the woman is seen as having conjugal rights towards her husband. In this sense, a gender role associated with the woman is that of a *Sexual Object* which her husband should have access to. This role is viewed as a primary role of a wife as the woman has a sexual obligation to her husband which she should fulfil.

Nurturer

Similarly to the other narratives, the woman is also understood as the *Nurturer* who has primary responsibility over her children's well-being. Whilst the man is associated with

financially supporting the children, the woman has ultimate responsibility to ensure that the children receive their basic needs and this financial support. This role is not questioned in this narrative and the primary responsibility of the children's well-being is targeted at the woman. The man is not explicitly associated with the well-being of the children.

Dependant

The woman also has role of being *Dependant* on her husband. This role ensures that the man is able to maintain his control and authority. The woman should be financially dependent on her husband as this encourages her to respect his authority. In the narrative, men are associated with making decisions on behalf of the family but men need to ensure that women are dependant on them to ensure their compliance.

This chapter has presented five of the narratives which were analysed in this research project. The constructed version of the narrative was first presented following the chosen plot analysis tool and then the gender roles which were identified for both men and women were presented and described. This chapter has helped to answer the first research questions which aimed to identify the different types of roles which were identified for men and women within the narratives. Whilst all of the narratives are not presented within this chapter and the nature of the roles varied slightly depending upon the case, these roles provide an overview of the general gender roles which could be identified across all ten narratives. The following chapter will further explore these identified gender roles and analyse how these gender roles can be directly related to the case of domestic violence.

8. Gender Roles in Relation to Domestic Violence

The primary gender roles which appeared across the 10 narratives have been identified and highlighted in the previous chapter. However, it is important to explore how these gender roles are related to the described case of domestic violence. Whilst the next chapter will discuss the themes within between gender roles and domestic violence, this chapter will further explore how these gender roles are attached to the case of domestic violence which is described in each narrative. Whilst this chapter will only contain the five narratives which were explored in the previous chapter, a full table of the results for all of the narratives can be found in **Appendix1**.

8.1

Narrative 3: Female

Men's Family Authority Legitimises Domestic Violence

The narrative three described a domestic violence case where a woman was subject to extreme control and abuse from her husband. Despite trying to leave her husband she was forced to return to him after he threatened to kill her and her three children. The gender roles *Family Authority*, *Resilient*, *Nurturer* and *Property* were identified. These roles were related to the domestic violence in a following way:

Within this narrative the man's role as being the *family authority* is directly linked to the incidence of physical domestic violence which the woman experiences. As the woman refuses to give up the land titles of the plot which she had bought the man punishes her for disobeying his wishes and uses physical violence in order to ensure that his authority is followed. Within the narrative, the interviewee describes that the physical violence began during the time when the woman refused to sign over her land titles to her husband, which would suggest that the man is punishing the woman for not obeying his command. As *family authority* the man should have complete control and say over family decisions and circumstances which encourages the use of violence if these are not followed accordingly.

This could also be illustrated by the fact that the man uses violence as a form of control over the woman to ensure that she acts according to what he wants. In the incident where the woman decides to leave, the man threatens her with extreme violence to the point of killing her if she does not return to him. There is not attempt from the side of the man to understand why the woman had left. Instead, he expects her to return if he commands it. In this sense, it could be suggested that the role of family authority encourages the man to force the woman in to compliance if needed without having to consider or understand her actions for refusal.

In addition, within this narrative the family authority role is accompanied by an aspect of ownership. This ownership gives the husband the right to treat his wife in a manner which he sees best and also gives him incentive to react violently if his wife decides to disobey this ownership. In the narrative, the interviewee describes that the woman eventually decides to leave her husband without asking him for financial assistance. Yet the husband demands that she returns home to him and violently threatens her if she does not comply to his wishes. Such actions could be suggested to reflect a certain degree of perceived ownership, where the woman is the man's property and therefore she has no right to leave him as he owns her. The actions of the woman to leave can provoke a reaction from the husband where he does not attempt to understand why she has left but instead simply demands her to return to him.

Within this narrative, the man seems to understand his role as the *family authority* according to extreme aspects, where he has complete control and ownership over her. It could be argued that this understanding manifests itself through very forceful and violent actions and provokes him to violently attack his wife when she does not obey him. Thus, it can be suggested that this extreme understanding of the family authority role significantly contributes towards the domestic violence within the narrative, as the man dehumanises the woman and feels that he is entitled to treat his wife as he wants.

The gender roles of *nurturer* and *resilience* are also interconnected within this narrative as the woman endures her treatment in order to ensure the well-being of her children. After the woman, has been forced to return home to her abusive husband she tries to shape his actions to ensure that her children will receive an education. Once this attempt also fails, she directs her own income in to securing them a place at a boarding school which will ensure that the children will receive an education, and will also be away from their abusive father. Thus, whilst she is unable to leave her husband directly, the woman's roles as being resilient and a nurturer continue to be performed.

In addition, it could be suggested that the woman's role as being resilient contributed towards the violent manner in which her husband demanded her to return. As the woman was capable of leaving her husband and able to independently finance her own living, this can undermine the role and authority of the man. In this sense, as the woman does not need the man to financially provide for her, it means she is very able to leave him and become self-reliant. Thus, the man's role as family authority could have been significantly undermined in which case he acted in a violent manner as this is the only form of control he is able to exert over her.

The woman's understood gender role as being property, can also be suggested to contribute towards her persistence to endure her treatment and her inability to get help from higher authorities. In the narrative, the interviewee explains that the 'woman was taken to the police as her husband was almost killing her' nevertheless, the police were reluctant to separate the pair and told her to go back to her husband. This indicates that there is some form of duty attached to the role of the woman to return to her husband which also legitimises his treatment of her and her.

Within this narrative, it can be argued that the roles of the man and woman which have been identified impact upon the source and outcome of the described domestic violence. In this narrative, domestic violence is used to ensure compliance from the woman and also to maintain control. In this narrative the woman is understood as property which gives the man

the right to treat her as he sees fit. In return, the woman endures her treatment in order to perform her own roles as a nurturer in order to ensure the safety and wellbeing of her children.

8.2

Narrative 4: Female

Women Expected to be Obedient Wives

The narrative four described a domestic violence case where a man was depriving his wife of children from basic needs due to his wife always being absent from the home and not performing her duties as a wife. The gender roles *Income Provider*, *Family Authority*, *Nurturer* and *Obedient Wife* were identified. These roles were related to the domestic violence in a following way:

Within this narrative, it can be argued that the income provider role and the family authority role are directly connected to the incident of economic violence. As the man is understood as being the family authority the man naturally expects the woman to obey and respect him. In addition, as he is also complying to his role as the economic provider he expects the woman to also perform her duties as a wife. As the woman is not behaving according to his expectations, he feels a sense of injustice as he is performing to his duties. Thus, this leads to the man refusing to perform his own gender role by not providing for her. Nevertheless, the fact that the man did not explain the reason behind his actions towards her, suggests that within the family authority role the man does not feel the need to discuss or explain his actions, as he is the head of the family. This means that this gender role can encourage domestic violence as the man and woman do not discuss their issues and instead the man will resort to punishing her in order to force her in to submission.

In addition, the income provider role of the man can be understood as a tactic the man can use in order to force the woman to obey him. As the income provider, the man has complete control over the economic finances of the family which gives him control over how he expects the family to act. Thus, it can be argued that this role is not only utilised to secure family finances, but to also ensure that the man maintains his authority. In consideration, to the described domestic violence the man used his income provider role to illustrate his discontent in his wife and also to force her to recognise his authority.

The woman within this narrative has a role as an obedient wife which means that she is supposed to be acting according to what her husband wants or demands. As his obedient wife she is seen as having a duty by him. This expectation is challenged when she becomes non-compliant and this is seen as a sense of injustice in the eyes of the husband. His wife has

a duty to be obedient and if she is conforming to this role, he no longer feels liable to complete his own role as the family provider.

Within the obedient wife role, there are certain expectations embedded within it which encourages the woman to act in certain manner or complete certain duties. These duties are perceived as 'self-explanatory' or as 'common knowledge' which means these expectations are not fully explained or negotiated by the husband. As they are a given feature of an obedient wife, the wife should naturally perform these duties and comply to her husband or she will be punished for it. In this particular narrative, the demands of the husband are not questioned or challenged. The narrative contains an underlying understanding the wife should naturally comply to these demands as she has a duty by her husband. In this sense, the actions of the husband are justified by the storyteller as the wife was not conforming to her role and can therefore not expect to be provided for. Eventually the woman is made to recognise that how she is acting is wrong and if she wants her husband to provide for her she must conform to this role.

In addition, the woman's understood role as the nurturer impacts the nature of this domestic violence. Whilst the children belong to both the man and the woman, the children are seen as her prime responsibility and ultimately attached to her. This means that in order to punish his wife, the husband also stops providing for his children. As it is the woman's prime responsibility to ensure the well-being of her children, depriving the children is also a form of punishment towards the woman. For the woman, her children's well-being and security should be of prior importance so it is a method of punishment as it will force the woman into compliance. In this sense, the woman's role as a nurturer can encourage cases of domestic violence where the children are also targeted.

Within this narrative, the relationship between the gender roles and the case of described domestic violence was one where the gender role of the woman was not being completed. This encouraged the man to refuse to perform his own duties as the income provider. In addition, the man used this gender role in order to punish his wife for her disobedience and to force her into compliance. The issue was not discussed or negotiated between the husband and wife, instead the man used his gender role to highlight his discontent. This suggests that the gender roles for men and women are heavily expected without question. Thus, not complying to these roles causes a sense of injustice which can encourage the occurrence of domestic violence in the household.

8.3

Narrative 7: Male

Women Not Entitled to Household Income

The narrative seven described a domestic violence case where a woman was treated as an employee by her husband as opposed to a wife. The woman was beaten and economically deprived by her husband after she questioned him on selling some beans which she had

harvested. The gender roles *Employer*, *Employee* and *Family Member* were identified. These roles were related to the domestic violence in a following way:

In consideration to the issue of domestic violence within the narrative, the man's understanding of his role as the family authority or employer, encourages him to stop treating his wife as a family member. He does not consult her in the family decisions, even when this involves selling produce which she herself has grown. This understanding of the man as the employer, entitles him to the produce of the woman as she is perceived as his employer or worker. As the employer, he has ownership of his workers and therefore he also owns his wife. All of the produce or assets which belongs to the wife automatically belong to him also and he is free to do with them as he pleases.

The high level of authority and ownership this gender role encourages suggests that as his wife is not seen as a family member but an employee under his authority he does not have a strong attachment to her and may not willingly acknowledge her wellbeing. Such perspective can easily encourage the occurrence of economic violence as the husband does not see his wife a family member who he should have a duty to. She is used as a worker and therefore as an economic value attached to her as opposed to a sense of devotion or responsibility.

In addition, this employer role promotes unquestioned authority where his decisions should not be challenged, especially by his employees. Employees are not seen as having any entitlement to the rewards of their work and are also not seen as having an equal status to make decisions. The man does not see his wife's contribution to their financial income as co-operation but as an expectation which she is naturally supposed to contribute without reward. Thus, when the woman challenges him on his decision to sell her beans he responds to this with violence as it is unacceptable for an employee to question their employer.

The two gender roles identified for the woman within the narrative have a conflicting nature. The woman sees herself as the wife of her husband and also as a family member who is contributing towards the household income. When her husband continues to treat her as a worker this causes a sense of injustice and hurt within the woman. As the woman sees herself as a wife and as a family member she feels that the husband has a responsibility to provide for her. In addition, as she has contributed towards the harvest she is also entitled to a share in the rewards of that harvest, especially in consideration to the produce she has grown herself. Both the man and the woman feel a sense of entitlement to the harvest and belief to have some form of decision making power within the household. The woman feels she has a right to question and challenge the actions of the man whilst the man sees this form of behaviour as completely unacceptable. This conflicting understanding of the woman's role between the husband and the wife causes tension within the household which eventually turn to a case of domestic violence.

In general, it can be suggested that the conflicting understandings of the woman's and man's gender roles were at the source of the conflict and significantly contributed towards the issue of domestic violence. The man viewed himself as a complete authority figure who solely owned the land and his wife. This legitimised him to treat his wife as he wished and expected his wife to obey him without reward. On the other hand, the woman viewed herself

as the wife who is entitled to her husband's income provision and security. As she also contributes towards the family income she is entitled to have a share in that profit and she also holds some decision-making power in consideration to her contribution.

8.4

Narrative 9: Male

Women Needs to be Virtuous

The narrative nine described a domestic violence case where a woman was beaten after her husband suspected her of infidelity. The husband also argued that the woman was not acting like a proper wife and was disrespecting me. The gender roles *Family Authority*, *Virtuous*, and *Obedient Wife* were identified. These roles were related to the domestic violence in a following way:

In this narrative, the family authority gender role gives the man the right to demand and expect the wife to comply to his demands. When the wife does not do as she is expected to it is seen as a form of disrespect or challenge to this authority. If this authority is not complied to, it legitimises the man to use physical violence to both punish this form of behaviour and force the wife in to submission. Thus, within this narrative, as the wife does not do what is expected of her and does not completely obey her husband, the man feels the need to reinforce his family authority using violence.

In this narrative, it seems that the failure of the woman to comply to her role as being both virtuous and an obedient wife contribute towards the occurrence of violence. The actions of the man using violence to punish infidelity is not questioned, but the fact that he punished his wife for infidelity without having proof is. The story teller advises the husband that if 'wife takes longer than expected to go to the shop as she may be delayed for other reason he cannot assume that she is being unfaithful.' In this sense, the reaction from the husband to beat and chase his wife is not completely challenged but the fact that he did so without significant proof is. Thus, the fact that the woman is perceived to be acting in an unvirtuous manner is a sign of disrespect to the man which causes the source of conflict.

In addition, the wife is told that she must 'do her duty as the wife and as the woman' and also as 'he provides for her children she must find out what he wants and doesn't want' which suggests that it is the duty of the wife to keep her husband satisfied and follow his instructions. Failure to do so means that she is not acting as an obedient wife which can further encourage tension and conflict in the household. The story teller advises the woman in the narrative that 'if he harms you in any way do not wait to get a fractured nose or bleed, don't reply to him a lot and learn his ways and he will learn yours.' Thus, this suggests that the woman's duty is not to challenge or question the authority of the man and to just accept

his ways. In consideration to the domestic violence, if the wife had acted in a manner which the husband did not see fit this could have caused the reaction of violence from the husband as he is legitimised to punish his wife for misconduct.

However, the husband is also told that he must also do the same to ensure that the couple manage together and co-operate. The man is also told that he must do his duty as a husband and provide for his wife and his children as alone neither one will manage. Therefore, the roles as man and woman are clearly defined and both need to be able to carry these roles and duties out to ensure development and harmony. Thus, within this narrative it seems that both the man and woman are encouraged to comply with according to their gender roles in order to secure co-operation and provide a better life for their children. Failure to comply to these roles can cause tension and conflict in the home which is why men and women should focus on performing their duties accordingly.

8.5

Narrative 10: Male

Women Need to be Dependant

The narrative ten described a domestic violence case where a woman had moved out of the bedroom which she shared with her husband after he began to verbally abuse and insult her. In response, he began to economically deprive her and their children in order to force her in to submission. Despite trying to leave her husband she was forced to return to him after he threatened to kill her and her three children. The gender roles *Family Authority, Income Provider, Nurturer, Sexual Object* and *Dependant* were identified. These roles were related to the domestic violence in a following way:

In consideration to the men's gender roles within this narrative, the authority role of the man could be suggested as significantly contributing towards the issue of economic violence as the woman's refusal to give his conjugational rights explicitly undermines his authority. The man does not attempt to understand why his wife is refusing to give him his 'marital rights' but instead tries to force her in to submission. The authority role entitles the man to force his wife's compliance without trying to resolve the underlying issues of her disobedience. Thus, the woman's compliance is expected without question, changes in her behaviour are not explored but are simply forced back in to submission using economic violence.

Furthermore, the gender role of income provider can be understood as contributing towards the manner in which the man decides to punish his wife. As the financial provider of the family this role gives the man a privilege within the household and entitles him to his authority. The interviewee describes that when 'someone has not asked you (the man) for something but able to get it somewhere else' the men feel undermined and undervalued.

Thus, this position as income provider is very important for the man's self-value and understanding as a rightful authoritative figure. This perspective of his role encourages the man to sell all of the animals within his possession in order to ensure that the woman will not be able to provide for herself. This forces the woman to become completely reliant upon her husband which secures his full control over her.

In this narrative, the gender role of the woman as a sexual object contributes towards the source of conflict as the woman decides not to perform this role in order to show her discontent. Thus, this gender role is used in a manner to punish the husband without explicitly explaining or discussing why she was angry. In addition, this role of the woman as a sexual object is seen as relatively important and fundamental to the man which makes him feel undermined and encourages an aggressive reaction from him. In this sense, the husband expects the woman to comply to her sexual role and when she does not it makes him feel a source of injustice. In the narrative, the woman was asked by the storyteller 'why she chose to get married if she was not in the same bedroom with her husband'. This indicates that the woman has a sexual obligation towards her husband and this duty an important feature of her role as an obedient wife. Thus, not conforming to this role will cause tension and conflict within the household. Yet, this role gives the woman a form of power where she can show her discontent to her husband.

In addition, within this narrative the gender role of the woman as a nurturer influence how the husband attempts to force her in to submission. In the narrative, the man stops economically providing for both his wife and his children. As the woman is seen as having the role in securing the well-being of the children, economically depriving the children will also automatically punish her. This form of deprivation will also contribute towards forcing her in to submission. However, in order for this to succeed the woman needs to be entirely reliant upon her husband. The role of the man as the income provider and the woman's role as being dependant are integrally linked. If the woman is able to be self-sufficient and does not need her husband's provision, this will reduce the man's authority within the household and also limits his control over his wife. The woman's role as being economically dependant, encourage the man to inflict economic violence on his wife in order to force her to comply to his demands. It also discouraged him from trying to discuss or negotiate the actions of his wife as he is able to use income provision to force his will.

In this narrative, the gender roles of the man and the woman can be argued to be explicitly connected to the sources of conflict and the manner in which the conflict was acted. Gender roles are used to show discontent and disapproval for their partner's behaviour and actions. The expected gender roles are also used in order to punish their partners. For the woman, she refuses to perform her sexual obligations to her husband to express her anger at him. However, her failure to perform her sexual obligation as the wife causes an aggressive reaction from the man and directly undermines his own gender role as the family authority. Thus, the man punishes his wife by not performing his own gender role as the income provider and also uses her role as the nurturer to punish her by not providing for their children. Interestingly, the sources of discontent were not discussed by neither the wife or husband. Instead, gender roles and duties associated with these roles were not performed in order to express discontent.

This chapter has illustrated how these gender roles can be connected to the sources of the domestic violence cases which have been described. According to this analysis, conducted in this chapter, gender roles are connected to the source of the conflict and also play a significant role in influencing the nature and the events of the domestic violence cases. Within these narratives, it seems that some of the gender roles justify certain forms of behaviour which can encourage the occurrence of domestic violence, whilst the refusal or failure to perform other gender roles causes direct conflict. Whilst each narrative has been analysed according to its own unique contexts, some common themes can be identified across the different narratives. The next chapter will explore this aspect further, by highlighting and discussing some of the common themes within the narratives.

9. Gender Roles in Relation to Domestic Violence

The analysis of the narratives revealed that some of the identified gender roles played a significant part in the source of conflict, which impacted upon the form of domestic violence and on the outcome of the conflict. It is important to further identify which kinds of issues were related to the themes have found within the narratives in consideration to gender roles and how these intertwine with relate to the cases of domestic violence described. Whilst each narrative is unique and needs to be treated according to its unique situation and circumstances, it is also important to compare and contrast these gender roles and their influence on domestic violence. By highlighting this, and identifying thematic similarities between different narratives, I will be able to gain a more in-depth understanding of how gender roles are related to the occurrence of domestic violence.

An overview of the themes within each of the narratives can be found in Appendix 1 within this thesis. The tables in Appendix 1 will highlight how the identified gender roles can be related to the source of the conflict described and the outcome of that conflict. However, within this section of the thesis, the primary themes attached to within the identified gender roles are discussed further in relation to domestic violence. The impact of gender roles on cases of domestic violence and how these roles can be connected to wider issues of domestic violence will be discussed. Whilst not all gender roles emerged in the analysis will be discussed in detail, I will the discussion focuses on drawing selected some important themes. which can be used in order to answer and partially generalise the research questions.

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9.1 Themes in Men's Gender Roles

9.1.1 Family Authority

The gender role of men being the family authority was the most common theme found within the narratives. In general, this gender role was exclusively associated with men as men were understood as having an assured position as the heads of the household. Whilst to a certain extent this role was connected with the man's role as the income provider, which granted the man privilege in making economic decisions on the behalf of the family, this role also extended this connection and it can be argued that men, for the sake of being male, should be at all times be respected and obeyed. Whilst this gender role was perceived differently within the narratives, overall the family authority gender role granted the man the right to make decisions without question whilst also demanding complete obedience towards the man's demands.

In narratives 1, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10 the man subjected his family to either physical or economic violence due to the fact that his demands were either not being met or were being questioned. As the man has the right to make decisions without needing to discuss them and is also entitled to act in a manner which he see's best, any challenge to this right threatens their family authority gender role. It can be argued that due to the fact that men see themselves as deserving complete respect and obedience, failure to act in the manner they wish or daring to question their decisions challenges or undermines this authority. This was especially the case in narratives 4, 6, 9 and 10 where the man does not discuss his discontent with the woman but still feels undermined due to the fact that the woman is not behaving in the manner in which he expects. The man either economically or physically abuses the woman to force her to submit to his demands without explicitly explaining or discussing the issue with her. Thus, it can be suggested that this gender role encourages the man to not feel the need to explain his actions or discuss his decisions with his family as he has the authority to do as he pleases. Furthermore, in situations where the woman does challenge the mans' actions or fails to understand what the man is demanding from her, it can encourage cases of domestic violence as the woman needs to be punished for undermining the man's authority, whilst the man also needs to reinforce his control over the family.

Although the role of the family authority is understood as being connected to the role of the man as being the income provider, in narrative 6 this is not the case and the man continued to expect complete obedience despite the fact that he had not been economically providing for the family for 8 years. Within the narratives it can be suggested that the man's role as the economic provider exerts the man a certain degree of right to be the family authority. Nevertheless, narrative 6 illustrates that the expectation of being the family authority is also exclusively associated with the man being male as opposed to being the primary income provider. Despite the man in the narrative having abandoned his family for 8 years and was therefore not economically supporting his wife or his children in any way, when the man returns he feels the right to be able to return to the family home and does not feel the need to explain to his wife where he had been. When the wife challenges or questions him, he resorts to violence. Therefore, it can be suggested that this gender role as family authority can also be perceived as an exclusive right which all men possess whether they are providing for their families or not. As the man, they are entitled to complete obedience and

do not have the need to explain their actions. Any form of questioning or challenging from the woman is seen as a direct threat to the man's gender role and undermines his family position. Thus, it can be argued that such an association can influence domestic violence as men will feel the right to do as they please even at the expense of their families, and any form of protest from the woman is seen as unacceptable.

Furthermore, narratives 3 and 7 expose an extreme form of the family authority gender role as the men within these narratives exert complete control over their wives in a manner which suggests that they see them as property and not as human beings or family members. In narrative 3, the man forces his wife to suffer from extreme situations of domestic violence and of abuse, even threatening to kill her if she does not do what he commands. In the narrative, it seems that there is no real source of reason for the man's actions apart from the fact that he is able to do what he does and abuse the woman in the manner that he does, as he is the man which grants him complete authority over her. In the narrative, the interviewee also suggests that he was responsible for killing his previous wife, with the man apparently admitting and even boasting about his. With this in consideration, it can be argued that the man in the narrative does not see his wives as human beings or family members, but as objects which he has complete control over and is entitled to treat how he wants.

Narrative 7, also exposes an extreme form of this gender role as the man views his wife as a worker, and not as a family member or as a wife. The man's authority can be described as that of an employer or as an owner, someone who owns his wife and has married her in order for her to work for him. In this sense, he has complete control over her as she belongs to him or is working for him. Despite the fact that the woman is contributing towards their economic income, the man feels that all of this economic income is his and any protests from the woman is unacceptable. As the man sees himself as owing the woman she has a duty to do as she is told whilst he is also entitled to everything she contributes. It can be argued that such an objectified understanding of the woman's position and such an authoritative understanding of the man's role, encourages the man to be physically violent towards his wife when she protests his actions. Thus, from narrative 3 and 7 it can be suggested that the gender role of family authority can also encourage extreme interpretations of this role where the man is seen as an authoritative figure and the woman is seen as property, or as an object who the man is entitled to treat as he pleases.

9.1.2 Income Provider

Within 5 of the narratives the man was explicitly associated with the role of income provider. Whilst the nature and understanding of this gender role varied within the different narratives, in general this role as the income provider was seen as the exclusive responsibility of the man and this gender role also granted the man a privileged position within the family. In narrative 1 and narrative 6 this gender role as the income provider was shifted to new women, leaving the original family economically neglected. In both narratives, men chose to deprive their original wives and also their children in order to economically provide for other women. With this in consideration, it could be argued that this gender role is not always attached to family responsibility meaning men don't believe that they have a duty to provide for their families if they have found other women. In this sense, this responsibility can be

shifted to other women and other families at the expense of their original wives and their children. Thus, this gender role of income provider which is not explicitly attached to family duty can encourage economic domestic violence within families as men do not feel that it is their responsibility to economically provide for their families is a continuous role.

In addition, within narratives 3 and 10 this role was explicitly connected to the gender role of authority and obedience. In these two narratives, the role of the man as the income provider was seen as granting the man control and authority over their wives and expecting obedience in return. The wives and children within these two narratives were also subjected to economic violence, where the man would even refuse to provide them with basic needs. In these two narratives, the income provider role of the man was used in order to force obedience from the wife and also to express his discontent in her behaviour. In this sense, this income provider role was used as a form of punishment for the wife's disobedience whilst also used as method to maintain and exert authority by forcing the wife in to compliance. This gender role can be understood as being an important aspect of the control and authority which men possess within the family as it provides men with the physical power to exert their demands whilst also gives them the right to demand authority and respect within the family. Thus, it could be argued that this gender role encourages men to exert economic domestic violence on to their families if they are not complying to his demands or are behaving in manner which is acceptable to him.

Finally, narrative 2 illustrates a different perspective of the man's gender role of income provider. Within this narrative, it was the man who was subject to domestic violence from his wife due to the fact that he was not able to perform this gender role in accordance to her expectations. This narrative highlights that the man's gender role also contains aspects of expectation and demands from women, which if the man is not able to perform will decrease his value. In this sense, the man can also be understood as an economic asset where women decide to marry men for practical and economic reasons. As the man is seen as an economic asset who is valued in accordance to his economic contribution this understanding can cause women to express feelings of discontent and injustice if the man does not perform this task in accordance to her expectations. In turn, this may encourage domestic violence within the family as the woman feels that her husband is not as worthy as she thought when she married him. Thus, explicitly associating the man with the role of income provider can objectify the man as an economic asset which has practical worth as long as he is able to economically provide. If he is no longer able to provide then his value will decrease and he may be subject to anger and domestic violence from his wife.

9.1.3 Rightful Property Owner

Another gender role which could be identified from the narratives 5, 6, 7 and 8 is the association that the man is the rightful property owner of all assets shared by him and his wife, and the property owner of the wife's assets also. This gender role perceives that men are the overall owners of all assets and property regardless of whether the woman has contributed towards them or not. In addition, assets which belong to the woman are seen as being transferred to the man once they are married. Whilst this is not a legal understanding, within the narratives the actions of the man suggested that they understand their role as the man as

being entitled to property which is owned by the woman whilst women do not have the same entitlements to assets which are owned by the man.

In narratives 5 and 6 the men had abandoned their wives and their children for several years, however once they returned they still understood themselves as being the rightful owners of the property itself and all assets within the house. In narrative 5, the man had originally sold off the land and the property before he left forcing his wife to pay off the banks in order to keep the home for herself and their children. Nevertheless, once the man returned after around 8 years he demanded to stay in the house and the refusal on the part of the owner led to the man inflicting physical violence on her and chasing her and their children out of the property. It can be suggested that despite the woman having paid off the land and the house, meaning the land titles would have been transferred under her name, the man still considered himself as being entitled to the assets he was the man and her husband.

In addition, narrative 6 describes a similar situation where the man returns after abandoning his family for a long period of time and takes all of the property inside the house for himself and his new wife. Again, despite the fact that he has not been providing for his children for several years and the woman herself becoming the economic provider, he feels that he is entitled to the assets as he is the man. When the woman challenges him he resorts to beating her and chasing her out of the house. In this sense, it could be argued that the understanding of the man as being the rightful property owner of all assets, including his wife's, can lead to cases of domestic violence if women challenge men's ownership. If this rightful owner role is not associated with actual economic contribution but is attached to gender, it could be suggested that it encourages men to feel rightfully entitled to all assets and property whilst women will have no claim regardless of their contribution. If women question or challenge this role, domestic violence may occur as they are challenging the man's position in the family.

In narratives 7 and 8, the gender role of rightful owner is explicitly applied to men having rightful ownership over women's assets and economic contributions. Narrative 7, the man feels that the woman is his worker which automatically gives him ownership of her and what she produces. The man within the narrative explains that as he won the land and he married the woman so that she would work for him, whatever she grows is his to do with as he pleases and she has no entitlements. When the woman challenges the man on this he violently beats her, which could suggest that such actions from the woman undermine the man's ownership which he feels rightfully entitled to. Similarly, in narrative 8 the man demands the woman to transfer her land titles and assets to him as he felt uncomfortable with her having more property than him. This scenario also indicates that part of the man's gender role is attached to having rightful ownership over all assets including those which are legally seen as belonging to the woman. Again, this association could encourage cases of domestic violence if women protest or feel a source of injustice that their contributions and property are taken away from them. If the woman challenges this, it can undermine both the man's role as a rightful owner and also their authority, which could lead to the men violently beating their wives as a form of punishment and in order to maintain their control.

9.2 Themes in Women's Gender Roles

9.2.1 Nurturer

In consideration to women's gender roles, the role of nurturer was the most identified gender role within the chosen narratives. The gender role of nurturer is exclusively associated with the woman, whilst the man is understood as having a more practical and economic involvement with his children. In this sense, women are understood as having a primary responsibility of taking care of their children and ensuring their wellbeing. Whilst the economic responsibility is associated with men, if the man fails to perform this duty the woman is still seen as being primary responsible in securing their children's future.

This gender role influences women's actions and responses to cases of domestic violence as they have to act accordingly to ensure their children's safety and economic wellbeing. Within narratives 1, 3, 5 and 6 the gender role of being a care giver and nurturer were attached to women and this gender role impacted how the women dealt with their issues of domestic violence. Whilst some of the women within the narratives chose to endure their treatment or comply to demands of the man, they did this not as passive victims but due to the fact that they would be able to ensure their children's economic wellbeing and personal safety. Narrative 3, illustrates that the woman returned to her very violent and abusive husband after he threatened to kill her she did not. The only way the woman felt that she would be able to leave the man was if she moved very far away from her current location. However, as she had a salon within this area she would not be able to economically support herself or her children if she left as she would lose all of her clients. The woman decided to remain and endure her treatment whilst working to ensure her children could be sent to a boarding school away from their abusive father. Thus, this illustrates that women are not a passive victim to their treatment, but make decisions to ensure the best possible outcome. In this sense, the nurturer role influences how women react to their situations of domestic violence as they are encouraged to act in a manner which ensures their children's wellbeing.

In addition, within narrative 10 and 9 the gender role of the woman is used in order to punish her and force her in to compliance. As the children are understood as being the responsibility of the woman if the wellbeing of the children is effected, this is understood as also effecting the woman. Within these two narratives, the men had refused to economically support their wives and their children as they were not content with their wives' behaviour. Although the nurturer gender role alone does not seem to be associated with the source of violence, this gender role impacts how men inflict their punishment or force on to their wives. As the children are understood as being explicitly connected to the woman, punishing or depriving the children will contribute towards forcing the woman to comply to the man's demands. Thus, this gender role as nurturer can have a significant impact on children within the family as they will suffer if the man decides to punish the woman.

9.2.2 Resilient

Another gender role which can be identified within the narratives, is the association with resilience and self-sufficiency which women are expected to encompass. This resilience and self-sufficiency is understood as a response to the unpredictable nature of men. Men are understood as being unreasonable and stubborn which men's that women must ensure that

they can manage themselves in the case that their men abandon them. As women are directly understood as being responsible for their children's wellbeing, this self-sufficiency and resilience encourages women to act in a manner which will secure their children's futures. However, this resilience is not explicitly described, instead within the narratives it exposes itself through the form of endurance, perseverance and self-management.

In narratives 1 and 6, the role of women as being Survivor and self-managers is explicitly encouraged by the interviewees. In narrative 1 women are understood as needing to be self-sufficient and it should be their prime duty in order to ensure their own survival and also the survival of their children. Similarly, in narrative 6, the interviewee argues that women should not be dependent on men even if their husbands are providing for them. Women have a responsibility to become self-sufficient as it is the only manner in which they will be able to secure their own survival and the wellbeing of their children. In this sense, this gender role of resilience and self-sufficiency can be understood as response to the domestic violence cases which women often experience. It can be suggested that women have become so used to the behaviour and actions of men that they now expect it. Thus, it becomes the duty of the woman to ensure her and her children's survival by becoming self-sufficient and being able to manage herself independently.

In addition, within narratives 3, 5 and 6 the women in the narratives manage themselves in different manners in response to their experienced domestic violence. Whilst the woman in narrative 3 decides to return to her abusive husband she continues to provide herself and her children with economic income and pays for her children to go to boarding school. This ability to be self-sufficient, despite the fact she has a husband, limits the amount of control the man has over her and also allows her to make decisions for her children without having to consult the man for economic support. Thus, this resilience associated with women also illustrates that they are not passive victims but possess a number of ways in which they can ensure theirs and their children's wellbeing.

Furthermore, in narrative 5 and 6 the actions of the man lead to the women within these narratives to become both nurturers and income providers for their own children. As their husbands abandon their families within these narratives, the women are able to manage themselves and their children without the support of the man. In addition, in the narratives the men come back and take the property and assets from the wife and children. Despite this injustice, in the narratives the women start again and continue to work in order to ensure their children's wellbeing and security. It could be suggested that the willingness for the women to ensure such actions is encouraged through the expectation that all men behave in this manner, which in turn urges women to become resilient and secure their own futures by becoming self-sufficient. Thus, this gender role can be understood as a reaction role to cases of domestic violence which women have a responsibility to prepare for.

9.2.3 Dependant

Another gender role which can be identified within the narratives, but is only explicitly described in narratives 2 and 10, is the role of the woman as being dependent upon her husband. This gender role is understood as the role of the woman as primarily needing her husband's economic support and if she is able to get it herself, it directly undermines his

authority and position within the family. This gender role comes under direct conflict with the gender role of women needing to be resilient and self-sufficient. The gender role of self-sufficiency is expected for women to perform due to the fact that women cannot predict their husband's actions and seem to be powerless to their decisions. On the other hand, it can be argued that the dependency role is expected for women to perform due to the fact that this grants men a significant amount of power and authority within the household. If women are not dependent on men, their role as income providers is threatened which also decreases their understood family authority within the household.

In narrative 2, the woman saw herself as being economically dependent on the man. According to her perspective the man was not earning enough income to meet her expectations, but instead of attempting to contribute towards their household she saw the income provider role as being exclusively applicable to the man, in which case she got violent. It could be suggested that this dependency role for women could increase pressure and stress on men who are not able to economically provide for their families or are not able to meet the income expectations of their wives. In this sense, as the women see themselves as being dependant they are perhaps discouraged from contributing towards the family income and instead feel a sense of injustice that the man is not completing his role. Thus, this situation and understanding of the woman as being dependant can lead to cases of domestic violence due to the lack of co-operation and tension in the household.

In addition, within narrative 10 the interviewee explains that men demand for women to be dependent on them as otherwise it undermines their authority and position in the family. Economically depriving women is method men can use to show their discontent, punish women and also force them to submit to their demands, thus if women are not dependent on them this would undermine their ability to maintain authority in the household. In narrative 10, the man sought to punish the woman for not providing him with his conjugal rights and therefore decided to economically deprive her and their children. In addition, the man began to sell of the cattle and other animal they owned in order to ensure the woman would not be able to get any income. Thus, this illustrates that the man within the narrative explicitly needed the woman to be dependent on him otherwise he would not be able to maintain his control. The interviewee also explained that when women do not ask men for economic support, it undermines their authority and also devalues their role in the family. The gender role of women being dependent is a significant aspect of domestic violence as it could be suggested that it contributes towards women willing to endure and remain with their husbands despite them being subject to abuse, and also enables men to use economic neglect to maintain their control.

9.2.4 Obedient Wife

The final woman's gender role which can be understood as having a primary theme within the narratives is that of an obedient wife. This gender role can encompass a number of duties and responsibilities and in essence this role insists that women do their duties as wife to serve and obey their husbands. However, the behaviours and actions which this gender role consist of can arguably be unique to the husband, as they ultimately decide how they require their wives to behave and serve them. The role of wife includes aspects such as looking after children, preparing food, being virtuous, being sexually available and also staying in the

home. Whilst these are not all of the aspects which are included within this gender role these are the most explicit duties which were mentioned within the narratives. Thus, as women and as wives, as soon as they get married women are expected to perform these duties and perform them to the expectation of their husband. It can be argued that these duties are heavily connected to behaviour which suggests that women are expected to behave in a certain manner in order to ensure they are acting as a proper wife in comparison to men's roles which arguably revolve around their practical support in providing economic income and making decisions.

Furthermore, this role is connected to obedience which suggests that women are supposed to submit to their husbands demands and requests and not question their choices. Obedience can be understood as requiring the woman to obey her husband regardless of his actions and decisions. If the woman does not submit herself to his demands or questions his actions, she is seen as being disobedient. The understanding that women need to be obedient encourages men to perceive any question or challenge as directly undermining their authority and the woman overstepping her role.

Narrative 4 and 9 highlight that women are expected to behave in a certain manner which ensures they are serving their husbands and not provoking suspicion. The woman within narrative 4 was not looking after the children or serving the husband to the extent that he expected and was always absent from the household. The woman was expected to stay in the household as her primary duty after being married was to serve her husband and ensure she completed her duties sufficiently. The fact that the woman was not performing her tasks adequately and was not acting like a proper wife, encouraged the man to deprive her economically. In comparison, within narrative 9 the woman was also not performing her duties as a wife and acted in a manner which caused the man to become suspicious of infidelity. Whilst the man was advised not to physically attack his wife over suspicion, his actions were not directly challenged and the woman was told that she must act according to her role as wife. Thus, arguably when women fail to perform according to an obedient wife it can be seen as an action of disrespect to the man which challenges his authority and position, which in turn can encourage cases of domestic violence.

Finally, in narrative 10, the obedient wife role is presented in the form that the woman is not performing her duties as being sexually available to the man. In the narrative the man felt he had a right to his conjugal rights as she was his wife and he was her husband. However, according to the woman, she was insulted and degraded by the man which encouraged her to deny his conjugal rights as form of punishment and to display her anger. The man in turn began to economically deprive her and his children as he felt that she was not performing her duties as wife should and was refusing his demands. In this sense, the fact the woman was not acting as an obedient wife encouraged the man to punish her for disobedience and for not allowing him the rights a wife should. In addition, the fact that the woman is seen as being an obedient wife discourages the husband to find out what the problem was and why the woman had stopped sleeping in the same bed as him. Instead, he expected complete compliance and when the woman was not behaving in a manner an obedient wife should, he decided to inflict economic violence on to her.

This chapter has attempted to answer the third research question within this research project. It has identified some of the most prominent themes in gender roles across all of the analysed narratives. There are themes which can be identified within both the roles given to men as well as women. According to the analysis, these roles have a similar impact upon the behaviour which can encourage the occurrence of domestic violence. In addition, the failure to perform these roles accordingly also has similar results within the different narratives. The fact that these themes exist across the narratives suggests that gender roles play a significant part in the cases of domestic violence which have been described in the narratives. The next section contain the concluding discussion of how this research project has answered the three research questions and how it has contributed towards development discourse.

10. Conclusions

The hypothesis of this thesis expected to find a connection between the sources of domestic violence and gender roles. The hypothesis predicted that if gender roles were not performed accordingly this would resort to tension and conflict which encouraged the occurrence of domestic violence. Based on the research, this hypothesis it set out to answer three main questions; 1.) Which gender roles are associated with men and women? 2.) How are these roles related to the source of the conflict and to the outcome of the conflict? 3.) What types of gender role themes can be identified to be related to between the different cases of domestic violence?

As per the results within this thesis, men were identified with authoritative roles which granted them prestige, control and authority within their families. Whilst men were also considered as providers of the family, such duties were not always performed as the authoritative roles allowed men to behave in the manner they pleased. In comparison, women were associated with more submissive roles which centred around serving and obeying their husbands. In addition, whilst men were viewed as having economic responsibilities towards their family women were seen as nurturers who were responsible for the overall wellbeing of their children.

In consideration to understanding how these roles were connected to the sources of conflict, different roles impacted the nature and source of the conflict in different ways. Some roles encouraged domestic violence to occur as men were justified to what they considered to be respect and authority. If they felt that they were not being treated accordingly the use of domestic violence was justified to ensure submission. Alternatively, some of the gender roles discouraged co-operation, consideration and respect within the relationship which also encouraged occurrences of domestic violence. In some cases, the roles encouraged certain forms of behaviour which either justified direct domestic violence or created situations where the occurrence of domestic violence increased.

In addition, failure to conform or perform certain roles also contributed towards the source of the conflict. If men and women did not conform to their duties or responsibilities this increased levels of tension and conflict between men and women which led to cases of domestic violence. The roles of men and women were interconnected to their duties to each other and how they were expected to behave. Failure to perform these increased the occurrence of domestic violence as the men and women felt a sense of injustice or betrayal from their partner. Gender roles were also explicitly used within the conflicts in order to punish their partners or show discontent. Gender roles were not performed or were denied in order to show anger or to even force change within the relationship. Not performing certain roles directly created situations of domestic violence especially in consideration to men. They refused to perform their income provider roles by economically depriving their partners and their children in order to show their discontent. In other cases, women refused to perform or behave according to what was expected in order to illustrate their anger which directly challenged the authoritative role of men which led to cases of violence. In this sense, gender roles were explicitly connected to the source of domestic violence and also in the nature of these cases.

In consideration to identified themes, whilst each narrative contained unique aspects certain similarities could be identified within the gender roles. Whilst the gender roles given to men and women varied depending on the narrative, in general men were given roles such as *Income Provider*, *Family Authority* and *Rightful Property Owner*. These roles were aspects

which men naturally possessed due to their gender. Whilst the Family Authority and Rightful Property Owner were to some extent connected to the *Income Provider* role, even those men who were not economically providing for their families felt entitled to the obedience of their wives and had natural rights to property and assets. These identified gender roles revolved around authoritative understandings where men perceived themselves as being the authority of the family and were therefore solely in charge of family decisions. In addition, as the *Income Providers* of the family, the men also viewed themselves as having a hierarchical position where their income entitled them to this privileged position. If their families wanted to be provided for, they had to obey and respect the man in the family.

Whilst these roles were also associated with responsibilities to the family in consideration to providing for the family, the authoritative roles identified also promoted an understanding that men did not have to discuss or explain their actions or decisions to their family. Instead, compliance and obedience was expected regardless and the men did not feel the need to explore problems in their family. In cases where women felt the need to question or challenge the man's decisions, such behaviour from women caused men to feel undermined and disrespected. Thus, this understating could contribute towards the act of violence as the men's understanding of their authority became threatened and violence could be used as a form of control and punishment.

Although the roles such as *Income Provider* were attached with family responsibilities such as economically providing for their wives and children, the authoritative understandings of men's gender encouraged a sense of detachment from this responsibility. As the authoritative role allowed men to not question their actions or take their family's needs in to consideration, it could be argued that these encouraged men to not perform their responsibilities if they did not want to. Thus, this detachment from responsibility and liability for their actions could encourage men to not feel the need to provide for their families leaving women and children economically neglected.

In comparison, the general gender roles which women possessed within the narratives were those of '*Nurturer*,' '*Resilient*,' '*Dependant*' and '*Obedient Wife*.' Again, whilst some other gender roles could be identified within some of the narratives these gender roles were most persistent. The gender role of *Resilient* and *Dependant* were in a state of conflict with one another. Whilst the narratives revealed that men were seen as economic assets to women, which encouraged women to be dependent upon them, many interviewees argued that women must become self-sufficient and resilient in order to manage men. Whilst men expected women to be dependant, due to the fact this granted them a significant amount of economic power, women illustrated significant abilities in being able to endure and provide for themselves and their children. The roles of *Nurturer*, *Resilient* and *Obedient wife* were also connected as the women are seen as the primary care givers for the children their duties included being resilient in order to ensure their children's survival. In addition, this *Nurturer* role encourages women to be *Obedient Wives* as by perform according to this gender role, women can ensure the wellbeing of their children by securing their husbands satisfaction.

In consideration to domestic violence, it could be suggested that these gender roles held by women limits their behaviour and their actions and also influences men to perceive them in an objective way detached from rights and entitlements. Women are associated with a significant amount of responsibility in consideration to their husbands and to their children whilst not being entitled to decision making power. In addition, the roles encouraged unquestioned obedience from the women towards their husbands which restricts their behaviour and reduces their influence in the household. When women question the actions of their husbands or refuse to act in a certain manner can be considered as undermining men's authority whilst also directly challenging women's expected role. Thus, this can also

encourage domestic violence as men may feel the need to reassert their authority and punish their wives for the misconduct.

10.1 Gender and Domestic Violence

This research has contributed towards understanding how aspects of gender, such as the roles associated with men and women, influence the behaviour and actions of individuals. These roles are not biologically determined but are embedded within the understandings of gender. Certain roles justify forms of behaviour which can cause tension and conflict between men and women. For example, the authoritative positions held by men encourage them to not acknowledge the opinions of their spouses which can encourage conflict within the relationship. For example, it is not that men are biologically more authoritarian which can lead to cases of domestic violence, but that the roles associated with men are more authoritarian within Uganda which contribute towards the incidents.

Whilst the 'social role theory' put forward by Eagly (1987) highlighted how aspects such as gender roles impact upon sex differences between men and women, this research has also highlighted how these roles also impact upon how men and women relate to one another and how such roles can influence behaviour which leads to cases of domestic violence. Gender roles can influence differences between men and women but they also contain a much more complex part in influencing how men and women relate to each other and how they behave towards one another. These different behaviours can be interpreted as undermining or challenging, especially if they are not performed accordingly, which can create situations of conflict. In this sense, this research has highlighted that social understandings of gender can contribute towards occurrences of domestic violence if these constructions justify or encourage behaviour which can encourage such occurrences. However, it must be acknowledged that these constructions of gender will differ in different communities, and the interpretation of behaviour will also change accordingly. Thus, whilst these socially constructed gender roles impact domestic violence in the identified manner, this may not be the case in other communities.

10.2 Gender and Development

Despite changes in Uganda's legal and political legislation, domestic violence has continued to be persistent within the country. By highlighting the impact that gender roles have on cases of domestic violence this research has contributed towards understanding why the issue has remained in Uganda despite legal changes. If unequal social constructions, such as gender roles, remain and are not challenged it will be difficult for legal or political changes to be effective. As the primary International Governmental Organisation continues to focus a significant amount of their efforts on implementing political and legal frameworks which support the rights of women, this thesis has attempted to contribute towards the acknowledgement that social understandings of gender, such as gender roles, also have to be taken into consideration in order to reinforce women's rights in the country and eradicate issues such as domestic violence. Thus, this research has been important within gender development as it has highlighted how social constructions of gender have to be targeted in order to eradicate issues of gender inequality such as domestic violence.

These results have provided further support for the bottom up approach towards gender development. The socially constructed understandings of gender roles are explicitly embedded within Uganda which may have contributed towards the failure of legal

frameworks preventing the practice. The practice of domestic violence will continue to be encouraged if the gender roles which encourage its occurrence are not challenged. By exploring how gender inequality is created at the bottom levels of society wider issues of gender inequality can be understood in their proper context.

10.3 Social Construction of Gender

This thesis has highlighted that social constructions of gender are extremely significant in influencing certain behaviour from both men and women. Understandings of gender held by both men and women can justify discriminatory actions to the extent of domestic violence. Whilst *Lwambo (2013)* contributed towards understanding how issues of domestic violence can be encouraged through changing social norms which challenge traditional roles, this thesis has highlighted that some social constructions of gender directly encourage domestic violence. This thesis has highlighted that these social constructions of gender roles are at the centre of influencing behaviour of both men and women which impacts upon how they relate to each other. In this sense, the data in this research project has highlighted how the social construction of gender is central to the wider issues of gender inequality which are present. Exploring the social constructions of gender which exist in different communities can contribute towards understanding the sources of gender inequality and which aspect of these constructions need to be altered to influence change.

It has also further contributed towards the acknowledgement of the complexity of social constructions of gender. This data has revealed that the different gender roles which have been identified are also intricately connected with one another which highlights their complex nature. Within communities there can exist conflicting constructions of gender which have expectations and associations embedded within them. The constructions of gender roles have a complex, diverse and shifting nature which means that the interpretations of these gender roles, and the duties which they are associated with, can vary which can influence the nature of the conflict. This thesis has not attempted to highlight that there is one gender role which is primarily responsible for domestic violence, instead it has argued that gender roles are complexly involved within these cases. Nevertheless, this thesis supports the predominant importance of social constructions of gender in contributing towards issues and practices of gender inequality.

10.4 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Although I have attempted to limit the amount of bias within this research project as much as possible, it is still important to acknowledge the limitations which exist. One of the most significant limitations is embedded within the narrative research methodology. Interpretations of narratives always contain some form of subjectivity and bias which need to be taken in to consideration. However, it can be argued that all forms of data, even data which appears to be objective, contain levels of subjectivity. Subjectivity and bias are a permanent feature within all narrative data and whilst this can be considered to be a flaw, it is an aspect which cannot be eliminated and is also a persistent across all research methodologies.

Furthermore, the fact that the translations for most of the interviews had to be converted from Luganda in to English also needs to be acknowledged. As more than one translator was used within this process the interpretation of Luganda in to English may have been influenced by the translator's subjectivity. This means that the initial stories which were told by the participants have already been to a certain extent changes as the translators have

chosen which English words reflect the meaning of the initial words spoken by the participant. As the translators, may have interpreted the meaning of the words differently from the story-teller, this reduces the validity of the data. Nevertheless, this is an issue which is difficult to avoid due to the language barriers which are in place but future research could attempt to conduct analysis on such narratives in their original language.

Finally, as narrative contains a large amount of detail and information which could be analysed using several different methods, the results which I have identified need to be acknowledged as a small; representation. Due to the length and time restrictions which are involved within this research project, it has not been possible to use a large extent of analysis methodologies. Thus, the data represented within this thesis needs to be understood according to these contexts. However, future research could focus on further analysing the data using different approaches and conducting different forms of comparison in order to get a richer representation of results.

In consideration to future research, it can be argued that gender roles significantly impact upon behaviour which can contribute towards the occurrence of domestic violence. Therefore, it would be recommended that these aspects of gender should be explored further in future research. This research project has highlighted that underlying understandings of gender roles can impact upon gender relations between men and women. Improving these relations by exploring gender roles which encourage co-operation and harmony may help to eliminate cases of domestic violence. Thus, future research should focus on further exploring gender roles and how these can be altered to influence positive gender relations within Uganda.

In addition, whilst this research project has focused upon the impact of gender roles in Uganda, future research should attempt to investigate how gender roles are related to cases of domestic violence within other communities. Drawing comparisons between different communities will provide further understandings of how gender roles impact upon cases of domestic violence and which approaches are needed to alter these effects. Whilst the unique aspects of each community should still be taken in to consideration, such comparisons may contribute towards designing effective development projects which aim to alter gender roles appropriately to decrease cases of domestic violence

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the connection between socially constructed gender roles with the persistence of domestic violence in Uganda. By analysing narratives of domestic violence this thesis found that men and women within Uganda hold certain gender roles which associates them with certain privileges, limitations, expectations and duties. Some of these associations, such as authority and control, can influence behaviour which either justifies domestic violence or encourages its occurrence. In addition, failure to perform certain gender roles, especially in consideration to women's roles as obedient wives, can be interpreted as undermining or challenging men's authoritative positions which increases tension and causes domestic violence. Evidently, gender roles play a significant part in influencing the occurrence of domestic violence by impacting upon the behaviour of men and women and effecting how men and women relate to one another.

It has been the objective of this thesis to contribute towards wider development discourse in consideration to achieving gender equality. This thesis has highlighted that issues of gender inequality are extremely complex and deeply embedded within social understandings of gender. To eradicate such issues or influence progress, these constructions

need to be identified and challenged. In order to achieve further progress in gender equality, all structures and aspects contributing towards these inequalities need to be acknowledged and addressed. Changing structures at the top may not filter down to the bottom levels of societies where these constructions are created which is why it is fundamentally important to investigate such aspects further.

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12. Appendix A: The analytical framework of narratives

Narrative 1

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Income Provider	Men financial providers, but this gender role is not always understood as being attached to their wives and children. Many men will transfer this responsibility or duty to other women instead which suggests that as long as this duty is being performed to some extent men feel they are performing their role. However, this easily leads to them economically neglecting their original wives and children.	If men refuse to financially support their wives and their children, their families can easily suffer from a lack of education and basic needs. Women are also forced to take on roles as income providers and nurturers for their children if men are unwilling to attach their income providing role to their families.
Womaniser	Men's promiscuous behaviour is often expected and accepted by men and women. Some men believe that to be a 'man' they must have a lot of women. However, this behaviour can cause conflict if the women question or challenge the men on this behaviour or if the men begin to economically neglect their families and instead concentrate on their other women.	If men continue their promiscuous nature and if they do not see it as causing an issue within the family, it can result in men leaving and financially neglecting their families and also to women being beaten if the men feel challenged or questioned. Despite this gender role being acknowledged as causing problems it is generally expected by women and accepted by men.
Family Authority	As men are seen as the primary authority and rule of law in the family, this encourages the understanding that men's actions and behaviours should not be questioned or challenged. It discourages	This family authority figure encourages acceptance and tolerance for the actions of men. It also denies them of their responsibilities for their families as they have the right and authority to choose to do what they want

	men to have little consideration for the feelings of their family members as they are seen as being in charge of family decisions. If the man feels ashamed or challenged for his behaviour, he may react in a violent manner as it undermines his decision making rights.	to do. It means men will continue to womanise and also financially neglect their families without feeling the need to answer for these actions or take their families interests in to consideration.
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Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Virtuous	In narrative 1 the gender role of women being virtuous was not described as being related to issues or sources of domestic violence.	In consideration to the outcome of domestic violence it can be suggested that whilst men are able to womanise and be promiscuous, women are not able to do the same and it is frowned upon for them to have too many partners. Thus, it could be suggested that despite domestic violence women are encouraged to stay with their partners as they should not be seen with too many different men.
Nurturer	In narrative 1 the gender role of women being nurturers was not described as being related to issues or sources of domestic violence.	As nurturers women are often left with the responsibility to look after and economically provide for their children if their husbands leave or financially neglect the family. Women are seen as the primary care-givers whilst men's duties are more related to financial support.
Resilient	In narrative 1 the gender role of women being resilient was not described as being related to issues or sources of domestic violence.	This gender role of women needing to be resilient is associated with how women endure the treatment of their husbands, the tactics they use and how they manage their self-sufficiency if their

		husbands neglect them. In this narrative women are not described as passive victims to domestic violence but have a duty to be survivors.
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Narrative 2

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Economic Asset	The man is seen as an income provider but also as an economic asset for women. If the man's financial contribution or overall wealth does not meet the expectation of the woman this leads to great frustration and anger on behalf of the woman. The woman feels an injustice has been done if the man cannot provide what is expected. In this narrative the woman was violent and aggressive towards the man as she believed she had been married in to a poor family.	In this narrative the man as an economic asset had to provide the expectations of the woman so that she would be content. The mother-in-law was involved in purchasing land and property for the couple to ensure that the man had enough money to keep the wife happy. If the man is seen as an economic asset the woman has economic expectations from the man which need to be met to avoid aggressive conflict.

Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Dependant	The woman is financially dependent on her husband so she has certain expectations of the man's economic income and ability to provide. If these expectations are not met it can act as a source of discontent as the woman is not expected to be self-sufficient so she will become angry towards her husband. Thus, if the man is not able to provide what is expected it can encourage conflict and violence.	In the narrative the man had to result in his mother helping him economically provide for his wife in order to keep her content. As her role as the woman is to be economically dependant she was not encouraged to help towards family income, instead the man and his family had to manage ways in which they could provide her with her expected income.

Narrative 3

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Family Authority	The man feels that he has complete authority over his family and over the decisions made by himself and his wife. When the woman does not comply to his demands he uses violence in order to force her to obey him. In this sense it can be suggested that disobedience or any form of challenge from his wife's undermines his authority which therefore leads to him punishing his wife through the use of violence and in order to maintain his control.	The continued authority the man felt he had over his wife made him disregard her feelings and force her to obey him through aggressive violence. The man's understanding that he has natural unquestionable authority does not make him take in to consideration the feelings and interests of his wife and instead he uses violence to torture her and maintain his control. In response, the woman can only endure this treatment from the husband as his authority is generally accepted by the local authorities.
Rightful Owner	In the narrative the man understands himself as having a form of right or ownership over his wife. Even the authorities encourage the woman to return to her husband despite him violently beating her. Even after she has complied with his original demands and eventually decides to leave him to become self-sufficient and start again, the man's right over the woman encourages him to continue to abuse her and even threaten to kill her if she does not return to him. It can be suggested that this gender role makes the man see the woman as property and not as a human being with feelings or rights.	The man continues to harass and abuse his wife until she returns to him. He states that she will only get rid of him if she moves far away, meaning she will lose her business clients and be unable to support herself. The man sees himself as the owner of the wife so she is his to do with and treat as he pleases. The man continues his abuse whilst the woman has to endure and manage herself and her children with other tactics.

Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Resilient	Although the woman's resilience is not explicitly mentioned within the source of the conflict, the fact that the woman was very self-sufficient and able to provide her own income could have encouraged her to challenge her husband's demands which may have encouraged the man to want to force his authority on to her.	The woman is able to continue managing herself and the wellbeing of her children. Despite the fact that the man continued to harass and abuse her she continuously used different tactics to ensure the safety of herself and her children. The resilience associated with the outcome of the conflicts illustrates that women are not passive victims but make choices and decisions to secure their own safety and that of their children.
Nurturer	Whilst it is not mentioned that the nurturer gender role of the woman is involved in the sources of the conflict, the man uses the children to threaten the woman and to force her in to submission. This gender role is assumed to be naturally held by the woman and is used by the man maintain his control over her.	The nurturer gender role impacts how the woman decides to manage herself and the types of decisions she makes in consideration to her situation. She decides to stay with her husband despite his abusive manner to ensure that she has some form of income to be able to provide for the children's education. As the man refuses to take financial responsibility for the children the woman takes it upon herself to send her children to boarding school to ensure they will not be abused. Thus, this gender role influences how the woman decides to manage her abusive situation.
Property	The woman's understood role as property contributes towards the manner in which her husband treats and the fact he finds it acceptable to abuse her. In addition, the fact that the woman is regarded as property of the	This gender role continued to influence how the man regarded the woman and how he felt it was appropriate to treat her. It could be argued that it contributed towards the need for the man to force her back

	man but still ‘challenges’ the man’s demands and proves to be self-sufficient could contribute towards the felt right of the man to punish and torture her.	to him after she had already left. As he felt that he owned her and she belonged to him, she naturally has a duty to be with him regardless of how she feels or how he treats her. Thus, this gender role could be suggested to play a significant role in why the woman has to continue to endure the abuse and violence of her husband.
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Narrative 4

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Income Provider	As the income provider of the household the man expects respect and obedience from his wife. This gender role earns the man ultimate control and authority in the household, yet as the man providing the income is his duty. Nevertheless, as he is proving his duty he also expects the woman to perform her role as the wife. When she does not perform in the manner he expects he uses his economic power to punish her and stopes providing for her and the children, to force her in to obedience.	As the income provider the man was seen as completing his role as the man so the woman was encouraged to also complete her own and act as the wife the husband expected her to be. With the role of income provider, the man has complete control over the financial decisions in the household and can use this role in order to force obedience from the woman. Eventually the woman began to act in the manner in which the man expected her to act and the man started to economically provide for her and the children again.
Family Authority	As the income generator of the family the man is also entitled to be the family authority who should be obeyed. The woman does not behave or act in the manner in which he expects and as the man sees himself as the family authority he feels that his demands should not be challenged or questioned. It could be	The man’s authority is not questioned and the interviewee expects that the woman should comply to the man’s demands. As the authority the man needs to be obeyed and the woman must do her duty and act accordingly. The woman is therefore told to alter her ways and perform the duties which the husband has

	suggested that this gender role makes the man expect that his rule will be followed naturally so he does not have to discuss his demands or negotiate his wants with his wife. When the woman does not act accordingly, instead of discussing the issue he punishes her by depriving her economically and attempting to force her in to obedience.	requested. The man's actions in economically depriving the woman are not questioned, in essence they are seen as reasonable means to force the woman to play her part as the wife and obey the man's authority.
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Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Obedient Wife	The woman was expected to fulfil her role as an obedient wife which included serving the husband and completing her role as he demanded. However, when the woman does not conform to the mans expected behaviour and instead acts in manner in which is not considered appropriate wife behaviour, the man decides to punish her by economically depriving her and forcing her to conform to her role. He does not discuss with the woman why he is discontent with her actions instead she is supposed to naturally possess an obedient wife role and when she does not the man's authority is undermined.	The woman is advised that she is not behaving according to her role as an obedient wife, and since she decided to get married it is her responsibility to change her actions in accordance with this role. The fact that she is not acting in the expected manner justifies the man's economic violence and the woman must change her ways in order to avoid such conflict. Thus, the woman needs to conform to this gender role in order for the husband to also take up his role and start providing for her and the children.

Narrative 5

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Rightful Property Owner	Despite the man originally selling off the land and the property, he still feels that	As the rightful property owner his actions are justified. He is able to treat

	<p>he has rightful ownership to these assets. Although the woman had paid for the land and property after the husband abandoned his family, the man feels he holds a natural ownership of the property seen as he is the husband and the woman's assets are his assets. This encourages him to come back and demand to stay in the house whilst simultaneously forcing his wife and children to leave through the use of violence.</p>	<p>his family as he pleases as he is the man and he is therefore also entitled to the land and property. Despite seeking legal help, the man continues to feel a right to the property and to the land so has forced his wife and children to find other accommodation and start all over.</p>
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Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Resilient	<p>In narrative 5 the gender role of women being resilient was not described as being related to issues or sources of domestic violence.</p>	<p>The woman is forced to become resilient and to become self-sufficient for the sake of her children. Despite performing this role in the first incident that the man abandoned the family she performs it again when the man chases her and her children out. Whilst she seeks legal help she also acknowledges that she may not get justice and in the process she may become poor, so her resilient role encourages her to weigh her options and act accordingly to what is best for her and her children's wellbeing, even if it is not justice.</p>
Nurturer	<p>Whilst the nurturer role of the woman is not explicitly linked to the source of conflict, it could be suggested that this role of the encourages the man to not take responsibility of his children and finds it acceptable to abandon them.</p>	<p>The woman is given exclusive responsibility for the children and expected to act accordingly to their best interest. This gender role influences what type of actions she takes in consideration to the conflict. Whilst she attempts to seek</p>

	The man sees the children's wellbeing as the prime responsibility of the woman which could encourage him not to have any concerns or greater attachments to his children.	justice she also is aware that she cannot blindly pursue this as her prime responsibility is the security of her children.
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Narrative 6

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Rightful Property Owner	Although the man abandoned his family and has not provided his original wife or his children with any economic support for 8 years, he feels that it his right to come back to the property and demand to take all of the assets in the house. It could be suggested that he sees himself as a rightful property owner as the wife is not associated with owning anything, and as he is married to her he also has entitlement to all of her property. When the woman challenges him on this he uses violence to force her out of the house.	The man continued to see himself as the rightful property owner of all of the assets in the household so he left his wife and his children with nothing. In the narrative it was not mentioned whether the woman was able to get any of the property back or whether this issue was confronted by the police.
Family Authority	The man sees himself as the continues family authority of his original wife and his children, despite the fact that he had abandoned them and had not been providing for them for the past 8 years. He did not feel the need to explain to his original wife where he had been as he is the authority figure and is entitled to act as pleases. When this was questioned or challenged by the woman he also resorted to violence. It could be suggested that the challenge of the wife caused	The man does not excuse or repent his actions as he feels that his family authority figure allows him to act as he pleases and the wife's role is to endure and look after her children. The man left with his new wife and the original wife has taken responsibility of providing and nurturing for their children.

	the man to feel undermined due to his expected role as family authority.	
Income Provider	The role of the man as an income provider which, is not associated with a fundamental duty to his family per se, but to anyone he sees fit, can be suggested to influence his decision to return back to the home and take all of the property. He came back to the home with his new wife so it could be argued that he felt a responsibility to transfer his income provider role to her at the expense of his original wife.	The man refused to financially support his children and his original wife which forced the woman to take on both gender roles as care-giver and as income provider. The interviewee explains that this is a normal situation for many women as their husbands have refused to provide economic support.

Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Resilient	The role of the woman as being resilient is related to the actions the woman takes in consideration to her husband abandoning her and her children, and also in consideration to how she endures his treatment when he comes back and demands his property. The woman responds to the behaviour of her husband by becoming self-sufficient and by taking on the roles of both the care-giver and the income provider.	The interviewee claims that all women need to become self-sufficient and independent and not be dependent on their husbands. Women have a duty to respond to the treatment of their husbands and be prepared for such treatment by becoming resilient and self-sufficient. This is the only way they are able to manage as men are as they are.
Nurturer	The nurturer role of the woman in this narrative encouraged the man to not take any consideration or responsibility of this children. His expectation revolved around the fact that they were 'her' children so therefore they are 'her' responsibility. It could be	The man does not take any responsibility or economic interest in his children's future and expects this to be the woman's role as the primary care-giver. In response to her husband's behaviour the woman directs her actions to ensure she completes this role and she

	argued that this association with the woman and the children could encourage a detachment of family bonds on the half of the man.	feels direct responsibility for ensuring the wellbeing of her children. The interviewee explains that all women should be self-sufficient so that they can look after their children if their husbands abandon their duties.
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Narrative 7

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Employer	The man sees himself as the employer of the woman as he had married her so that she would work for him. As the employer he expects the woman to comply to his demands and his instructions, and despite the fact that she contributes towards the family income he does not see her as being entitled to anything. When the woman challenges him on the fact that he had sold beans which she herself had harvested he resorted to domestic violence seen as this form of challenge undermines his position as her employer and she has no right question his authority or expect to be entitled to anything they produce.	Initially the man believed that as he owned the land and had married the woman so that she would work for him, all she produced and grew also belonged to him. The man had to reconsider his position and role as the woman's employer after being advised that legally this was not the correct understand. The man agreed to reconsider his wife's position as being 'equally' entitled to produce they have grown together.

Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Worker	The woman was being viewed as a worker or an employee who did not own and did not have any entitlements to anything she economically contributed. Despite the fact that she was	The woman's role as a worker was criticised and was reconstructed as she was confirmed as being a family member or as the wife as opposed to an employee. The

	<p>contributing towards the economic income of the household she was not seen as being part of the family. When she dared to question the man she undermined his position as the employer and over stepped her privilege. Thus, the man punished her in the form of violence to reconfirm his role and remind her of hers.</p>	<p>understanding of her as a worker was weakened and she was encouraged to be treated as a wife who also had equal entitlement to anything she helped to contribute.</p>
Family Member	<p>The woman saw herself as a family member and as the wife of the man, which meant that she should be treated as a wife and not as a worker. She felt that as the wife she had entitlement to the produce she harvested which encouraged her to question her husband on the fact he had sold what she had grown without her consultation. However, her understanding of her role was in direct conflict with the understanding the man had. This challenged the role of the man and the woman which could have encouraged the man to react in violence in order to maintain his control and remind her of her position.</p>	<p>The role of the woman as a wife and family member is encouraged by the interviewee and advised to be taken in to consideration by the man. If she contributes to the harvest, then she also has an entitlement to that produce and she needs to be treated as a wife and not as a worker. The role of her as a wife will increase development in the house she needs to be regarded as a family member and not as an employee.</p>

Narrative 8

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Family Authority	<p>As the family authority the man felt it was his right to demand that the land titles which were owned by the woman to be transferred under his name. it can be suggested that seen as the man is the family authority the woman easily agreed to</p>	<p>As the family authority the man does not feel anymore remorse for his decision and does not repent even after chasing his wife and children out of the property. It can be argued that as he understands himself as being an authoritarian figure he</p>

	his demands without question. In addition, as he is the family authority it fived him the right to act in manner in which he sees fit which could have encouraged him to not care about his family's interests and do as he pleases.	does not question is action and does not feel the need to take his family's interest in to consideration.
Rightful Property Owner	The man sees his role as a rightful property owner which gives him entitlement and ownership over all assets including those which are owned by his wife. He does not feel comfortable with the woman owning assets which he does not so he demands to have them transferred. It could be suggested that this role encourages him to seek control over the woman's assets and makes him comfortable transferring and stealing her assets from her.	The man ends up stealing the majority of the assets from the woman. He does not repent his actions and has little regard for the wellbeing of his original wife and family. The gender role of him being the rightful owner as a man could be suggest to contribute towards the fact that he does not see injustice in what he has done but is in fact proud to have been able to become rich after coming from such a poor background.

Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Source of Wealth	The woman is seen as a source of wealth in which case the husband uses the wife in order to be able to increase his own wealth and increase his own assets. The woman is not seen as a wife who the man is supposed care for and provide for, instead she is a way of gaining assets as he will ultimately own what the woman owns. It could be argued that this gender role of the woman encourages the man to marry her as he understands that he has a right to all of the property and assets that she has.	The woman is used as source of wealth and the woman is then abandoned by the man. Despite the fact that the woman and the children are resorted to not having much property and suffering, the man does not see fault in his actions. If women are not seen as being rightful owners of their property it could encourage men to view that their actions in stealing women's assets are justified.

Narrative 9

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Family Authority	As the family authority the man expects the wife to obey him and follow his instructions, if she does not then this challenges his authority and also undermines his position in the household. When the woman does not do her duties in the manner which he expects and acts in a manner which directly disrespects him in his opinion, he feels a source of anger and injustice and result to violence as form of punishment.	The man continues as the authority of the family. The woman is advised to change her behaviour and the manner in which she acts as a wife. Whilst the man is told that he should not punish the wife over mere suspicion of infidelity, his actions themselves are not challenged or questioned. Thus, it suggests that his violence is acceptable in the case that the wife does not act as she should or is unfaithful to him.

Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Virtuous	The woman was suspected of being unfaithful to her husband due to the fact that she was not always found in the home and she was seen with another man. The woman directly challenges her role as being virtuous which is seen as a form of disrespect towards the husband and as a significant insult. The woman's apparent infidelity is unacceptable and gives justice for the man to punch her through violence.	The man is told that he cannot punish the wife if he has suspicion of her infidelity as it is not for certain. The woman is encouraged to act in a more virtuous manner which does not give suspicion to her husband. In this sense, the violence which occurred is justified as the woman acted in a manner which gave the man suspicion and she is told to act according to her virtuous role.
Obedient Wife	The woman was not completing her duties in the manner the man expected and was therefore failing to complete her role as the wife. She was not looking after the children properly, was not feeding her husband	The woman is told to do her duties as the wife to ensure her husband is content. In this sense her actions and her behaviour are seen as justification of the violent reaction of the husband, and she is told that she must act

	and was not always found in the house when the husband came home. The fact that she is not acting in the manner expected is undermining the man's authority and directly disrespecting him. As a form of punishment and to enforce his control the man uses violence against her.	in a manner which is expected of her as the wife. This obedience will support her husband's authority and not disrespect or undermine him. The man and woman are told both to do their duties as the man and woman to ensure co-operation and development in the household.
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Narrative 10

Men

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Family Authority	As the family authority figure the man expects complete control and obedience from his wife. If the woman does not comply to his demands than it is a form of disrespect and undermines his position. As the woman denies him conjugal rights which the husband feels he is entitled due to the fact that she is his wife, he decides to punish her and force her in to submission. The man does not feel that he needs to question or discuss the actions of the woman as he is the authority so she should obey him regardless.	The woman is encouraged to go back to her husband's bedroom and submit to his demand but the man is also told to not disrespect or harm his wife. The man's authority role is maintained but he is advised to treat his wife better so that she does not challenge him or disobey him.
Income Provider	The man uses his income provider role to force the woman to submit to his authority and to his demands. As the income provider he has the control over her and the children's wellbeing. He chooses to deprive the woman and the children of economic income in order to punish the woman and maintain his authority. The income	The man is told to perform his role as the economic provider and to start providing for his family again. After the wife is advised to forgive the man and return to his bedroom he starts to provide his family with economic income once again. Meeting the man's demands and obeying his authority encouraged the man to perform his role as

	provider role grants the man much authority and power in the family.	income provider.
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Women

Gender Role	Source of Conflict	Outcome of Conflict
Sexual Object	The woman has a role in providing the man with conjugal rights so when she does not perform this role it undermines the man's rights and position in the home. In addition, the woman uses this role to show discontent and anger towards her husband. However, the man does not feel the need to discuss the issue with his wife and feels that his demands should not be questioned which encourages him in return punish her through economic violence.	The woman is advised that she has a duty by her husband, as she chose to get married, to sleep in the same bedroom as her husband. Thus, this role is expected of her and seen as part of her duty as wife. After reconciling the woman agrees to return to her husband's bedroom which encourages the man to start providing for her and the children again.
Nurturer	Whilst the nurturer role is not explicitly mentioned as contributing towards the source of conflict the fact that the man denies economic income from the children as well suggests that the children are used as weapon against the woman in order to force her to obey. In this sense children suffered from this source of economic violence because they are associated as being the primary responsibility of the woman.	Once the woman agrees to forgive her husband and move herself back in to the man's bedroom, the man decides to continue his role as an income provider for the woman and their children. Thus, the woman's submission influences the children's economic wellbeing.
Dependant	As the woman is seen as being dependant on the man, this influenced the man to punish her and force her in to submission through economic deprivation. Thus, as the woman was not respecting him in the	The woman decided to forgive her husband and submit to his demands, it could be suggested that the fact that she or her children did not have access to basic needs encouraged this decision, but she and the

	manner he wanted, this role of the woman gave him power to force her.	man were also counselled on the situation so this could also have been a reason.
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